The discouerie of witchcraft,

Wherein the lewde dealing of witches *and witchmongers is notablie detected, the* knauerie of coniurors, the impietie of inchan-*tors, the follie of soothsaiers, the impudent fals-*hood of cousenors, the infidelitie of atheists, *the pestilent practises of Pythonists, the* curiositie of figurecasters, the va-*nitie of dreamers, the begger-*lie art of Alcu-mystrie,

The abhomination of idolatrie, the hor-*rible art of poisoning, the vertue and power of* naturall magike, and all the conueiances *of Legierdemaine and iuggling are deciphered:* and many other things opened, which *haue long lien hidden, howbeit* verie necessarie to be knowne.

Heerevnto is added a treatise vpon the *nature and substance of spirits and diuels,* &c: all latelie written *by Reginald Scot* Esquire.

1. Iohn. 4, 1.

Beleeue not euerie spirit, but trie the spirits, whether they are of God; for manie false prophets are gone out into the world, &c.

1584

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To the Honorable, mine eſpeciall good Lord, Sir Roger Manwood Knight, Lord *cheefe Baron of hir Maieſties Court* of the Eſchequer.

INSOMVCH as I know that your Lordſhip is by nature whollie inclined, and in purpoſe earneſtly bent to releeue the poore, and that not onlie with hoſpitalitie and almes, but by diuerſe other deuiſes and waies tending to their comfort, hauing (as it were) framed and ſet your ſelfe to the helpe and maintenance of their eſtate; as appeareth by your charge and trauell in that behalfe. Whereas alſo you haue a ſpeciall care for the ſupporting of their right, and redreſſing of their wrongs, as neither deſpiſing their calamitie, nor yet forgetting their complaint, ſeeking all meanes for their amendement, and for the reformation of their diſorders, euen as a verie father to the poore. Finallie, for that I am a poore member of that commonwelth, where your Lordſhip is a principall perſon; I thought this my trauell, in the behalfe of the poore, the aged, and the ſimple, might be

verie fitlie commended vnto you: for a weake house requireth a strong staie. In which respect I giue God thanks, that hath raised vp vnto me so mightie a freend for them as your Lordship is, who in our lawes haue such knowledge in gouernment such discretion, in these causes such experience, and in the commonwealth such authoritie; and neuerthelesse vouchsafe to descend to the consideration of these base and inferior matters, which minister more care and trouble, than worldlie estimation.

And in somuch as your Lordship knoweth, or rather exerciseth the office of a iudge, whose part it is to heare with courtesie, and to determine with equitie; it cannot but be apparent vnto you, that when punishment exceedeth the fault, it is rather to be thought vengeance than correction. In which respect I knowe you spend more time and trauell in the conuersion and reformation, than in the subuersion & confusion of offenders, as being well pleased to augment your owne priuate paines, to the end you may diminish their publike smart. For in truth, that commonwealth remaineth in wofull state, where fetters and halters beare more swaie than mercie and due compassion.

Howbeit, it is naturall to vnnaturall people, and peculiar vnto witchmongers, to pursue the poore, to accuse the simple, and to kill the innocent; supplieng in rigor and malice towards others, that which they themselues want in proofe and discretion, or the other in offense or occasion. But as a cruell hart and an honest mind doo seldome meete and feed togither in a dish; so a discreet and mercifull magistrate, and a happie commonwealth cannot be separated asunder. How much then are we bound to God, who hath giuen vs a Queene, that of iustice is not only the very perfect image & paterne; but also of mercie & clemencie (vnder God) the meere fountaine & bodie it selfe? In somuch as they which hunt most after bloud in

these daies, haue least authoritie to shed it. Moreouer, sith I see that in cases where lenitie might be noisome, & punishment wholesome to the commonwealth ; there no respect of person can moue you, no authoritie can abbash you, no feare, no threts can daunt you in performing the dutie of iustice.

In that respect againe I find your Lordship a fit person, to iudge and looke vpon this present treatise. Wherein I will bring before you, as it were to the barre, two sorts of most arrogant and wicked people, the first challenging to themselues, the second attributing vnto others, that power which onelie apperteineth to God,[a] who onelie is the Creator of all things,[b] who onelie searcheth the hart and reines, who onelie[c] knoweth our imaginations and thoughts, who onelie[d] openeth all secrets, who[e] onelie worketh great wonders, who onelie hath power[f] to raise vp & cast downe; who onelie maketh thunder, lightning, raine, tempests, and restraineth them at his pleasure; who onelie[g] sendeth life and death, sicknesse & health, wealth and wo; who neither giueth nor lendeth his[h] glorie to anie creature.

[a] Apoc.4,11. [b] Rom.8. Acts.5. Apoc.2. [c] Luke.16. [d] Dan. 2. & 28,& 47. [e] Psalm.72. & 136. Ier.5. [f] Iob.5.& 36 Sam.12. 1.Reg.8. 2.Reg.3. Isaie.5. Zach.10. & 14. Amos.4.7. [g] Iob.1. [h] Isaie.42,8.

And therefore, that which greeueth me to the bottome of my hart, is, that these witchmongers cannot be content, to wrest out of Gods hand his almightie power, and keepe it themselues, or leaue it with a witch: but that, when by drift of argument they are made to laie downe the bucklers, they yeeld them vp to the diuell, or at the least praie aid of him, as though the raines of all mens liues and actions were committed into his hand; and that he sat at the sterne, to guide and direct the course of the whole world, imputing vnto him power and abilitie inough to doo as great things, and as strange miracles as euer Christ did.

But the doctors of this supernaturall doctrine saie somtimes, that the witch doth all these things by vertue of hir

charmes; sometimes that a spirituall, sometimes that a corporall diuell doth accomplish it; sometimes they saie that the diuell doth but make the witch beleeue she doth that which he himselfe hath wrought; sometimes that the diuell seemeth to doo that by compulsion, which he doth most willinglie. Finallie, the writers herevpon are so eloquent, and full of varietie; that sometimes they write that the diuell dooth all this by Gods permission onelie; sometimes by his licence, somtimes by his appointment: so as (in effect and truth) not the diuell, but the high and mightie king of kings, and Lord of hosts, euen God himselfe, should this waie be made obedient and seruile to obeie and performe the will & commandement of a malicious old witch, and miraculouslie to answere hir appetite, as well in euerie trifling vanitie, as in most horrible executions; as the reuenger of a doting old womans imagined wrongs, to the destruction of manie innocent children, and as a supporter of hir passions, to the vndoing of manie a poore soule. And I see not, but a witch may as well inchant, when she will; as a lier may lie when he list: and so should we possesse nothing, but by a witches licence and permission.

And now forsooth it is brought to this point, that all diuels, which were woont to be spirituall, may at their pleasure become corporall, and so shew themselues familiarlie to witches and coniurors, and to none other, and by them onlie may be made tame, and kept in a box, &c. So as a malicious old woman may command hir diuell to plague hir neighbor: and he is afflicted in manner and forme as she desireth. But then commeth another witch, and she biddeth hir diuell helpe, and he healeth the same partie. So as they make it a kingdome diuided in it selfe, and therefore I trust it will not long endure, but will shortlie be ouerthrowne, according to the words of our Sauior, *Omne regnum in se diuisum desolabitur,* Euerie kingdome

dome diuided in it selfe shalbe desolate.

And although some saie that the diuell is the witches instrument, to bring hir purposes and practises to passe: yet others saie that she is his instrument, to execute his pleasure in anie thing, and therefore to be executed. But then (me thinks) she should be iniuriouslie dealt withall, and put to death for anothers offense: for actions are not iudged by instrumentall causes; neither dooth the end and purpose of that which is done, depend vpon the meane instrument. Finallie, if the witch doo it not, why should the witch die for it? But they saie that witches are persuaded, and thinke, that they doo indeed those mischeefs; and haue a will to performe that which the diuell committeth: and that therefore they are worthie to die. By which reason euerie one should be executed, that wisheth euill to his neighbor, &c. But if the will should be punished by man, according to the offense against God, we should be driuen by thousands at once to the slaughterhouse or butcherie. For whosoeuer loatheth correction shall die. Prouerb.5. And who should escape execution, if this lothsomnesse (I saie) should extend to death by the ciuill lawes. Also the reward of sinne is death. Howbeit, euerie one that sinneth, is not to be put to death by the magistrate. But (my Lord) it shalbe proued in my booke, and your Lordship shall trie it to be true, as well here at home in your natiue countrie, as also abrode in your seuerall circuits, that (besides them that be *veneficæ*, which are plaine poisoners) there will be found among our witches onelie two sorts; the one sort being such by imputation, as so thought of by others (and these are abused, and not abusors) the other by acceptation, as being willing so to be accompted (and these be meere cousenors.)

Caluine treating of these magicians, calleth them cousenors, saieng that they vse their iuggling knacks onelie to amase or abuse the people; or else for fame: but he *Instit. lib. 5. ca. 8. sect. 6. Item vpon Deut. cap. 18.*

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Lib. de lamijs, pag. 5. might rather haue said for gaine. Erastus himselfe, being a principall writer in the behalfe of witches omnipotencie, is forced to confesse, that these Greeke words, μαγία, μαγγανεία, φαρμακεία, are most commonlie put for illusion, false packing, cousenage, fraud, knauerie and deceipt: and is further driuen to saie, that in ancient time, the learned were not so blockish, as not to see that the promises of magicians and inchanters were false, and nothing else but knauerie, cousenage, and old wiues fables; and yet defendeth he their flieng in the aire, their transferring of corne or grasse from one feeld to another, &c.

But as Erastus disagreeth herein with himselfe and his freends: so is there no agreement among anie of those writers, but onlie in cruelties, absurdities, and impossibilities. And these (my Lord) that fall into so manifest contradictions, and into such absurd asseuerations, are not of the inferior sort of writers; neither are they all papists, but men of such accompt, as whose names giue more credit to their cause, than their writings. In whose behalfe I am sorie, and partlie for reuerence suppresse their fondest errors and fowlest absurdities; dealing speciallie with them that most contend in crueltie, [a] whose feete are swift to shed bloud, striuing (as [b] Iesus the sonne of Sirach saith) and hasting (as [c] Salomon the sonne of Dauid saith) to powre out the bloud of the innocent; whose heat against these poore wretches cannot be allaied with anie other liquor than bloud. And therfore I feare that [d] vnder their wings will be found the bloud of the soules of the poore, at that daie, when the Lord shall saie; [e] Depart from me ye bloudthirstie men.

[a] Esaie. 59, 7. Rom. 3, 15.
[b] Eccl. 27, 5.
[c] Prou. 1, 16.
[d] Ier. 2, 34.
[e] Psal. 139, 15. Esai. 33, 15.

And bicause I know your Lordship will take no counsell against innocent bloud, but rather suppresse them that seeke to embrew their hands therein; I haue made choise to open their case vnto you, and to laie their miserable calamitie before your feete: following herein the

aduise of that learned man Brentius, who saith; *Si quis admonuerit magistratum, ne in miseras illas mulierculas sæuiat, eum ego arbitror diuinitùs excitatum*; that is, If anie admonish the magistrate not to deale too hardlie with these miserable wretches, that are called witches, I thinke him a good instrument raised vp for this purpose by God himselfe. *In epistola ad Io. Wier.*

But it will perchance be said by witchmongers; to wit, by such as attribute to witches the power which apperteineth to God onelie, that I haue made choise of your Lordship to be a patrone to this my booke; bicause I think you fauour mine opinions, and by that meanes may the more freelie publish anie error or conceipt of mine owne, which should rather be warranted by your Lordships authoritie, than by the word of God, or by sufficient argument. But I protest the contrarie, and by these presents I renounce all protection, and despise all freendship that might serue to helpe towards the suppressing or supplanting of truth: knowing also that your Lordship is farre from allowing anie iniurie done vnto man; much more an enimie to them that go about to dishonor God, or to embezill the title of his immortall glorie. But bicause I know you to be perspicuous, and able to see downe into the depth and bottome of causes, and are not to be carried awaie with the vaine persuasion or superstition either of man, custome, time, or multitude, but mooued with the authoritie of truth onlie: I craue your countenance herein, euen so farre foorth, and no further, than the lawe of God, the lawe of nature, the lawe of this land, and the rule of reason shall require. Neither doo I treat for these poore people anie otherwise, but so, as with one hand you may sustaine the good, and with the other suppresse the euill: wherein you shalbe thought a father to orphans, an aduocate to widowes, a guide to the blind, a staie to the lame, a comfort & countenance to the honest, a scourge

and terror to the wicked.

Thus farre I haue beene bold to vse your Lordships patience, being offended with my selfe, that I could not in breuitie vtter such matter as I haue deliuered amplie: whereby (I confesse) occasion of tediousnes might be ministred, were it not that your great grauitie ioined with your singular constancie in reading and iudging be means of the contrarie. And I wish euen with all my hart, that I could make people conceiue the substance of my writing, and not to misconstrue anie part of my meaning. Then doubtles would I persuade my selfe, that the companie of witchmongers, &c: being once decreased, the number also of witches, &c: would soone be diminished. But true be the words of the Poet,

Haudquaquam poteris sortirier omnia solus,
Námque alijs diui bello pollere dederunt,
Huic saltandi artem, voce huic cytharáque canendi:
Rursum alij inseruit sagax in pectore magnus
Iupiter ingenium, &c.

And therefore as doubtfull to preuaile by persuading, though I haue reason and common sense on my side; I rest vpon earnest wishing; namelie, to all people an absolute trust in God the creator, and not in creatures, which is to make flesh our arme: that God may haue his due honor, which by the vndutifulnes of manie is turned into dishonor, and lesse cause of offense and errour giuen by common receiued euill example. And to your Lordship I wish, as increase of honour, so continuance of good health, and happie daies.

Your Lordships to be commanded

Reginald Scot.

To the right worshipfull Sir Thomas Scot Knight, &c.

SIr, I see among other malefactors manie poore old women conuented before you for working of miracles, other wise called witchcraft, and therefore I thought you also a meet person to whom I might cōmend my booke. And here I haue occasion to speake of your sincere administration of iustice, and of your dexteritie, discretion, charge, and trauell emploied in that behalfe, wherof I am oculatus testis. Howbeit I had rather refer the reader to common fame, and their owne eies and eares to be satisfied; than to send them to a Stationers shop, where manie times lies are vendible, and truth contemptible. For I being of your house, of your name, & of your bloud; my foot being vnder your table, my hand in your dish, or rather in your pursse, might bee thought to flatter you in that, wherein (I knowe) I should rather offend you than please you. And what need I currie fauour with my most assured friend? And if I should onelie publish those vertues (though they be manie) which giue me speciall occasion to exhibit this my trauell vnto you, I should doo as a painter, that describeth the foot of a notable personage, and leaueth all the best features in his bodie vntouched.

I therefore (at this time) doo onelie desire you to consider of my report, concerning the euidence that is commonlie brought before you against them. See first whether the euidence be not friuolous, & whether the proofs brought against them be not incredible, consisting of ghesses, presumptions, & impossibilities contrarie to reason, scripture, and nature. See also what persons complaine vpon them, whether they be not of the basest, the vnwisest, & most faithles kind of people. Also

may it pleaſe you to waie what accuſations and crimes they laie to their charge, namelie: She was at my houſe of late, she would haue had a pot of milke, she departed in a chafe bicauſe she had it not, she railed, she curſſed, she mumbled and whiſpered, and finallie she ſaid she would be euen with me: and ſoone after my child, my cow, my ſow, or my pullet died, or was ſtrangelie taken. Naie (if it pleaſe your VVorship) I haue further proofe: I was with a wiſe woman, and she told me I had an ill neighbour, & that she would come to my houſe yer it were long, and ſo did she; and that she had a marke aboue hir waste, & ſo had she: and God forgiue me, my ſtomach hath gone againſt hir a great while. Hir mother before hir was counted a witch, she hath beene beaten and ſcratched by the face till bloud was drawne vpon hir, bicauſe she hath beene ſuſpected, & afterwards ſome of thoſe perſons were ſaid to amend. Theſe are the certeinties that I heare iu their euidences.

Note alſo how eaſilie they may be brought to confeſſe that which they neuer did, nor lieth in the power of man to doo: and then ſee whether I haue cauſe to write as I doo. Further, if you shall ſee that infidelitie, poperie, and manie other manifest hereſies be backed and shouldered, and their profeſſors animated and hartened, by yeelding to creatures ſuch infinit power as is wreſted out of Gods hand, and attributed to witches: finallie, if you shall perceiue that I haue faithfullie and trulie deliuered and ſet downe the condition and ſtate of the witch, and alſo of the witchmonger, and haue confuted by reaſon and lawe, and by the word of God it ſelfe, all mine aduerſaries obiections and arguments: then let me haue your countenance againſt them that maliciouſlie oppoſe themſelues against me.

My greateſt aduerſaries are yoong ignorance and old cuſtome. For what follie ſoeuer tract of time hath fostered, it is

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ſo ſuperſtitiouſlie purſued of ſome, as though no error could be acquainted with custome. But if the lawe of nations would ioine with ſuch custome, to the maintenance of ignorance, and to the ſuppreſſing of knowledge; the ciuileſt countrie in the world would ſoone become barbarous, &c. For as knowledge and time diſcouereth errors, ſo dooth ſuperſtition and ignorance in time breed them. And concerning the opinions of ſuch, as wish that ignorance should rather be mainteined, than knowledge buſilie ſearched for, bicauſe thereby offenſe may grow: I anſwer, that we are commanded by Chriſt John.5. *himſelfe to ſearch for knowledge: for it is the kings honour* Prou.15, 1. *(as Salomon ſaith) to ſearch out a thing.*

Aristotle ſaid to Alexander, that a mind well furnished was more beautifull than a bodie richlie araied. VVhat can be more odious to man, or offenſiue to God, than ignorance: for through ignorance the Iewes did put Christ to death. Acts.3. *VVhich ignorance whoſoeuer forſaketh, is promiſed life euerlasting: and therfore among Christians it should be abhorred aboue all other things.* Prouerbs.9. *For euen as when we wrestle in the darke, we tumble in the mire, &c: ſo when we ſee not the truth, we wallow in errors. A blind man may ſeeke long in the rishes yer he find a needle; and as ſoone is a doubt diſcuſſed by ignorance. Finallie, truth is no ſooner found out in ignorance, than a ſweet ſauor in a dunghill. And if they will allow men knowledge, and giue them no leaue to vſe it, men were much better be without it than haue it. For it is, as to haue a tallent, and to hide it vnder the earth; or to* Matth.25. *put a candle vnder a bushell: or as to haue a ship, & to let hir* Matth.5. Luke.8. *lie alwaies in the docke: which thing how profitable it is, I can ſaie ſomewhat by experience.*

But hereof I need ſaie no more, for euerie man ſeeth that none can be happie who knoweth not what felicitie meaneth. For what auaileth it to haue riches, and not to haue the vſe thereof?

thereof? Trulie the heathen herein deserued more commendation than manie christians, for they spared no paine, no cost, nor trauell to atteine to knowledge. Pythagoras trauelled from Thamus to Aegypt, and afterwards into Crete and Lacedæmonia: and Plato out of Athens into Italie and Aegypt, and all to find out hidden secrets and knowledge: which when a man hath, he seemeth to be separated from mortalitie. For pretious stones, and all other creatures of what value soeuer, are but counterfeits to this iewell: they are mortall, corruptible, and inconstant; this is immortall, pure and certeine. VVherfore if I haue searched and found out any good thing, that ignorance and time hath smothered, the same I commend vnto you: to whom though I owe all that I haue, yet am I bold to make other partakers with you in this poore gift.

Your louing cousen
Reg. Scot.

To the right worshipfull his louing friends, Maister Doctor Coldwell Deane of Ro- *chester, and Maister Doctor Read-* man Archdeacon of Can- turburie, &c.

HAuing found out two such ciuill Magistrates, as for direction of iudgement, and for ordering matters concerning iustice in this common wealth (in my poore opinion) are verie singular persons, who (I hope) will accept of my good will, and examine my booke by their experience, as vnto whom the matter therin conteined dooth greatlie apperteine: I haue now againe considered of two other points: namelie, diuinitie and philosophie, wherevpon the groundworke of my booke is laid. Wherein although I know them to be verie sufficientlie informed, yet dooth not the iudgement and censure of those causes so properlie apperteine to them as vnto you, whose fame therein hath gotten preeminence aboue all others that I know of your callings: and in that respect I am bold to ioine you with them, being all good neighbours togither in this commonwelth, and louing friends vnto me. I doo not present this vnto you, bicause it is meet for you; but for that you are meet for it (I meane) to iudge vpon it, to defend it, and if need be to correct it; knowing that you haue learned of that graue counseller Cato, not to shame or discountenance any bodie. For if I thought you as readie, as able, to disgrace me for mine insufficiencie; I should not haue beene hastie (knowing your learning) to haue written vnto you: but if I should be abashed to write to you, I should shew my selfe ignorant of your courtesie.

I knowe mine owne weakenesse, which if it haue beene able to mainteine this argument, the cause is the stronger. Eloquent words may please the eares, but sufficient matter persuadeth the hart. So as, if I exhibit wholsome drinke (though it be small) in a treene dish with a faithfull hand, I hope it will bee as well accepted, as strong wine offered in a siluer bowle with a flattering heart. And surelie it is a point of as great liberalitie to receiue a small thing thankefullie, as to giue and distribute great and costlie gifts bountifullie: for there is more supplied with courteous answers t an with rich rewards. The ty-

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rant Dionysius was not so hated for his tyrannie, as for his churlish and strange behauiour. Among the poore Israelites sacrifices, God was satisfied with the tenth part of an Ephah of flower, so as it were fine and good. Christ liked well of the poore widowes mite, Lewis of France accepted a rape root of clownish Conan, Cyrus vouchsafed to drinke a cup of cold water out of the hand of poore Sinætes: and so it may please you to accept this simple booke at my hands, which I faithfullie exhibit vnto you, not knowing your opinions to meet with mine, but knowing your learning and iudgement to be able as well to correct me where I speake herein vnskilfullie, as others when they speake hereof maliciouslie.

Some be such dogs as they will barke at my writings, whether I mainteine or refute this argument: as Diogenes snarled both at the Rhodians and at the Lacedæmonians: at the one, bicause they were braue; at the other, bicause they were not braue. Homer himselfe could not auoid reprochfull speaches. I am sure that they which neuer studied to learne anie good thing, will studie to find faults hereat. I for my part feare not these wars, nor all the aduersaries I haue; were it not for certeine cowards, who (I knowe) will come behind my backe and bite me.

But now to the matter. My question is not (as manie fondlie suppose) whether there be witches or naie: but whether they can doo such miraculous works as are imputed vnto them. Good Maister Deane, is it possible for a man to breake his fast with you at Rochester, and to dine that day at Durham with Maister Doctor Matthew; or can your enimie maime you, when the Ocean sea is betwixt you? What reall communitie is betwixt a spirit and a bodie? May a spirituall bodie become temporall at his pleasure? Or may a carnall bodie become inuisible? Is it likelie that the liues of all Princes, magistrates, & subiects, should depend vpon the will, or rather vpon the wish of a poore malicious doting old foole; and that power exempted from the wise, the rich, the learned, the godlie, &c? Finallie, is it possible for man or woman to do anie of those miracles expressed in my booke, & so constantlie reported by great clarks? If you saie, no; then am I satisfied. If you saie that God, absolutelie, or by meanes can accomplish all those, and manie more, I go with you. But witches may well saie they can doo these things, howbeit they cannot shew how they doo them. If I for my part should saie I could doo those things, my verie aduersaries would saie that I lied.

O Maister Archdeacon, is it not pitie, that that which is said to be doone with the almightie power of the most high God, and by our sauiour his onelie sonne Iesus Christ our Lord, should be referred to a baggage old womans nod

or

or wish, &c? Good Sir, is it not one manifest kind of Idolatrie, for them that labor and are laden, to come vnto witches to be refreshed? If witches could helpe whom they are said to haue made sike, I see no reason, but remedie might as well be required at their hands, as a pursse demanded of him that hath stolne it. But trulie it is manifold idolatrie, to aske that of a creature, which none can giue but the Creator. The papist hath some colour of scripture to mainteine his idoll of bread, but no Iesuiticall distinction can couer the witchmongers idolatrie in this behalfe. Alas, I am sorie and ashamed to see how manie die, that being said to be bewitched, onelie seeke for magicall cures, whom wholsome diet and good medicines would haue recouered. I dare assure you both, that there would be none of these cousening kind of witches, did not witchmongers mainteine them, followe them, and beleeue in them and their oracles: whereby indeed all good learning and honest arts are ouerthrowne. For these that most aduance their power, and mainteine the skill of these witches, vnderstand no part thereof: and yet being manie times wise in other matters, are made fooles by the most fooles in the world.

Me thinks these magicall physicians deale in the commonwelth, much like as a certeine kind of Cynicall people doo in the church, whose seuere saiengs are accompted among some such oracles, as may not be doubted of; who in stead of learning and authoritie (which they make contemptible) doo feed the people with their owne deuises and imaginations, which they prefer before all other diuinitie: and labouring to erect a church according to their owne fansies, wherein all order is condemned, and onelie their magicall words and curious directions aduanced, they would vtterlie ouerthrowe the true Church. And euen as these inchanting Paracelsians abuse the people, leading them from the true order of physicke to their charmes: so doo these other (I saie) dissuade from hearkening to learning and obedience, and whisper in mens eares to teach them their frierlike traditions. And of this sect the cheefe author at this time is one Browne, a fugitiue, a meet couer for such a cup: as heretofore the Anabaptists, the Arrians, and the Franciscane friers.

Trulie not onlie nature, being the foundation of all perfection; but also scripture, being the mistresse and director thereof, and of all christianitie, is beautified with knowledge and learning. For as nature without discipline dooth naturallie incline vnto vanities, and as it were sucke vp errors: so doth the word, or rather the letter of the scripture, without vnderstanding, not onlie make vs deuoure errors, but yeeldeth vs vp to death & destruction: & therefore Paule saith he was not a minister of the letter, but of the spirit. Rom.2, 27. 2.Cor.3, 6.

Thus haue I beene bold to deliuer vnto the world, and to you, those simple

notes, reasons, and arguments, which I haue deuised or collected out of other authors: which I hope shall be hurtfull to none, but to my selfe great comfort, if it may passe with good liking and acceptation. If it fall out otherwise, I should thinke my paines ill imploied. For trulie, in mine opinion, whosoeuer shall performe any thing, or atteine to anie knowledge; or whosoeuer should trauell throughout all the nations of the world, or (if it were possible) should peepe into the heauens, the consolation or admiration thereof were nothing pleasant vnto him, vnles he had libertie to impart his knowledge to his friends. Wherein bicause I haue made speciall choise of you, I hope you will read it, or at the least laie it vp in your studie with your other bookes, among which there is none dedicated to any with more good will. And so long as you haue it, it shall be vnto you (vpon aduenture of my life) a certeine amulet, periapt, circle, charme, &c: to defend you from all inchantments.

Your louing friend
Reg. Scot.

To the Readers.

TO you that are wiſe & diſcreete few words may ſuffice : for ſuch Iſai.11.
a one iudgeth not at Prouer.1.
the firſt ſight, nor reprooueth by hereſaie; but patientlie heareth, and thereby increaſeth in vnderſtanding: which patience bringeth foorth experience, whereby true iudgement is directed. I ſhall not need therefore to make anie further ſute to you, but that it would pleaſe you to read my booke, without the preiudice of time, or former conceipt: and hauing obteined this at your hands, I ſubmit my ſelfe vnto your cenſure. But to make a ſolemne ſute to you that are parciall readers, deſiring you to ſet aſide parcialitie, to take in good part my writing, and with indifferent eies to looke vpon my booke, were labour loſt, and time ill imploied. For I ſhould no more preuaile herein, than if a hundred yeares ſince I ſhould haue intreated your predeceſſors to beleeue, that Robin goodfellowe, that great and ancient bulbegger, had beene but a couſening merchant, and no diuell indeed.

If I ſhould go to a papiſt, and ſaie; I praie you beleeue my writings, wherein I will prooue all popiſh charmes, coniurations, exorciſmes, benedictions and curſſes, not onelie to be ridiculous, and of none effect, but alſo to be impious and contrarie to Gods word : I ſhould as hardlie therein win fauour at their hands, as herein obteine credit at yours. Neuertheleſſe, I doubt not, but to

vse the matter so, that as well the massemoonger for his part, as the witchmoonger for his, shall both be ashamed of their professions.

But Robin goodfellowe ceaseth now to be much feared, and poperie is sufficientlie discouered. Neuertheles, witches charms, and coniurors cousenages are yet thought effectuall. Yea the Gentiles haue espied the fraud of their cousening oracles, and our cold prophets and inchanters make vs fooles still, to the shame of vs all, but speciallie of papists, who coniure euerie thing, and thereby bring to passe nothing. They saie to their candles; I coniure you to endure for euer: and yet they last not a pater noster while the longer. They coniure water to be wholesome both for bodie and soule: but the bodie (we see) is neuer the better for it, nor the soule anie whit reformed by it. And therefore I meruell, that when they see their owne coniurations confuted and brought to naught, or at the least void of effect, that they (of all other) will yet giue such credit, countenance, and authoritie to the vaine cousenages of witches and coniurors; as though their charmes and coniurations could produce more apparent, certeine, and better effects than their owne.

But my request vnto all you that read my booke shall be no more, but that it would please you to conferre my words with your owne sense and experience, and also with the word of God. If you find your selues resolued and satisfied, or rather reformed and qualified in anie one point or opinion, that heretofore you held contrarie to truth, in a matter hitherto vndecided, and neuer yet looked into; I praie you take that for aduantage: and suspending your iudgement, staie the sentence of condemnation against me, and consider of the rest, at your further leasure. If this may not suffice to persuade you, it cannot preuaile to annoy you: and then, that which is written without offense, may be ouerpassed without anie greefe.

And although mine assertion, be somewhat differing from the old inueterat opinion, which I confesse hath manie graie heares, whereby mine aduersaries haue gained more authoritie than reason, towards the maintenance of their presumptions and old wiues fables: yet shall it fullie agree with Gods glorie, and with his holie word. And albeit there be hold taken by mine aduersaries

saries

saries of certeine few words or sentences in the scripture that maketh a shew for them: yet when the whole course thereof maketh against them, and impugneth the same, yea and also their owne places rightlie vnderstood doo nothing at all releeue them: I trust their glorious title and argument of antiquitie will appeare as stale and corrupt as the apothecaries drugs, or grocers spice, which the longer they be preserued, the woorsse they are. And till you haue perused my booke, ponder this in your mind, to wit, that *Sagæ, Thessalæ, Striges, Lamiæ* (which words and none other being in vse do properlie signifie our witches) are not once found written in the old or new testament; and that Christ himselfe in his gospell neuer mentioned the name of a witch. And that neither he, nor Moses euer spake anie one word of the witches bargaine with the diuell, their hagging, their riding in the aire, their transferring of corne or grasse from one feeld to another, their hurting of children or cattell with words or charmes, their bewitching of butter, cheese, ale, &c: nor yet their transubstantiation; insomuch as the writers herevpon are not ashamed to say, that it is not absurd to affirme that there were no witches in Iobs time. The reason is, that if there had beene such witches then in beeing, Iob would haue said he had beene bewitched. But indeed men tooke no heed in those daies to this doctrine of diuels; to wit, to these fables of witchcraft, which Peter saith shall be much regarded and hearkened vnto in the latter daies.

Mal. malef. par. 2. quæ. 2.

1. Pet. 4. 1.

Howbeit, how ancient so euer this barbarous conceipt of witches omnipotencie is, truth must not be measured by time: for euerie old opinion is not sound. Veritie is not impaired, how long so euer it be suppressed; but is to be searched out, in how darke a corner so euer it lie hidden: for it is not like a cup of ale, that may be broched too rathe. Finallie, time bewraieth old errors, & discouereth new matters of truth. Danæus himselfe saith, that this question hitherto hath neuer beene handled; nor the scriptures concerning this matter haue neuer beene expounded. To proue the antiquitie of the cause, to confirme the opinion of the ignorant, to inforce mine aduersaries arguments, to aggrauate the punishments, & to accomplish the confusiō of these old women, is added the vanitie and wickednes of them, which are called witches, the arrogancie of those which take vpon them to

Danæus in suo prologo.

worke wonders, the desire that people haue to hearken to such miraculous matters, vnto whome most commonlie an impossibilitie is more credible than a veritie; the ignorance of naturall causes, the ancient and vniuersall hate conceiued against the name of a witch; their ilfauoured faces, their spitefull words, their cursses and imprecations, their charmes made in ryme, and their beggerie; the feare of manie foolish folke, the opinion of some that are wise, the want of Robin goodfellowe and the fairies, which were woont to mainteine chat, and the common peoples talke in this behalfe; the authoritie of the inquisitors, the learning, cunning, consent, and estimation of writers herein, the false translations and fond interpretations vsed, speciallie by papists; and manie other like causes. All which toies take such hold vpon mens fansies, as whereby they are lead and entised awaie from the consideration of true respects, to the condemnation of that which they know not.

Howbeit, I will (by Gods grace) in this my booke, so apparentlie decipher and confute these cauils, and all other their obiections; as euerie witchmoonger shall be abashed, and all good men thereby satisfied. In the meane time, I would wish them to know that if neither the estimation of Gods omnipotencie, nor the tenor of his word, nor the doubtfulnes or rather the impossibilitie of the case, nor the small proofes brought against them, nor the rigor executed vpon them, nor the pitie that should be in a christian heart, nor yet their simplicitie, impotencie, or age may suffice to suppresse the rage or rigor wherewith they are oppressed; yet the consideration of their sex or kind ought to mooue some mitigatiõ of their punishment. For if nature (as Plinie reporteth) haue taught a lion not to deale so roughlie with a woman as with a man, bicause she is in bodie the weaker vessell, and in hart more inclined to pitie (which Ieremie in his lamentations seemeth to confirme) what should a man doo in this case, for whome a woman was created as an helpe and comfort vnto him? In so much as, euen in the lawe of nature, it is a greater offense to slea a woman than a man: not bicause a man is not the more excellent creature, but bicause a woman is the weaker vessell. And therefore among all modest and honest persons it is thought a shame to offer violence or iniurie to a woman: in which respect Virgil saith,

Lam.Ier.3. & 4.cap. verse.10. 1.Cor.11.9. Ibid. vers.7. Ge.2.22.18. *Arist.lib. problem.2.9.*

saith, *Nullum memorabile nomen fœminea in pœna est.* *Vir. Georg.*

God that knoweth my heart is witnes, and you that read my booke shall see, that my drift and purpose in this enterprise tendeth onelie to these respects. First, that the glorie and power of God be not so abridged and abased, as to be thrust into the hand or lip of a lewd old woman: whereby the worke of the Creator should be attributed to the power of a creature. Secondlie, that the religion of the gospell may be seene to stand without such peeuish trumperie. Thirdlie, that lawfull fauour and christian compassion be rather vsed towards these poore soules, than rigor and extremitie. Bicause they, which are commonlie accused of witchcraft, are the least sufficient of all other persons to speake for themselues; as hauing the most base and simple education of all others; the extremitie of their age giuing them leaue to dote, their pouertie to beg, their wrongs to chide and threaten (as being void of anie other waie of reuenge) their humor melancholicall to be full of imaginations, from whence cheefelie proceedeth the vanitie of their confessions; as that they can transforme themselues and others into apes, owles, asses, dogs, cats, &c: that they can flie in the aire, kill children with charmes, hinder the comming of butter, &c.

And for so much as the mightie helpe themselues together, and the poore widowes crie, though it reach to heauen, is scarse heard here vpon earth: I thought good (according to my poore abilitie) to make intercession, that some part of common rigor, and some points of hastie iudgement may be aduised vpon. For the world is now at that stay (as Brentius in a most godlie sermon in these words affirmeth) that euen as when the heathen persecuted the christians, if anie were accused to beleeue in Christ, the common people cried *Ad leonem*: so now, if anie woman, be she neuer so honest, be accused of witchcraft, they crie *Ad ignem*. What difference is betweene the rash dealing of vnskilfull people, and the graue counsell of more discreet and learned persons, may appeare by a tale of Danæus his owne telling; wherein he opposeth the rashnes of a few townesmen, to the counsell of a whole senate, preferring the follie of the one, before the wisdome of the other. Eccl. 35, 15.

At Orleance on Loyre (saith he) there was a manwitch, not only

taken

taken and accused, but also conuicted and condemned for witchcraft, who appealed from thence to the high court of Paris. Which accusation the senate sawe insufficient, and would not allow, but laughed thereat, lightlie regarding it; and in the end sent him home (saith he) as accused of a friuolous matter. And yet for all that, the magistrats of Orleance were so bold with him, as to hang him vp within short time after, for the same or the verie like offense. In which example is to be seene the nature, and as it were the disease of this cause: wherein (I saie) the simpler and vndiscreeter sort are alwaies more hastie & furious in iudgements, than men of better reputation and knowledge. Neuertheles, Eunichius saith, that these three things; to wit, what is to be thought of witches, what their incantations can doo, and whether their punishment should extend to death, are to be well considered. And I would (saith he) they were as well knowne, as they are rashlie beleeued, both of the learned, and vnlearned. And further he saith, that almost all diuines, physicians and lawyers, who should best know these matters, satisfieng themselues with old custome, haue giuen too much credit to these fables, and too rash and vniust sentence of death vpon witches. But when a man pondereth (saith he) that in times past, all that swarued from the church of Rome were iudged heretikes; it is the lesse maruell, though in this matter they be blind and ignorant.

And surelie, if the scripture had beene longer suppressed, more absurd fables would haue sproong vp, and beene beleeued. Which credulitie though it is to be derided with laughter; yet this their crueltie is to be lamented with teares. For (God knoweth) manie of these poore wretches had more need to be releeued than chastised; and more meete were a preacher to admonish them, than a gailor to keepe them; and a physician more necessarie to helpe them, than an executioner or tormentor to hang or burne them. For proofe and due triall hereof, I will requite Danæus his tale of a manwitch (as he termeth him) with another witch of the same sex or gender.

Lib. 15. cap. 18. de varietatib. rerum.

Cardanus from the mouth of his owne father reporteth, that one Barnard, a poore seruant, being in wit verie simple and rude, but in his seruice verie necessarie and diligent (and in that respect deerelie beloued of his maister) professing the art of witchcraft,

could in no wise be dissuaded from that profession, persuading himselfe that he knew all things, and could bring anie matter to passe; bicause certeine countrie people resorted to him for helpe and counsell, as supposing by his owne talke, that he could doo somewhat. At length he was condemned to be burned: which torment he seemed more willing to suffer, than to loose his estimation in that behalfe. But his maister hauing compassion vpon him, and being himselfe in his princes fauor, perceiuing his conceipt to proceed of melancholie, obteined respit of execution for twentie daies. In which time (saith he) his maister bountifullie fed him with good fat meat, and with foure egs at a meale, as also with sweet wine: which diet was best for so grosse and weake a bodie. And being recouered so in strength, that the humor was suppressed, he was easilie woone from his absurd and dangerous opinions, and from all his fond imaginations: and confessing his error and follie, from the which before no man could remooue him by anie persuasions, hauing his pardon, he liued long a good member of the church, whome otherwise the crueltie of iudgement should haue cast awaie and destroied.

This historie is more credible than Sprengers fables, or Bodins bables, which reach not so far to the extolling of witches omnipotencie, as to the derogating of Gods glorie. For if it be true, which they affirme, that our life and death lieth in the hand of a witch; then is it false, that God maketh vs liue or die, or that by him we haue our being, our terme of time appointed, and our daies numbred. But surelie their charmes can no more reach to the hurting or killing of men or women, than their imaginations can extend to the stealing and carrieng awaie of horsses & mares. Neither hath God giuen remedies to sicknes or greefes, by words or charmes, but by hearbs and medicines; which he himselfe Amos.3.6.
hath created vpon earth, and giuen men knowledge of the same; La.Ier.3.38.
that he might be glorified, for that therewith he dooth vouchsafe Isai.45.9.
that the maladies of men and cattell should be cured, &c. And if Rom.9.20.
there be no affliction nor calamitie, but is brought to passe by him, then let vs defie the diuell, renounce all his works, and not so much as once thinke or dreame vpon this supernaturall power of witches; neither let vs prosecute them with such despight, whome our fansie condemneth, and our reason acquiteth: our

euidence against them consisting in impossibilities, our proofes in vnwritten verities, and our whole proceedings in doubts and difficulties.

Now bicause I mislike the extreame crueltie vsed against some of these sillie soules (whome a simple aduocate hauing audience and iustice might deliuer out of the hands of the inquisitors themselues) it will be said, that I denie anie punishment at all to be due to anie witch whatsoeuer. Naie, bicause I bewraie the follie and impietie of them, which attribute vnto witches the power of God: these witchmoongers will report, that I denie there are anie witches at all: and yet behold (saie they) how often is this word [Witch] mentioned in the scriptures? Euen as if an idolater should saie in the behalfe of images and idols, to them which denie their power and godhead, and inueigh against the reuerence doone vnto them; How dare you denie the power of images, seeing their names are so often repeated in the scriptures? But truelie I denie not that there are witches or images: but I detest the idolatrous opinions conceiued of them; referring that to Gods worke and ordinance, which they impute to the power and malice of witches; and attributing that honour to God, which they ascribe to idols. But as for those that in verie deed are either witches or coniurors, let them hardlie suffer such punishment as to their fault is agreeable, and as by the graue iudgement of lawe is prouided.

Places amended by the author, and to be read as followeth. The first number standeth for the page, the second for the line.

46. 16. except you.
51. 9. one Saddocke.
75. 21. that we of
110. 21. as Elimas.
112. 10. is reproued.
119. 16. one Necus.
126. 12. Magus as.
138. 2. the hart.
144. 25. in hir closet at Endor, or in.
168. 31. the firmament.
187. 16. reallie finished.
192. put out the first line of the page.
247. 29. write it.
257. 32. an image.
269. 16. there be masses.
333. 14. euenlie seuered.
363. 26. for bellowes.
366. 27. his leman.
438. 29. exercise the.
450. 1. that it is.
463. 19. that businesse.
471. 19. cōteineth nothing.
472. 11. I did deferre.
491. 6. so difficult.
491. 27. begat another.
503. 9. of all the.
519. 7. the Heuites.
542. 30. their reproch.

The forren authors vsed in this Booke.

Ælianus.
Aetius.
Albertus Crantzius.
Albertus Magnus.
Albumazar.
Alcoranum Franciscanorum.
Alexander Trallianus.
Algerus.
Ambrosius.
Andradias.
Andræas Gartnerus.
Andræas Masius.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Apollonius Tyanæus.
Appianus.
Apuleius.
Archelaus.
Argerius Ferrarius.
Aristoteles.
Arnoldus de villa noua.
Artemidorus.
Athanasius.
Auerroës.
Augustinus episcopus Hip.
Augustinus Niphus.
Auicennas.
Aulus Gellius.
Barnardinus de bustis.
Bartholomæus Anglicus.
Berosus Anianus.
Bodinus.
Bordinus.
Brentius.
Caluinus.
Camerarius.
Campanus.
Cardanus parer.
Cardanus filius.
Carolus Gallus.
Cassander.
Cato.
Chrysostome.
Cicero.
Clemens.

Cornelius Agrippa.
Cornelius Nepos.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Cyrillus.
Danæus.
Demetrius.
Democritus.
Didymus.
Diodorus Siculus.
Dionysius Areopagita.
Dioscorides.
Diurius.
Dodonæus.
Durandus.
Empedocles.
Ephesius.
Erasmus Roterodamus.
Erasmus Sarcerius.
Erastus.
Eudoxus.
Eusebius Cæsariensis.
Fernelius.
Franciscus Petrarcha.
Fuchsius.
Galenus.
Garropius.
Gelasius.
Gemma Phrysius.
Georgius Pictorius.
Gofridus.
Goschalcus Boll.
Gratianus.
Gregorius.
Grillandus.
Guido Bonatus.
Gulielmus de sancto Clodoaldo.
Gulielmus Parisiensis.
Hemingius.
Heraclides.
Hermes Trismegistus.
Hieronymus.
Hilarius.
Hippocrates.
Homerus.
Horatius.
Hostiensis.

Houinus.
Hyperius.
Iacobus de Chusa Carthusianus.
Iamblichus.
Iaso Pratensis.
Innocentius.8.Papa.
Iohannes Anglicus.
Iohannes Baptista Neapolitanus.
Iohannes Cassianus.
Iohannes Montiregius.
Iohannes Riuius.
Iosephus ben Gorion.
Iosias Simlerus.
Isidorus.
Isigonus.
Iuba.
Iulius Maternus.
Iustinus Martyr.
Lactantius.
Lauaterus.
Laurentius Ananias.
Laurentius a villauicentio.
Leo 11.Pontifex.
Lex Salicarum.
Lex 12.Fabularum.
Legenda aurea.
Legenda longa Coloniæ.
Leonardus Vairus.
Liuius.
Lucanus.
Lucretius.
Ludouicus Cælius.
Lutherus.
Macrobius.
Magna Charta.
Malleus Maleficarum.
Manlius.
Marbacchius.
Marbodeus Gallus.
Marsilius Ficinus.
Martinus de Arles.
Mattheolus.
Melancthonus.

Memphra.

Memphradorus.
Michael Andræas.
Musculus.
Nauclerus.
Nicephorus.
Nicholaus 5. Papa.
Nider.
Olaus Gothus.
Origenes.
Ouidius.
Panormitanus.
Paulus Aegineta.
Paulus Marsus.
Persius.
Petrus de Appona.
Petrus Lombardus.
Petrus Martyr.
Peucer.
Philarchus.
Philastrius Brixiensis.
Philodotus.
Philo Iudæus.
Pirkmairus.
Platina.
Plato.
Plinius.
Plotinus.
Plutarchus.
Polydorus Virgilius.
Pomœrium sermonum quadragesimalium.
Pompanatius.
Pontificale.
Ponziuibius.
Porphyrius.
Proclus.
Propertius.
Psellus.
Ptolomeus.
Pythagoras.
Quintilianus.
Rabbi Abraham.
Rabbi ben Ezra.
Rabbi Dauid Kimhi.
Rabbi Iosuah ben Leui.
Rabbi Isaach Natar.
Rabbi Leui.
Rabbi Moses.
Rabbi Sedaias Haias.
Robertus Carocullus.
Rupertus.
Sabinus.
Sadoletus.
Sauanorola.
Scotus.
Seneca.
Septuaginta interpretes.
Serapio.
Socrates.
Solinus.
Speculum exemplorum.
Strabo.
Sulpitius Seuerus.
Synesius.
Tatianus.
Tertullianus.
Thomas Aquinas.
Themistius.
Theodoretus.
Theodorus Bizantius.
Theophrastus.
Thucidides.
Tibullus.
Tremelius.
Valerius Maximus.
Varro.
Vegetius.
Vincentius.
Virgilius.
Vitellius.
Wierus.
Xanthus historiographus.

¶ *These English.*

Barnabe Googe.
Beehiue of the Romish church.
Edward Deering.
Geffrey Chaucer.
Giles Alley.
Gnimelf Maharba.
Henrie Haward.
Iohn Bale.
Iohn Fox.
Iohn Malborne.
Iohn Record.
Primer after Yorke vse.
Richard Gallis.
Roger Bacon.
Testament printed at Rhemes.
T. E. a nameles author. 467.
Thomas Hilles.
Thomas Lupton.
Thomas Moore Knight.
Thomas Phaer.
T. R. a nameles author. 393.
William Lambard.
W. W. a nameles author. 542.

The

The discouerie of Witchcraft.

¶ *The first Booke.*

An impeachment of Witches power in meteors and elementarie bodies, tending to the rebuke of such as attribute too much vnto them.

The first Chapter.

THE Fables of Witchcraft haue taken so fast hold and déepe root in the heart of man, that fewe or none can (nowadaies) with patience indure the hand and correction of God. For if any aduersitie, gréefe, sicknesse, losse of children, corne, cattell, or libertie happen vnto them; by & by they exclaime vppon witches. As though there were no God in Israel that ordereth all things ac- Iob.5.
cording to his will; punishing both iust and vniust with gréefs, plagues, and afflictions in maner and forme as he thinketh good: but that certeine old women héere on earth, called witches, must néeds be the contriuers of all mens calamities, and as though they themselues were innocents, and had deserued no such punishments. Insomuch as they sticke not to ride and go to such, as either are iniuriouslie tearmed witches, or else are willing so to be accounted, séeking at their hands comfort and remedie in time of their tribulation, contrarie to Gods will and commandement in that behalfe, who bids vs resort to him in all Matth.11.

our necessities.

Such faithlesse people (I saie) are also persuaded, that neither haile nor snowe, thunder nor lightening, raine nor tempestuous winds come from the heauens at the commandement of God: but are raised by the cunning and power of witches and coniurers; insomuch as a clap of thunder, or a gale of wind is no sooner heard, but either they run to ring bels, or crie out to burne witches; or else burne consecrated things, hoping by the smoke thereof, to driue the diuell out of the aire, as though spirits could be fraied awaie with such externall toies: howbeit, these are right inchantments, as Brentius affirmeth.

In concione. But certeinlie, it is neither a witch, nor diuell, but a glorious [a] God that maketh the thunder. I haue read in the scriptures, that God [b] maketh the blustering tempests and whirlewinds: and I find that it is [c] the Lord that altogither dealeth with them, and that they [d] blowe according to his will. But let me sée anie of them all [e] rebuke and still the sea in time of tempest, as Christ did; or raise the stormie wind, as [f] God did with his word; and I will beléeue in them. Hath anie witch or coniurer, or anie creature entred into the [g] treasures of the snowe; or séene the secret places of the haile, which GOD hath prepared against the daie of trouble, battell, and warre? I for my part also thinke with Jesus Sirach, that at Gods onelie commandement the snowe falleth; and that the wind bloweth according to his will, who onelie maketh all stormes to cease; and [h] who (if we kéepe his ordinances) will send vs raine in due season, and make the land to bring forth hir increase, and the trées of the field to giue their fruit.

[a] Psal. 25.
[b] Psal. 83.
[c] Eccles. 43.
[d] Luke. 8. Matth. 8.
[e] Mark. 4, 41 Luk. 8, 14.
[f] Psal. 170.
[g] Iob. 38, 22. Eccles. 43.
[h] Leuiti. 26. verse. 3. 4.

But little thinke our witchmongers, that the [i] Lord commandeth the clouds aboue, or openeth the doores of heauen, as Dauid affirmeth; or that the Lord goeth forth in the tempests and stormes, as the Prophet [k] Nahum reporteth: but rather that witches and coniurers are then about their businesse.

[i] Psal. 78, 23.
[k] Nahum. 1.

The Martionists acknowledged one God the authour of good things, and another the ordeiner of euill: but these make the diuell a whole god, to create things of nothing, to knowe mens cogitations, and to doo that which God neuer did; as, to transubstantiate men into beasts, &c. Which thing if diuels could doo,

yet

yet followeth it not, that witches haue such power. But if all the diuels in hell were dead, and all the witches in England burnt or hanged; I warrant you we should not faile to haue raine, haile and tempests, as now we haue: according to the appointment and will of God, and according to the constitution of the elements, and the course of the planets, wherein God hath set a perfect and perpetuall order.

I am also well assured, that if all the old women in the world were witches; and all the priests, coniurers: we should not haue a drop of raine, nor a blast of wind the more or the lesse for them. For [l] the Lord hath bound the waters in the clouds, and hath set bounds about the waters, untill the daie and night come to an end: yea it is God that raiseth the winds and stilleth them: and he saith to the raine and snowe; Be upon the earth, and it falleth. The [m] wind of the Lord, and not the wind of witches, shall destroie the treasures of their plesant vessels, and drie up the fountaines; saith Oseas. Let us also learne and confesse with the Prophet Dauid, that we [n] our selues are the causes of our afflictions; and not exclaime upon witches, when we should call upon God for mercie.

[l] Iob. 26, 8. Iob. 37. Psalme. 135. Ier. 10 & 15.

[m] Ose. 13.

[n] Psa. 39, &c.

The Imperiall lawe (saith Brentius) condemneth them to death that trouble and infect the aire: but I affirme (saith he) that it is neither in the power of witch nor diuell so to doo, but in God onelie. Though (besides Bodin, and all the popish writers in generall) it please Danæus, Hyperius, Hemingius, Erastus, &c. to conclude otherwise. The clouds [o] are called the pillers of Gods tents, Gods chariots, and his pauillions. And if it be so, what witch or diuell can make maisteries therof? S. Augustine saith, *Non est putandum istis transgressoribus angelis seruire hanc rerum visibilium materiem, sed soli Deo:* We must not thinke that these visible things are at the commandement of the angels that fell, but are obedient to the onelie God.

In epist. ad Io. Wierum.

[o] Exod. 13. Isai. 66. Ps. 18, 11. 19.

* *August. 3. de sancta Trinit.*

Finallie, if witches could accomplish these things; what needed it seeme so strange to the people, when Christ by miracle [p] commanded both seas and winds, &c. For it is written; Who is this? for both wind and sea obeie him.

[p] Mar. 4, 41.

The inconuenience growing by mens credulitie herein, with a reproofe of some churchmen, which are inclined to the common conceiued opinion of witches omnipotencie, and a familiar example thereof.

The second Chapter.

But the world is now so bewitched and ouer-run with this fond error, that euen where a man shuld seeke comfort and counsell, there shall hee be sent (in case of necessitie) from God to the diuell; and from the Physician, to the cosening witch, who will not sticke to take vpon hir, by wordes to heale the lame (which was proper onelie to Christ; and to them whom he assisted with his diuine power) yea, with hir familiar & charmes she will take vpon hir to cure the blind: though in the [a] tenth of S. Iohns Gospell it be written, that the diuell cannot open the eies of the blind. And they attaine such credit, as I haue heard (to my greefe) some of the ministerie affirme, that they haue had in their parish at one instant, xvij. or xviij. witches: meaning such as could worke miracles supernaturallie. Whereby they manifested as well their infidelitie and ignorance, in conceiuing Gods word; as their negligence and error in instructing their flocks. For they themselues might vnderstand, and also teach their parishoners, that [b] God onelie worketh great wonders; and that it is he which sendeth such punishments to the wicked, and such trials to the elect: according to the saieng of the Prophet Haggai, [c] I smote you with blasting and mildeaw, and with haile, in all the labours of your hands; and yet you turned not vnto me, saith the Lord. And therefore saith the same Prophet in another place; [d] You haue sowen much, and bring in little. And both in [e] Ioel and [f] Leuiticus, the like phrases and proofes are vsed and made. But more shalbe said of this heraffer.

S. Paule fore-sawe the blindnesse and obstinacie, both of these blind shepheards, and also of their scabbed sheepe, when he said [i];

[a] Ioh.10,21.

[b] Psal.72, & 136. Ieremie,5.

[c] Hag.2, 28.

[d] Idem.ca.16.

[e] Ioel.1.

[f] Leuiti.26.

[g] They will not suffer wholsome doctrine, but hauing their eares itching, shall get them a heape of teachers after their own lusts; and shall turne their eares from the truth, and shall be giuen to fables. And [h] in the latter time some shall depart from the faith, and shall giue héed to spirits of errors, and doctrines of diuels, which speake lies (as witches and coniurers doo) but cast thou awaie such prophane and old wiues fables. In which sense Basil saith; Who so giueth héed to inchanters, hearkeneth to a fabulous and friuolous thing. But I will rehearse an example whereof I my selfe am not onelie *Oculatus testis,* but haue examined the cause, and am to iustifie the truth of my report: not bicause I would disgrace the ministers that are godlie, but to confirme my former assertion, that this absurd error is growne into the place, which should be able to expell all such ridiculous follie and impietie.

[g] 2. Tim. 4. 34.

[h] 1. Tim. 4. 1

At the assises holden at Rochester, Anno 1581. one Margaret Simons, the wife of Iohn Simons, of Brenchlie in Kent, was araigned for witchcraft, at the instigation and complaint of diuers fond and malicious persons; and speciallie by the meanes of one Iohn Ferrall vicar of that parish: with whom I talked about that matter, and found him both fondlie assotted in the cause, and enuiouslie bent towards hir: and (which is worse) as vnable to make a good account of his faith, as shée whom he accused. That which he, for his part, laid to the poore womans charge, was this.

A storie of Margaret Simons, a supposed witch.

His sonne (being an vngratious boie, and prentise to one Robert Scotchford clothier, dwelling in that parish of Brenchlie) passed on a daie by hir house; at whome by chance hir little dog barked. Which thing the boie taking in euill part, drewe his knife, & pursued him therewith euen to hir doore: whom she rebuked with some such words as the boie disdained, & yet neuerthelesse would not be persuaded to depart in a long time. At the last he returned to his maisters house, and within fiue or sixe daies fell sicke. Then was called to mind the fraie betwixt the dog and the boie: insomuch as the vicar (who thought himselfe so priuileged, as he little mistrusted that God would visit his children with sicknes) did so calculate; as he found, partlie through his owne iudgement, and partlie (as he himselfe told

me) by the relation of other witches, that his said sonne was by hir bewitched. Yea, he also told me, that this his sonne (being as it were past all cure) receiued perfect health at the hands of another witch.

He procéeded yet further against hir, affirming, that alwaies in his parish church, when he desired to read most plainelie, his voice so failed him, as he could scant be heard at all. Which hée could impute, he said, to nothing else, but to hir inchantment. When I aduertised the poore woman hereof, as being desirous to heare what she could saie for hir selfe; she told me, that in verie déed his voice did much faile him, speciallie when he strained himselfe to speake lowdest. Howbeit, she said that at all times his voice was hoarse and lowe: which thing I perceiued to be true. But sir, said she, you shall vnderstand, that this our vicar is diseased with such a kind of hoarsenesse, as diuers of our neighbors in this parish, not long since, doubted that he had the French pox; & in that respect vtterly refused to communicate with him: vntill such time as (being therevnto inioined by M. D. Lewen the Ordinarie) he had brought frō London a certificat, vnder the hands of two physicians, that his hoarsenes procéeded from a disease in the lungs. Which certificat he published in the church, in the presence of the whole congregation: and by this meanes hée was cured, or rather excused of the shame of his disease. And this I knowe to be true by the relation of diuers honest men of that parish. And truelie, if one of the Jurie had not béene wiser than the other, she had béene condemned therevpon, and vpon other as ridiculous matters as this. For the name of a witch is so odious, and hir power so feared among the common people, that if the honestest bodie liuing chance to be arraigned therevpon, she shall hardlie escape condemnation.

Who

Who they be that are called witches, with a manifest declaration of the cause that mooueth men so commonlie to thinke, and witches themselues to beleeue that they can hurt children, cattell, &c. with words and imaginations: and of coosening witches.

The third Chapter.

One sort of such as are said to bee witches, are women which be commonly old, lame, bleare-eied, pale, fowle, and full of wrinkles; poore, sullen, superstitious, and papists; or such as knowe no religion: in whose drousie minds the diuell hath gotten a fine seat; so as, what mischeefe, mischance, calamitie, or slaughter is brought to passe, they are easilie persuaded the same is doone by themselues; imprinting in their minds an earnest and constant imagination thereof. They are leane and deformed, shewing melancholie in their faces, to the horror of all that see them. They are doting, scolds, mad, diuelish; and not much differing from them that are thought to be possessed with spirits; so firme and stedfast in their opinions, as whosoeuer shall onelie haue respect to the constancie of their words vttered, would easilie beleeue they were true indeed. *Cardan. de var. rerum.*

These miserable wretches are so odious vnto all their neighbors, and so feared, as few dare offend them, or denie them anie thing they aske: whereby they take vpon them; yea, and sometimes thinke, that they can doo such things as are beyond the abilitie of humane nature. These go from house to house, and from doore to doore for a pot full of milke, yest, drinke, pottage, or some such releefe; without the which they could hardlie liue: neither obtaining for their seruice and paines, nor by their art, nor yet at the diuels hands (with whome they are said to make a perfect and visible bargaine) either beautie, monie, promotion, welth, worship, pleasure, honor, knowledge, learning, or anie other benefit whatsoeuer.

It falleth out many times, that neither their necessities, nor their expectation is answered or serued, in those places where they beg or borrowe; but rather their lewdnesse is by their neighbors reproued. And further, in tract of time the witch wareth odious and tedious to hir neighbors; and they againe are despised and despited of hir: so as sometimes she curseth one, and sometimes another; and that from the maister of the house, his wife, children, cattell, &c. to the little pig that lieth in the stie. Thus in processe of time they haue all displeased hir, and she hath wished euill lucke vnto them all; perhaps with curses and imprecations made in forme. Doubtlesse (at length) some of hir neighbours die, or fall sicke; or some of their children are visited with diseases that vex them strangelie: as apoplexies, epilepsies, conuulsions, hot feuers, wormes, &c. Which by ignorant parents are supposed to be the vengeance of witches. Yea and their opinions and conceits are confirmed and maintained by vnskilfull physicians: according to the common saieng; *Inscitiæ pallium maleficium & incantatio,* Witchcraft and inchantment is the cloke of ignorance: whereas indéed euill humors, & not strange words, witches, or spirits are the causes of such diseases. Also some of their cattell perish, either by disease or mischance. Then they, vpon whom such aduersities fall, weighing the fame that goeth vpon this woman (hir words, displeasure, and curses méeting so iustlie with their misfortune) doo not onelie conceiue, but also are resolued, that all their mishaps are brought to passe by hir onelie meanes.

The witch on the other side expecting hir neighbours mischances, and séeing things sometimes come to passe according to hir wishes, curses, and incantations (for Bodin himselfe confesseth, that not aboue two in a hundred of their witchings or wishings take effect) being called before a Iustice, by due examination of the circumstances is driuen to sée hir imprecations and desires, and hir neighbors harmes and losses to concurre, and as it were to take effect: and so confesseth that she (as a goddes) hath brought such things to passe. Wherein, not onelie she, but the accuser, and also the Iustice are fowlie deceiued and abused; as being thorough hir confession and other circumstances persuaded (to the iniurie of Gods glorie) that she hath done, or can doo that which

I. Bodin. li. 2. de dæmono: cap. 8.

is proper onelie to God himſelfe.

Another ſort of witches there are, which be abſolutelie coſeners. Theſe take vpon them, either for glorie, fame, or gaine, to doo anie thing, which God or the diuell can doo: either for foretelling of things to come, bewraieng of ſecrets, curing of maladies, or working of miracles. But of theſe I will talke more at large héereafter.

What miraculous actions are imputed to witches by witchmongers, papiſts, and poets.

The fourth Chapter.

Although it be quite againſt the haire, and contrarie to the diuels will, contrarie to the witches oth, promiſe, and homage, and contrarie to all reaſon, that witches ſhould helpe anie thing that is bewitched; but rather ſet forward their maiſters buſineſſe: yet we read *In malleo maleficarum*, of thrée ſorts of witches; and the ſame is affirmed by all the writers héerevpon, new and old. One ſort (they ſay) can hurt and not helpe, the ſecond can helpe and not hurt, the third can both helpe and hurt. And among the hurtfull witches he ſaith there is one ſort more beaſtlie than any kind of beaſts, ſauing woolues: for theſe vſuallie deuoure and eate yong children and infants of their owne kind. Theſe be they (ſaith he) that raiſe haile, tempeſts, and hurtfull weather; as lightening, thunder, &c. Theſe be they that procure barrenneſſe in man, woman, and beaſt. Theſe can throwe children into waters, as they walke with their mothers, and not be ſéene. Theſe can make horſſes kicke, till they caſt the riders. Theſe can paſſe from place to place in the aire inuiſible. Theſe can ſo alter the mind of iudges, that they can haue no power to hurt them. Theſe can procure to themſelues and to others, taciturnitie and inſenſibilitie in their torments. Theſe can bring trembling to the hands, and ſtrike terror into the minds of them that apprehend them. Theſe can manifeſt vnto others, things hidden and loſt, and foreſhew

Mal.Malef. par.2.quæſt. 1.cap,2.

things to come; and sée them as though they were present. These can alter mens minds to inordinate loue or hate. These can kill whom they list with lightening and thunder. These can take awaie mans courage, and the power of generation. These can make a woman miscarrie in childbirth, and destroie the child in the mothers wombe, without any sensible meanes either inwardlie or outwardlie applied. These can with their looks kill either man or beast.

All these things are avowed by James Sprenger and Henrie Institor *In malleo maleficarum*, to be true, & confirmed by Nider, and the inquisitor Cumanus; and also by Danæus, Hyperius, Hemingius, and multiplied by Bodinus, and frier Bartholomæus Spineus. But bicause I will in no wise abridge the authoritie of their power, you shall haue also the testimonies of manie other graue authors in this behalfe; as followeth.

* And first Ouid affirmeth, that they can raise and suppresse lightening and thunder, raine and haile, clouds and winds, tempests and earthquakes. Others doo write, that they can pull downe the moone and the starres. Some write that with wishing they can send néedles into the liuers of their enimies. Some that they can transferre corne in the blade from one place to another. Some, that they can cure diseases supernaturallie, flie in the aire, and danse with diuels. Some write, that they can plaie the part of Succubus, and contract themselues to Incubus; and so yoong prophets are vpon them begotten, &c. Som saie they can transubstantiate themselues and others, and take the forms and shapes of asses, woolues, ferrets, cowes, apes, horsses, dogs, &c. Some say they can kéepe diuels and spirits in the likenesse of todes and cats.

They can raise spirits (as others affirme) drie vp springs, turne the course of running waters, inhibit the sunne, and staie both day and night, changing the one into the other. They can go in and out at awger holes, & saile in an egge shell, a cockle or muscle shell, through and vnder the tempestuous seas. They can go inuisible, and depriue men of their priuities, and otherwise of the act and vse of venerie. They can bring soules out of the graues. They can teare snakes in péeces with words, and with looks kill lambes. But in this case a man may saie, that *Miranda canunt sed*

** Ouid.lib. metamorphoseôn 7. Danæus in dialog. Psellus in operatione dæm. Virg. in Damone. Hora.epod.5. Tibul.de fascinat.lib.1. eleg.2. Ouid.epist 4 Lex.12.Tabularum. Mal.Malef. Lucā. de bello ciuili.lib.6. Virg.eclog.8 Ouid.de remedio amoris.lib.1. Hyperius. Erastus. Rich. Gal. in his horrible treatise. Hemingius. Bar. Spineus. Bryan Darcy Confessio Windesor. Virgil. Ae-*

sed non credenda Poetæ. They can also bring to passe, that chearne as long as you list, your butter will not come; especiallie, if either the maids haue eaten vp the creame; or the goodwife haue sold the butter before in the market. Whereof I haue had some triall, although there may be true and naturall causes to hinder the common course thereof: as for example. Put a little sope or sugar into your chearne of creame, and there will neuer come anie butter, chearne as long as you list. But M. Mal. saith, that there is not so little a village, where manie women are not that bewitch, infect, and kill kine, and drie vp the milke: alledging for the strengthening of that assertion, the saieng of the Apostle, *Nunquid Deo cura est de bobus?* Doth God take anie care of oxen?

neid.4.
C. Manlius astrol. lib.1.
Mal. malef. part.2. quæst 1. cap.14.
1.Cor.9,9.

A confutation of the common conceiued opinion of witches and witchcraft, and how detestable a sinne it is to repaire to them for counsell or helpe in time of affliction.

The fift Chapter.

BUt whatsoeuer is reported or conceiued of such maner of witchcrafts, I dare auow to be false and fabulous (coosinage, dotage, and poisoning excepted:) neither is there any mention made of these kind of witches in the Bible. If Christ had knowne them, he would not haue pretermitted to inuaie against their presumption, in taking vpon them his office: as, to heale and cure diseases; and to worke such miraculous and supernaturall things, as whereby he himselfe was speciallie knowne, beléeued, and published to be God; his actions and cures consisting (in order and effect) according to the power by our witchmongers imputed to witches. Howbeit, if there be any in these daies afflicted in such strange sort, as Christs cures and patients are described in the new testament to haue béene: we flie from trusting in God to trusting in witches, who doo not onelie in their coosening art take on them the office of Christ in this behalfe; but vse his verie phrase of spéech to such idolaters, as com to séeke diuine

assistance

John.5.6. Mark.5.34. assistance at their hands, saieng; Go thy waies, thy sonne or thy daughter, &c. shall doo well, and be whole.

It will not suffice to dissuade a witchmonger from his credulitie, that he seeth the sequele and euent to fall out manie times contrarie to their assertion; but in such case (to his greater condemnation) he seeketh further to witches of greater fame. If all faile, he will rather thinke he came an houre too late; than that he went a mile too far. Trulie I for my part cannot perceiue what is to go a whoring after strange gods, if this be not. He that looketh vpon his neighbors wife, and lusteth after hir, hath committed adulterie. And truelie, he that in hart and by argument mainteineth the sacrifice of the masse to be propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead, is an idolater; as also he that alloweth and commendeth creeping to the crosse, and such like idolatrous actions, although he bend not his corporall knees.

To go to witches, &c. is idolatrie.

In like maner I say, he that attributeth to a witch, such diuine power, as dulie and onelie apperteineth vnto GOD (which all witchmongers doo) is in hart a blasphemer, an idolater, and full of grosse impietie, although he neither go nor send to hir for assistance.

A further confutation of witches miraculous and omnipotent power, by inuincible reasons and authorities, with dissuasions from such fond credulitie.

The sixt Chapter.

If witches could doo anie such miraculous things, as these and other which are imputed to them, they might doo them againe and againe, at anie time or place, or at anie mans desire: for the diuell is as strong at one time as at another, as busie by daie as by night, and readie enough to doo all mischeefe, and careth not whom he abuseth. And in so much as it is confessed, by the most part of witchmongers themselues, that he knoweth not the cogitation of mans heart, he should (me thinks) sometimes appeere vnto

vnto honest and credible persons, in such grosse and corporall forme, as it is said he dooth vnto witches: which you shall neuer heare to be iustified by one sufficient witnesse. For the diuell indéed entreth into the mind, and that waie séeketh mans confusion.

The act alwaies presupposeth the power; so as, if they saie they can doo this or that, they must shew how and by what meanes they do it; as neither the witches, nor the witchmongers are able to doo. For to euerie action is required the facultie and abilitie of the agent or dooer; the aptnes of the patient or subiect; and a conuenient and possible application. Now the witches are mortall, and their power dependeth vpon the analogie and consonancie of their minds and bodies; but with their minds they can but will and vnderstand; and with their bodies they can doo no more, but as the bounds and ends of terrene sense will suffer: and therefore their power extendeth not to doo such miracles, as surmounteth their owne sense, and the vnderstanding of others which are wiser than they; so as here wanteth the vertue and power of the efficient. And in reason, there can be no more vertue in the thing caused, than in the cause, or that which procéedeth of or from the benefit of the cause. And we sée, that ignorant and impotent women, or witches, are the causes of incantations and charmes; wherein we shall perceiue there is none effect, if we will credit our owne experience and sense vnabused, the rules of philosophie, or the word of God. For alas! What an vnapt instrument is a toothles, old, impotent, and vnweldie woman to flie in the aier? Truelie, the diuell little néeds such instruments to bring his purposes to passe.

Aristot. de anima. lib. 2.
Acts. 8.

It is strange, that we should suppose, that such persons can worke such feates: and it is more strange, that we will imagine that to be possible to be doone by a witch, which to nature and sense is impossible; speciallie when our neighbours life dependeth vpon our credulitie therein; and when we may sée the defect of abilitie, which alwaies is an impediment both to the act, and also to the presumption thereof. And bicause there is nothing possible in lawe, that in nature is impossible; therefore the iudge dooth not attend or regard what the accused man saith; or yet would doo; but what is prooued to haue béene committed, and naturallie

Why shuld not the diuell be as readie to helpe a theefe reallie as a witch?

L. multum. l. si quis alteri, vel sibi.

turallie falleth in mans power and will to do. For the lawe saith, that To will a thing vnpossible, is a signe of a mad man, or of a foole, vpon whom no sentence or iudgement taketh hold. Furthermore, what Jurie will condemne, or what Judge will giue sentence or iudgement against one for killing a man at Berwicke; when they themselues, and manie other sawe that man at London, that verie daie, wherein the murther was committed; yea though the partie confesse himselfe guiltie therein, and twentie witnesses depose the same? But in this case also I saie the iudge is not to weigh their testimonie, which is weakened by lawe; and the iudges authoritie is to supplie the imperfection of the case, and to mainteine the right and equitie of the same.

Seeing therefore that some other things might naturallie be the occasion and cause of such calamities as witches are supposed to bring; let not vs that professe the Gospell and knowledge of Christ, be bewitched to beleeue that they do such things, as are in nature impossible, and in sense and reason incredible. If they saie it is done through the diuels helpe, who can worke miracles; (An obiection answered.) whie do not theeues bring their busines to passe miraculouslie, with whom the diuell is as conuersant as with the other? Such mischeefes as are imputed to witches, happen where no witches are; yea and continue when witches are hanged and burnt: whie then should we attribute such effect to that cause, which being taken awaie, happeneth neuerthelesse?

By what meanes the name of witches becommeth so famous, and how diuerslie people be opinioned concerning them and their actions.

The seuenth Chapter.

Surelie the naturall power of man or woman cannot be so inlarged, as to do anie thing beyond the power and vertue giuen and ingraffed by God. But it is the will and mind of man, which is vitiated and depraued by the diuell: neither doth God permit anie more, than that which the naturall order appointed by him (Miracles are ceased.)

him doth require. Which naturall order is nothing else, but the ordinarie power of God, powred into euerie creature, according to his state and condition. But hereof more shall be said in the title of witches confessions. Howbeit you shall understand, that few or none are throughlie persuaded, resolued, or satisfied, that witches can indéed accomplish all these impossibilities: but some one is bewitched in one point, and some is cosened in another, untill in fine, all these impossibilities, and manie mo, are by seuerall persons affirmed to be true.

And this I haue also noted, that when anie one is cosened with a cosening toie of witchcraft, and maketh report thereof accordinglie, verifieng a matter most impossible and false as it were upon his owne knowledge, as being ouertaken with some kind of illusion or other (which illusions are right inchantments) euen the selfe-same man will deride the like lie procéeding out of another mans mouth, as a fabulous matter unworthie of credit. It is also to be wondered, how men (that haue séene some part of witches cosenages detected, and sée also therein the impossibilitie of their owne presumptions, & the follie and falsehood of the witches confessions) will not suspect, but remaine unsatisfied, or rather obstinatelie defend the residue of witches supernaturall actions: like as when a iuggler hath discouered the slight and illusion of his principall feats, one would fondlie continue to thinke, that his other petie iuggling knacks of legierdemaine are done by the helpe of a familiar: and according to the follie of some papists, who séeing and confessing the popes absurd religion, in the erection and maintenance of idolatrie and superstition, speciallie in images, pardons, and relikes of saints, will yet perseuere to thinke, that the rest of his doctrine and trumperie is holie and good.

The opinions of people concerning witchcraft are diuerse and inconstant.

Finallie, manie mainteine and crie out for the execution of witches, that particularlie beléeue neuer a whit of that which is imputed unto them; if they be therein priuatelie dealt withall, and substantiallie opposed and tried in argument.

Causes

Causes that mooue as well witches themselues as others to thinke that they can worke impossibilities, with answers to certeine obiections: where also their punishment by lawe is touched.

The eight Chapter.

Card. de var. rerum. lib. 15. cap. 80.

Cardanus writeth, that the cause of such credulitie consisteth in thrée points; to wit, in the imagination of the melancholike, in the constancie of them that are corrupt therewith, and in the deceipt of the Iudges; who being inquisitors themselues against heretikes and witches, did both accuse and condemne them, hauing for their labour the spoile of their goods. So as these inquisitors added manie fables herevnto, least they should séeme to haue doone iniurie to the poore wretches, in condemning and executing them for none offense. But sithens (saith he) the springing vp of Luthers sect, these priests haue tended more diligentlie vpon the execution of them; bicause more wealth is to be caught from them: insomuch as now they deale so looselie with witches (through distrust of gaines) that all is séene to be malice, follie, or auarice that hath béene practised against them. And whosoeuer shall search into this cause, or read the chéefe writers herevpon, shall find his words true.

An obiection answered.

It will be obiected, that we here in England are not now directed by the popes lawes; and so by consequence our witches not troubled or conuented by the inquisitors *Hæreticæ prauitatis.* I answer, that in times past here in England, as in other nations, this order of discipline hath béene in force and vse; although now some part of old rigor be qualified by two seuerall statutes made in the fift of Elizabeth, and xxxiij of Henrie the eight. Neuertheles the estimation of the omnipotencie of their words and charmes séemeth in those statutes to be somewhat mainteined, as a matter hitherto generallie receiued; and not yet so looked into, as that it is refuted and decided. But how wiselie so euer the Parle-

ment

ment house hath dealt therin, or how mercifullie soeuer the prince beholdeth the cause: if a poore old woman, supposed to be a witch, be by the ciuill or canon lawe conuented; I doubt, some canon will be found in force, not onelie to giue scope to the tormentor, but also to the hangman, to exercise their offices vpon hir. And most certaine it is, that in what point soeuer anie of these extremities, which I shall rehearse vnto you, be mitigated, it is thorough the goodnesse of the Queenes Maiestie, and hir excellent magistrates placed among vs. For as touching the opinion of our writers therein in our age; yea in our owne countrie, you shall see it doth not onlie agree with forren crueltie, but surmounteth it farre. If you read a foolish pamphlet dedicated to the lord Darcy, by W. W. 1582. you shall see that he affirmeth, that all those tortures are farre too light, and their rigor too mild; and that in that respect he impudentlie exclameth against our magistrates, who suffer them to be but hanged, when murtherers, & such malefactors be so vsed, which deserue not the hundreth part of their punishments. But if you will see more follie and lewdnes comprised in one lewd booke, I commend you to Ri. Ga. a Windsor man; who being a mad man hath written according to his frantike humor: the reading wherof may satisfie a wise man, how mad all these witchmongers dealings be in this behalfe.

W. W. his booke printed in Anno Dom. 1582.

A conclusion of the first booke, wherin is fore-shewed the tyrannicall crueltie of witchmongers and inquisitors, with a request to the reader to peruse the same.

The ninth Chapter.

AND bicause it may appeare vnto the world what trecherous and faithlesse dealing, what extreame and intollerable tyrannie, what grosse and fond absurdities, what vnnaturall & vnciuill discourtisie, what cancred and spitefull malice, what outragious and barbarous crueltie, what lewd and false packing, what cunning and craftie intercepting, what bald and peeuish inter-

pretations, what abhominable and diuelish inuentions, and what flat and plaine knauerie is practised against these old women; I will set downe the whole order of the inquisition, to the euerlasting, inexcusable, and apparent shame of all witchmongers. Neither will I insert anie priuate or doubtfull dealings of theirs; or such as they can either denie to be vsuall, or iustlie cauill at; but such as are published and renewed in all ages, since the commensement of poperie, established by lawes, practised by inquisitors, priuileged by princes, commended by doctors, confirmed by popes, councels, decrées, and canons; and finallie be left of all witchmongers; to wit, by such as attribute to old women, and such like creatures, the power of the Creator. I praie you therefore, though it be tedious & intollerable (as you would be heard in your miserable calamities) so heare with compassion, their accusations, examinations, matters giuen in euidence, confessions, presumptions, interrogatories, coniurations, cautions, crimes, tortures and condemnations, deuised and practised vsuallie against them.

¶ *The second Booke.*

What testimonies and witnesses are allowed to giue euidence against reputed witches, by the report & allowance of the inquisitors themselues, and such as are speciall writers heerein.

The first Chapter.

Mal. Malef. quæst.5. pa.3. I. Bod. lib.4. cap.2. de dæmon.

Excommunicat persons, partakers of the fault, infants, wicked seruants, and runnawaies are to be admitted to beare witnesse against their dames in this mater of witchcraft: bicause (saith Bodin the champion of witchmongers) none that be honest are able to detect them. Heretikes also and witches shall be receiued to accuse, but not to excuse a witch. And finallie, the testimonie of all infamous persons in this case is good and allowed. Yea, one lewd person (saith Bodin) may be receiued to accuse and condemne a thousand suspected witches. And although by lawe, a capitall enimie may be challenged; yet James Sprenger, and Henrie Institor, (from whom Bodin, and all the writers that euer I haue read, doo receiue their light, authorities and arguments) saie (vpon this point of lawe) that The poore frendlesse old woman must prooue, that hir capitall enimie would haue killed hir, and that hée hath both assalted & wounded hir; otherwise she pleadeth all in vaine. If the iudge aske hir, whether she haue anie capitall enimies; and she rehearse other, and forget hir accuser; or else answer that he was hir capitall enimie, but now she hopeth he is not so: such a one is neuertheles admitted for a witnes. And though by lawe, single witnesses are not admittable; yet if one depose she

Arch. in C. alle. accusatus. in §. lz. super. verba.

I. Bod. lib.4. cap.1. de dæmon.

Mal. malef. quæst.56. pa.3, & que. 5. part.3.

Ibidem.

Que.7. act.2.

hath bewitched hir cow; another, hir sow; and the third, hir butter: these [redacted] (saith M. Mal. and Bodin) are no single witnesses; bicause they agrée that she is a witch.

The order of examination of witches by the inquisitors.

The second Chapter.

Women suspected to be witches, after their apprehension may not be suffered to go home, or to other places, to séek sureties: for then (saith Bodin) the people would be worse willing to accuse them; for feare least at their returne home, they worke reuenge vpon them. In which respect Bodin commendeth much the Scottish custome and order in this behalfe: where (he saith) a hollowe péece of wood or a chest is placed in the church, into the which anie bodie may fréelie cast a little scroll of paper, wherein may be conteined the name of the witch, the time, place, and fact, &c. And the same chest being locked with thrée seuerall locks, is opened euerie fiftéenth daie by thrée inquisitors or officers appointed for that purpose; which kéepe thrée seuerall kaies. And thus the accuser néed not be knowne, nor shamed with the reproch of slander or malice to his poore neighbour.

The Scottish custõe of accusing a witch.

Item, there must be great persuasions vsed to all men, women, and children, to accuse old women of witchcraft.

Item, there may alwaies be promised impunitie and fauour to witches, that confesse and detect others; and for the contrarie, there may be threatnings and violence practised and vsed.

Item, the little children of witches, which will not confesse, must be attached; who (if they be craftilie handled saith Bodin) will confesse against their owne mothers.

Item, witches must be examined as suddenlie, and as vnawares as is possible: the which will so amaze them, that they will confesse any thing, supposing the diuell hath forsaken them; wheras if they should first be cōmitted to prison, the diuell would tem-

per

per with them, and informe them what to doo.

Item, the inquisitor, iudge, or examiner, must begin with small matters first.

Item, they must be examined, whether their parents were witches or no: for witches (as these Doctors suppose) come by propagation. And Bodin setteth downe this principle in witchcraft, to wit, *Si saga sit mater, sic etiam est filia:* howbeit the lawe forbiddeth it, *Ob sanguinis reuerentiam.* *I. Bod. lib. de dæmon. 4. cap. 4.* *L. parentes de testibus.*

Item, the examiner must looke stedfastlie vpon their eies: for they cannot looke directlie vpon a mans face (as Bodin affirmeth in one place, although in another he saith, that they kill and destroie both men and beasts with their lookes.)

Item, she must be examined of all accusations, presumptions, and faults, at one instant; least sathan should afterwards disswade hir from confession.

Item, a witch may not be put in prison alone, least the diuell dissuade hir from confession, through promises of hir indemnitie. For (saith Bodin) some that haue béene in the gaole haue proued to flie awaie, as they were woont to doo when they met with Diana and Minerua, &c: and so brake their owne necks against the stone walles.

Item, if anie denie hir owne confession made without torture, she is neuerthelesse by that confession to be condemned, as in anie other crime.

Item, the iudges must séeme to put on a pittifull countenance and to mone them; saieng, that It was not they, but the diuell that committed the murther, and that he compelled them to doo it; and must make them beléeue that they thinke them to be innocents.

Item, if they will confesse nothing but vpon the racke or torture; their apparell must be changed, and euerie haire in their bodie must be shauen off with a sharpe razor.

Item, if they haue charmes for taciturnitie, so as they féele not the common tortures, and therefore confesse nothing: then some sharpe instrument must be thrust betwixt euerie naile of their fingers and toes: which (as Bodin saith) was king Childeberts deuise, and is to this daie of all others the most effectuall. For by meanes of that extreme paine, they will (saith he) confesse anie thing. K. Childeberts cruell deuise.

 thing.

thing.

P. Grillandus.

Item, Paulus Grillandus, being an old dooer in these matters, wisheth that when witches sleepe, and feele no paine vpon the torture, *Domine labia mea aperies* should be said, and so (saith he) both the torments will be felt, and the truth will be vttered: *Et sic ars deluditur arte.*

A subtill and diuelish deuise.

Item, Bodin saith, that at the time of examination, there should be a semblance of great a doo, to the terrifieng of the witch: and that a number of instruments, gieues, manacles, ropes, halters, fetters, &c. be prepared, brought forth, and laid before the examinate: and also that some be procured to make a most horrible and lamentable crie, in the place of torture, as though he or she were vpon the racke, or in the tormentors hands; so as the examinate may heare it whiles she is examined, before she hir selfe be brought into the prison; and perhaps (saith he) she will by this meanes confesse the matter.

Item, there must be subborned some craftie spie, that may seeme to be a prisoner with hir in the like case; who perhaps may in conference vndermine hir, and so bewraie and discouer hir.

Item, if she will not yet confesse, she must be told that she is detected, and accused by other of hir companions; although in truth there be no such matter: and so perhaps she will confesse, the rather to be reuenged vpon hir aduersaries and accusers.

Matters of euidence against witches.

The third Chapter.

If an old woman threaten or touch one being in health, who dieth shortlie after; or else is infected with the leprosie, apoplexie, or anie other strange disease: it is (saith Bodin) a permanent fact, and such an euidence, as condemnation or death must insue, without further proofe; if anie bodie haue mistrusted hir, or said before that she was a witch.

Item,

Item, if anie come in, or depart out of the chamber or house, the doores being shut; it is an apparent and sufficient euidence to a witches condemnation, without further triall: which thing Bodin neuer sawe. If he can shew me that feat, I will subscribe to his follie. For Christ after his resurrection used the same: not as a ridiculous toie, that euerie witch might accomplish; but as a speciall miracle, to strengthen the faith of the elect.

Item, if a woman bewitch anie bodies eies, she is to be executed without further proofe.

Item, if anie inchant or bewitch mens beasts, or corne, or flie in the aire, or make a dog speake, or cut off anie mans members, and unite them againe to men or childrens bodies; it is sufficient proofe to condemnation.

Item, presumptions and coniectures are sufficient proofes against witches.

Item, if thrée witnesses doo but saie, Such a woman is a witch; then is it a cléere case that she is to be executed with death. Which matter Bodin saith is not onelie certeine by the canon and ciuill lawes, but by the opinion of pope Innocent, the wisest pope (as he saith) that euer was.

Bar. Spineus, &, I. Bod. de dæmon. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Item, the complaint of anie one man of credit is sufficient to bring a poore woman to the racke or pullie.

Alexander. L. ubi numerus de testibus.

Item, a condemned or infamous persons testimonie is good and allowable in matters of witchcraft.

I. Bod. de demon. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Item, a witch is not to be deliuered, though she endure all the tortures, and confesse nothing; as all other are in anie criminall cases.

Item, though in other cases the depositions of manie women at one instant are disabled, as insufficient in lawe; bicause of the imbecillitie and frailtie of their nature or sex: yet in this matter, one woman, though she be a partie, either accuser or accused, and be also infamous and impudent (for such are Bodins words) yea and alreadie condemned; she may neuerthelesse serue to accuse and condemne a witch.

Item, a witnesse uncited, and offering himselfe in this case is to be heard, and in none other.

Item, a capitall enimie (if the enimitie be pretended to growe by meanes of witchcraft) may obiect against a witch; and none

exception is to be had or made against him.

Par. in L. post. legatum. 9 his, de ijs quibus vt indig. Alex. cap. 72. L. 2. &c.

Item, although the proofe of periurie may put backe a witnesse in all other causes; yet in this, a periured person is a good and lawfull witnesse.

Item, the proctors and aduocats in this case are compelled to be witnesses against their clients, as in none other case they are to be constrained thereunto.

Item, none can giue euidence against witches, touching their assemblies, but witches onelie: bicause (as Bodin saith) none other can doo it. Howbeit, Ri. Ga. writeth, that he came to the God speed, and with his sword and buckler killed the diuell; or at the least he wounded him so sore, that he made him stinke of brimstone.

In his foolish pamphlet of the execution of Windsor witches.

Item, Bodin saith, that bicause this is an extraordinarie matter; there must heerein be extraordinarie dealing: and all maner of waies are to be vsed, direct and indirect.

Confessions of witches, whereby they are condemned.

The fourth Chapter.

I. Bod. lib. 4. cap. 3.

SOme witches confesse (saith Bodin) that are desirous to die; not for glorie, but for despaire: bicause they are tormented in their life time. But these may not be spared (saith he) although the lawe dooth excuse them.

Is there anie probabilitie that such would continue witches? *Idem Ibid.*

The best and surest confession is at shrift, to hir ghostlie father.

Ioan. An. ad speculat. tit. de litis contest. part. 2.

Item, if she confesse manie things that are false, and one thing that may be true; she is to be taken and executed vpon that confession.

Item, she is not so guiltie that confesseth a falshood or lie, and denieth a truth; as she that answereth by circumstance.

L. non alienum eodem.

Item, an equiuocall or doubtfull answer is taken for a confession against a witch.

Item, Bodin reporteth, that one confessed that he went out, or rather vp into the aire, and was transported manie miles to the fairies danse, onelie bicause he would spie vnto what place his wife went to hagging, and how she behaued hir selfe. Whereupon was much a do among the inquisitors and lawyers, to discusse whether he should be executed with his wife or no. But it was concluded that he must die, bicause he bewraied not his wife: the which he forbare to do, *Propter reuerentiam honoris & familiæ.*

L. de ætat.5. nihil eodem. &c.

I.Bod. de dæmono.lib.4. cap.3.

Item, if a woman confesse freelie herein, before question be made; and yet afterward denie it: she is neuerthelesse to be burned.

Item, they affirme that this extremitie is herein vsed, bicause not one among a thousand witches is detected. And yet it is affirmed by Sprenger, in M.Mal. that there is not so little a parish, but there are manie witches knowne to be therein.

Presumptions, whereby witches are condemned.

The fift Chapter.

If anie womans child chance to die at hir hand, so as no bodie knoweth how; it may not be thought or presumed that the mother killed it, except she be supposed a witch: and in that case it is otherwise, for she must vpon that presumption be executed; except she can prooue the negatiue or contrarie.

I.Bod.de dæmono.lib.4. cap.4.

Item, if the child of a woman that is suspected to be a witch, be lacking or gone from hir; it is to be presumed, that she hath sacrificed it to the diuell: except she can prooue the negatiue or contrarie.

Item, though in other persons, certeine points of their confessions may be thought erronious, and imputed to error: yet (in witches causes) all ouersights, imperfections, and escapes must

be

be adiudged impious and malicious, and tend to hir confusion and condemnation.

Item, though a théefe be not said in lawe to be infamous in anie other matter than in theft; yet a witch defamed of witchcraft is said to be defiled with all maner of faults and infamies vniuersallie, though she were not condemned; but (as I said) defamed with the name of a witch. For rumors and reports are sufficient (saith Bodin) to condemne a witch.

I.Bod.de dæmono.lib.4. cap.4.

Item, if any man, woman, or child doo saie, that such a one is a witch; it is a most vehement suspicion (saith Bodin) and sufficient to bring hir to the racke: though in all other cases it be directlie against lawe.

L.decurionē de pœnis. Panorm.& Felin.in C. veniens.I. de testib.par-si.causa.154. Lib.4.numero.12.vsq; ad 18.

Item, in presumptions and suspicions against a witch, the common brute or voice of the people cannot erre.

Item if a woman, when she is apprehended, crie out, or saie; I am vndoone; Saue my life; I will tell you how the matter standeth, &c: she is therevpon most vehementlie to be suspected and condemned to die.

Item, though a coniurer be not to be condemned for curing the diseased by vertue of his art: yet must a witch die for the like case.

Item, the behauiour, looks, becks, and countenance of a woman, are sufficient signes, whereby to presume she is a witch: for alwais they looke downe to the ground, and dare not looke a man full in the face.

Item, if their parents were thought to be witches, then is it certeinlie to be presumed that they are so: but it is not so to be thought of whores.

Item, it is a vehement presumption if she cannot wéepe, at the time of hir examination: and yet Bodin saith, that a witch may shed thrée drops out of hir right eie.

Item, it is not onelie a vehement suspicion, and presumption, but an euident proofe of a witch, if any man or beast die suddenlie where she hath béene séene latelie; although hir witching stuffe be not found or espied.

Item, if any bodie vse familiaritie or companie with a witch conuicted; it is a sufficient presumption against that person to be adiudged a witch.

Item,

Item, that euidence that may serue to bring in any other person to examination, may serue to bring a witch to hir condemnation. *L.5.de adult. §.gl.& Bart. c.venerabilis de electio.&*

Item, herein iudgment must be pronounced & executed (as Bodin saith) without order, and not like to the orderlie procéeding and forme of iudgement in other crimes. *I.Bod. de dæmono.lib.4. cap.4.*

Item, a witch may not be brought to the torture suddenlie, or before long examination, least she go awaie scotfrée: for they féele no torments, and therefore care not for the same (as Bodin affirmeth.)

Item, little children may be had to the torture at the first dash; but so may it not be doone with old women: as is aforesaid. *Idem Ibid.*

Item, if she haue anie priuie marke vnder hir arme pokes, vnder hir haire, vnder hir lip, or in hir buttocke, or in hir priuities: it is a presumption sufficient for the iudge to procéed and giue sentence of death vpon hir.

The onlie pitie they shew to a poore woman in this case, is; that though she be accused to haue slaine anie bodie with hir inchantments; yet if she can bring foorth the partie aliue, she shall not be put to death. Whereat I maruell, in as much as they can bring the diuell in any bodies likenesse and representation.

Item, their lawe saith, that an vncerteine presumption is sufficient, when a certeine presumption faileth. *Cap.preterea cum glos.extra.de test. Panormit.in C.vener.col. 2.eodem,&c.*

Particular interrogatories vsed by the inquisitors against witches.

The sixt Chapter.

I Néede not staie to confute such parciall and horrible dealings, being so apparentlie impious, and full of tyrannie which except I should haue so manifestlie detected, euen with their owne writings and assertions, few or none would haue beléeued. But for breuities sake I will passe ouer the same; supposing that the citing

ting of such absurdities may stand for a sufficient confutation thereof. Now therefore I will procéed to a more particular order and maner of examinations, &c: vsed by the inquisitors, and allowed for the most part throughout all nations.

Mal.malef. super,interrog.

First the witch must be demanded, why she touched such a child, or such a cow, &c: and afterward the same child or cow fell sicke or lame, &c.

Item, why hir two kine giue more milke than hir neighbors. And the note before mentioned is héere againe set downe, to be speciallie obserued of all men: to wit; that Though a witch cannot wéepe, yet she may speake with a crieng voice. Which assertion of wéeping is false, and contrarie to the saieng of Seneca, Cato, and manie others; which affirme, that A woman wéepeth when she meaneth most deceipt: and therefore saith M. Mal. she must be well looked vnto, otherwise she will put spettle priuilie vpon hir chéeks, and séeme to wéepe: which rule also Bodin saith is infallible. But alas that teares should be thought sufficient to excuse or condemne in so great a cause, and so weightie a triall! I am sure that the worst sort of the children of Israel wept bitterlie: yea, if there were any witches at all in Israel, they wept. For it is written, that all the children of Israel wept. Finallie, if there be any witches in hell, I am sure they wéepe: for there is wéeping, wailing, and gnashing of téeth.

Seneca tragœd. Mal.malef. part.3.quæst 15.act.10.

Num.11,4. 1.Sam.11,4 2.Sa.15,23. Mat.8.&13 &22.&24. &25. Luk.3.&c.

But God knoweth, many an honest matrone cannot sometimes in the heauines of hir heart shed teares; the which oftentimes are more readie and common with craftie queanes and strumpets, than with sober women. For we read of two kinds of teares in a womans eie, the one of true gréefe, the other of deceipt. And it is written; that *Dediscere flere fœminam est mendacium:* which argueth, that they lie which saie, that wicked women cannot wéepe. But let these tormentors take héed, that the teares in this case which runne downe the widowes chéeks, with their crie spoken of by Jesus Sirach, be not heard aboue. But lo what learned, godlie, and lawfull meanes these popish inquisitors haue inuented for the triall of true or false teares.

Seneca in tragœd.

Eccl.35,15.

The

The inquisitors triall of weeping by coniuration.

The seuenth Chapter.

I Coniure thee by the amorous teares, which Jesus Christ our Sauiour shed vpon the crosse for the saluation of the world; and by the most earnest and burning teares of his mother the most glorious virgine Marie, sprinkled vpon his wounds late in the euening; and by all the teares, which euerie saint and elect vessell of God hath powred out héere in the world, and from whose eies he hath wiped awaie all teares; that if thou be without fault, thou maist powre downe teares aboundantlie; and if thou be guiltie, that thou wéepe in no wise: In the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holie ghost; Amen. And note (saith he) that the more you coniure, the lesse she wéepeth.

Triall of teares.

Mal. Malef. quæ.15. pa.3.

Certaine cautions against witches, and of their tortures to procure confession.

The eight Chapter.

But to manifest their further follies, I will recite some of their cautions, which are published by the ancient inquisitors, for perpetuall lessons to their successors: as followeth.

The first caution is that, which was last rehearsed concerning wéeping; the which (say they) is an infallible note.

Secondlie, the iudge must beware she touch no part of him, speciallie of his bare; and that he allwaies weare about his necke coniured salt, palme, herbes, and ware halowed: which (say they) are not onelie approued to be good by the witches confessions; but also

Ia. Sprenger. H. Institor.

also by the vse of the Romish church, which halloweth them onelie for that purpose.

Mal. Malef. pa. 3. quæ. 15.

Item, she must come to hir arreignement backward, to wit, with hir taile to the iudges face, who must make manie crosses, at the time of hir approching to the barre. And least we should condemne that for superstition, they preuent vs with a figure, and tell vs, that the same superstition may not seeme superstitious vnto vs. But this resembleth the persuasion of a theefe, that dissuadeth his sonne from stealing; and neuerthelesse telleth him that he may picke or cut a purse, and rob by the high waie.

Prolepsis or Præoccupation.

One other caution is, that she must be shauen, so as there remaine not one haire about hir: for sometimes they keepe secrets for taciturnitie, and for other purposes also in their haire, in their priuities, and betweene their skinne and their flesh. For which cause I maruell they flea them not: for one of their witches would not burne, being in the middest of the flame, as M. Mal. reporteth; vntill a charme written in a little scroll was espied to be hidden betweene hir skin and flesh, and taken awaie. And this is so grauelie and faithfullie set downe by the inquisitors themselues, that one may beleeue it if he list, though indeed it be a verie lie. The like lie citeth Bodin, of a witch that could not be strangled by the executioner, do what he could. But it is most true, that the inquisitor Cumanus in one yeare did shaue one and fourtie poore women, and burnt them all when he had done.

Mal. Malef.

Iohn. Bod.

Anno. 1485 a knaue inquisitor.

Another caution is, that at the time and place of torture, the hallowed things aforesaid, with the seauen words spoken on the crosse, be hanged about the witches necke; and the length of Christ in waxe be knit about hir bare naked bodie, with relikes of saints, &c. All which stuffe (saie they) will so worke within and vpon them, as when they are racked and tortured, they can hardlie staie or hold themselues from confession. In which case I doubt not but that pope, which blasphemed Christ, and cursed his mother for a pecocke, and cursed God with great despights for a peece of porke, with lesse compulsion would haue renounced the trinitie, and haue worshipped the diuell vpon his knees.

Q. 16. de tempore & modo interrog.

Blasphemous pope Iulie, of that name the third.

Another caution is, that after she hath beene racked, and hath passed ouer all tortures deuised for that purpose; and after that she hath beene compelled to drinke holie water, she be conueied

againe

againe to the place of torture: and that in the middest of hir torments, hir accusations be read vnto hir; and that the witnesses (if they will) be brought face to face vnto hir: and finallie, that she be asked, whether for triall of hir innocencie she will haue iudgement, *Candentis ferri*, which is, To carrie a certeine weight of burning iron in hir bare hand. But that may not (saie they) in anie wise be granted. For both M. Mal. and Bodin also affirme, that manie things may be promised, but nothing néed be performed: for whie, they haue authoritie to promise, but no commission to performe the same.

Mal. Malef. par. 3. quæ. 16

Another caution is, that the iudge take héed, that when she once beginneth to confesse, he cut not off hir examination, but continue it night and daie. For many times, whiles they go to dinner, she returneth to hir vomit.

Another caution is, that after the witch hath confessed the annoieng of men and beasts, she be asked how long she hath had Incubus, when she renounced the faith, and made the reall league, and what that league is, &c. And this is indéed the chéefe cause of all their incredible and impossible confessions: for vpon the racke, when they haue once begunne to lie, they will saie what the tormentor list.

The last caution is, that if she will not confesse, she be had to some strong castle or gaole. And after certeine daies, the gaolor must make hir beléeue he goeth forth into some farre countrie: and then some of hir fréends must come in to hir, and promise hir, that if she will confesse to them, they will suffer hir to escape out of prison: which they may well do, the kéeper being from home. And this waie (saith M. Mal.) hath serued, when all other meanes haue failed.

Mal. Malef. par. 3. quæ. 15. act. 11.

And in this place it may not be omitted, that aboue all other times, they confesse vpon fridaies. Now saith Iames Sprenger, and Henrie Institor, we must saie all, to wit: If she confesse nothing, she should be dismissed by lawe; and yet by order she may in no wise be bailed, but must be put into close prison, and there be talked withall by some craftie person (those are the words) and in the meane while there must be some eues-dropers with pen and inke behind the wall, to hearken and note what she confesseth: or else some of hir old companions and acquaintance

tance may come in and talke with hir of old matters, and so by eues-droppers be also bewraied; so as there shall be no end of torture before she haue confessed what they will.

The fifteene crimes laid to the charge of witches, by witchmongers; speciallie by Bodin, in Dæmonomania.

The ninth Chapter.

1 They denie God, and all religion.

Answere. Then let them die therefore, or at the least be vsed like infidels, or apostataes.

2 They cursse, blaspheme, and prouoke God with all despite.

Answere. Then let them haue the law expressed in Leuit. 24. and Deut. 13. & 17.

3 They giue their faith to the diuell, and they worship and offer sacrifice vnto him.

Ans. Let such also be iudged by the same lawe.

4 They do solemnelie vow and promise all their progenie vnto the diuell.

Ans. This promise procéedeth from an vnsound mind, and is not to be regarded; bicause they cannot performe it, neither will it be proued true. Howbeit, if it be done by anie that is sound of mind, let the cursse of Ieremie. 32. 36. light vpon them, to wit, the sword, famine and pestilence.

5 They sacrifice their owne children to the diuell before baptisme, holding them vp in the aire vnto him, and then thrust a néedle into their braines.

Ans. If this be true, I maintaine them not herein: but there is a lawe to iudge them by. Howbeit, it is so contrarie to sense and nature, that it were follie to beléeue it; either vpon Bodins bare word, or else vpon his présumptions; speciallie when so small commoditie and so great danger and inconuenience insueth to the witches thereby.

6 They burne their children when they haue sacrificed them.

Ans. Then let them haue such punishment, as they that offered their children vnto Moloch: Leuit. 20. But these be méere

deuises of witchmongers and inquisitors, that with extreame tortures haue wrong such confessions from them; or else with false reports haue béelied them; or by flatterie & faire words and promises haue won it at their hands, at the length.

They sweare to the diuell to bring as manie into that societie as they can. 7

Ans. This is false, and so prooued elsewhere.

They sweare by the name of the diuell. 8

Ans. I neuer heard anie such oth, neither haue we warrant to kill them that so doo sweare; though indéed it be verie lewd and impious.

They vse incestuous adulterie with spirits. 9

Ans. This is a stale ridiculous lie, as is prooued apparentlie hereafter.

They boile infants (after they haue murthered them vnbaptised) vntill their flesh be made potable. 10

Ans. This is vntrue, incredible, and impossible.

They eate the flesh and drinke the bloud of men and children openlie. 11

Ans. Then are they kin to the Anthropophagi and Canibals. But I beléeue neuer an honest man in England nor in France, will affirme that he hath séene any of these persons, that are said to be witches, do so; if they shuld, I beléeue it would poison them.

They kill men with poison. 12

Ans. Let them be hanged for their labour.

They kill mens cattell. 13

Ans. Then let an action of trespasse be brought against them for so dooing.

They bewitch mens corne, and bring hunger and barrennes into the countrie; they ride and flie in the aire, bring stormes, make tempests, &c. 14

Ans. Then will I worship them as gods; for those be not the works of man, nor yet of witch: as I haue elsewhere prooued at large.

They vse venerie with a diuell called Incubus, euen when they lie in bed with their husbands, and haue children by them, which become the best witches. 15

Ans. This is the last lie, verie ridiculous, and confuted by me elsewhere.

A refutation of the former surmised crimes patched togither by Bodin, and the onelie waie to escape the inquisitors hands.

The tenth Chapter.

If more ridiculous or abhominable crimes could haue béene inuented, these poore women (whose chéefe fault is that they are scolds) should haue béene charged with them.

In this libell you doe sée is contemned all that witches are charged with; and all that also, which anie witchmonger surmiseth, or in malice imputeth unto witches power and practise.

Some of these crimes may not onelie be in the power and will of a witch, but may be accomplished by naturall meanes: and therefore by them the matter in question is not decided, to wit; Whether a witch can worke wonders supernaturallie? For manie a knaue and whore doth more commonlie put in execution those lewd actions, than such as are called witches, and are hanged for their labour.

The question or matter in controuersie: that is to say, the proposition or theme.

Some of these crimes also laid vnto witches charge, are by me denied, and by them cannot be proued to be true, or committed by any one witch. Othersome of these crimes likewise are so absurd, supernaturall, and impossible, that they are derided almost of all men, and as false, fond, and fabulous reports condemned: insomuch as the very witchmongers themselues are ashamed to heare of them.

If part be vntrue, why may not the residue be thought false? For all these things are laid to their charge at one instant, euen by the greatest doctors and patrones of the sect of witchmongers, producing as manie proofs for witches supernaturall and impossible actions, as for the other. So as, if one part of their accusation be false, the other part deserueth no credit. If all be true that is alledged of their doings, why should we beléeue in Christ, bicause of his miracles, when a witch doth as great wonders as

euer

euer he did?

But it will be said by some; As for those absurd and popish writers, they are not in all their allegations, touching these matters, to be credited. But I assure you, that euen all sorts of writers héerein (for the most part) the very doctors of the church to the scholemen, protestants and papists, learned and vnlearned, poets and historiographers, Iewes, Christians, or Gentiles agrée in these impossible and ridiculous matters. Yea and these writers, out of whome I gather most absurdities, are of the best credit and authoritie of all writers in this matter. The reason is, bicause it was neuer throughlie looked into; but euerie fable credited; and the word (Witch) named so often in scripture.

A generall error.

They that haue séene further of the inquisitors orders and customes, saie also; that There is no waie in the world for these poore women to escape the inquisitors hands, and so consequentlie burning: but to gild their hands with monie, wherby oftentimes they take pitie vpon them, and deliuer them, as sufficientlie purged. For they haue authoritie to exchange the punishment of the bodie with the punishment of the pursse, aplieng the same to the office of their inquisition: whereby they reape such profit, as a number of these séelie women paie them yéerelie pensions, to the end they may not be punished againe.

The onelie way for witches to auoid the inquisitors hands.

The opinion of Cornelius Agrippa concerning witches, of his pleading for a poore woman accused of witchcraft, and how he conuinced the inquisitors.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Cornelius Agrippa saith, that while he was in Italie, manie inquisitors in the dutchie of Millen troubled diuers most honest & noble matrones, priuilie wringing much monie from them, vntill their knauerie was detected. Further he saith, that being an aduocate or councellor in the Commonwelth of Maestright in Brabant, he had sore contention with an inquisitor, who through vn-

iust accusations drew a poore woman of the countrie into his butcherie, and to an vnfit place; not so much to examine hir, as to torment hir. Whom when C. Agrippa had vndertaken to defend, declaring that in the things doone, there was no proofe, no signe or token that could cause hir to be tormented; the inquisitor stoutlie denieng it, said; One thing there is, which is proofe and matter sufficient: for hir mother was in times past burned for a witch. Now when Agrippa replied, affirming that this article was impertinent, and ought to be refused by the iudge, as being the déed of another; alledging to the inquisitor, reasons and lawe for the same: he replied againe that this was true, bicause they vsed to sacrifice their children to the diuell, as soone as they were borne; and also bicause they vsuallie conceiued by spirits transformed into mans shape, and that thereby witchcraft was naturallie ingraffed into this child, as a disease that commeth by inheritance.

A bitter inuectiue against a cruell inquisitor.

C. Agrippa replieng against the inquisitors follie & superstitious blindnesse, said; O thou wicked préest! Is this thy diuinitie? Doost thou vse to drawe poore guiltlesse women to the racke by these forged deuises? Doost thou with such sentences iudge others to be heretikes, thou being a more heretike than either Faustus or Donatus? Be it as thou saiest, doost thou not frustrate the grace of Gods ordinance; namelie baptisme? Are the words in baptisme spoken in vaine? Or shall the diuell remaine in the child, or it in the power of the diuell, being there and then consecrated to Christ Iesus, in the name of the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost? And if thou defend their false opinions, which affirm, that spirits accompanieng with women, can ingender; yet dotest thou more than anie of them, which neuer beléeued that anie of those diuels, togither with their stolne séed, do put part of that their séed or nature into the creature. But though indéed we be borne the children of the diuell and damnation, yet in baptisme, through grace in Christ, sathan is cast out, and we are made new creatures in the Lord, from whome none can be separated by another mans déed. The inquisitor being hereat offended, threatened the aduocate to procéed against him, as a supporter of heretikes or witches; yet neuerthelesse he ceased not to defend the séelie woman, and through the power of the lawe he deliuered hir

from

from the clawes of the blodie monke, who with hir accusers, were condemned in a great summe of monie to the charter of the church of Mentz, and remained infamous after that time almost to all men.

But by the waie you must understand, that this was but a petie inquisitor, and had not so large a commission as Cumanus, Sprenger, and such other had; nor yet as the Spanish inquisitors at this daie haue. For these will admit no aduocats now unto the poore soules, except the tormentor or hangman may be called an aduocate. You may read the summe of this inquisition in few words set out by M. John Fox in the Acts and monuments. For witches and heretikes are among the inquisitors of like reputation; sauing that the extremitie is greater against witches, bicause through their simplicitie, they may the more boldlie tyrannize upon them, and triumph ouer them.

John Fox in the acts and monuments.

What the feare of death and feeling of torments may force one to doo, and that it is no maruell though witches condemne themselues by their owne confessions so tyrannicallie extorted.

The twelfe Chapter.

HE that readeth the ecclesiasticall histories, or remembreth the persecutions in Queene Maries time, shall find, that manie good men haue fallen for feare of persecution, and returned unto the Lord againe. What maruell then, though a poore woman, such a one as is described else where, & tormented as is declared in these latter leaues, be made to confesse such absurd and false impossibilities; when flesh and bloud is unable to endure such triall? Or how can she in the middest of such horrible tortures and torments, promise unto hir selfe constancie; or forbeare to confesse anie thing? Or what auaileth it hir, to perseuere in the deniall of such matters, as are laid to hir charge uniustlie; when on the one side there is neuer anie end of hir torments; on the other side,

if she continue in hir assertion, they saie she hath charmes for taciturnitie or silence?

Peters apostasie & renouncing of Christ.

Peter the apostle renounced, cursed, and forsware his maister and our Sauiour Jesus Christ, for feare of a wenches manaces; or rather at a question demanded by hir, wherein he was not so circumuented, as these poore witches are, which be not examined by girles, but by cunning inquisitors, who hauing the spoile of their goods, and bringing with them into the place of iudgement minds to maintaine their bloudie purpose, spare no maner of allurements, thretenings, nor torments, untill they haue wrong out of them all that, which either maketh to their owne desire, or serueth to the others destruction.

Peter (I saie) in the presence of his Lord and maister Christ, who had instructed him in true knowledge manie yeares, being forewarned, not passing foure or fiue houres before, and hauing made a reall league and a faithfull promise to the contrarie, without anie other compulsion than (as hath béene said) by a question proposed by a girle, against his conscience, forsooke, thrise denied, and abandoned his said maister: and yet he was a man illuminated, and placed in dignitie aloft, and néerer to Christ by manie degrées, than the witch, whose fall could not be so great as Peters; bicause she neuer ascended halfe so manie steps. A pastors declination is much more abhominable than the going astraie of anie of his shéepe: as an ambassadors conspiracie is more odious, than the falshood of a common person: or as a capteins treason is more mischéeuous, than a priuate soldiers mutinie. If you saie, Peter repented; I answer that the witch dooth so likewise sometimes, and I sée not in that case, but mercie may be emploied upon hir. It were a mightie temptation to a séelie old woman, that a visible diuell (being in shape so ugglie, as Danæus and others saie he is) should assalt hir in maner and forme as is supposed, or rather auowed; speciallie when there is promise made that none shall be tempted aboue their strength. The poore old witch is commonlie unlearned, unwarned, and unprouided of counsell and fréendship, void of iudgement and discretion to moderate hir life and communication, hir kind and gender more weake and fraile than the masculine, and much more subiect to melancholie; hir bringing up and companie is so base, that nothing is to be

Danæus in dialog.

1.Cor.10.

looked for in hir speciallie of these extraordinarie qualities; hir age also is commonlie such, as maketh hir decrepite, which is a disease that mooueth them to these follies.

Finallie, Christ did cleerelie remit Peter, though his offense were committed both against his diuine and humane person: yea afterwards he did put him in trust to feed his sheepe, and shewed great countenance, freendship and loue vnto him.

And therefore I see not, but we may shew compassion vpon these poore soules, if they shew themselues sorrowfull for their misconceipts and wicked imaginations.

¶ *The third Booke.*

The witches bargaine with the diuell, according to M. Mal. Bodin, Nider, Danæus, Psellus, Erastus, Hemingius, Cumanus, Aquinas, Bartholomæus Spineus, &c.

The first Chapter.

THAT which in this matter of witchcraft hath abused so manie, and séemeth both so horrible and intollerable, is a plaine bargaine, that (they saie) is made betwixt the diuell and the witch. And manie of great learning conceiue it to be a matter of truth, and in their writings publish it accordinglie: the which (by Gods grace) shall be prooued as vaine and false as the rest.

The double bargane of witches with the diuell.

The order of their bargaine or profession is double; the one solemne and publike; the other secret and priuate. That which is called solemne or publike, is where witches come togither at certeine assemblies, at the times prefixed, and doo not onelie sée the diuell in visible forme; but confer and talke familiarlie with him. In which conference the diuell exhorteth them to obserue their fidelitie vnto him, promising them long life and prosperitie. Then the witches assembled, commend a new disciple (whom they call a nouice) vnto him: and if the diuell find that yoong witch apt and forward in renunciation of christian faith, in despising anie of the seuen sacraments, in treading vpon crosses, in spetting at the time of the eleuation, in breaking their fast on fasting daies, and fasting on sundaies; then the diuell giueth foorth

his

his hand, and the nouice ioining hand in hand with him, promiseth to obserue and keepe all the diuels commandements.

This done, the diuell beginneth to be more bold with hir, telling hir plainlie, that all this will not serue his turne; and therefore requireth homage at hir hands: yea he also telleth hir, that she must grant him both hir bodie and soule to be tormented in euerlasting fire; which she yeeldeth vnto. Then he chargeth hir, to procure as manie men, women, and children also, as she can, to enter into this societie. Then he teacheth them to make ointments of the bowels and members of children, whereby they ride in the aire, and accomplish all their desires. So as, if there be anie children vnbaptised, or not garded with the signe of the crosse, or orizons; then the witches may and doo catch them from their mothers sides in the night, or out of their cradles, or otherwise kill them with their ceremonies; and after buriall steale them out of their graues, and seeth them in a caldron, vntill their flesh be made potable. Of the thickest whereof they make ointments, whereby they ride in the aire; but the thinner potion they put into flaggons, whereof whosoeuer drinketh, obseruing certeine ceremonies, immediatlie becommeth a maister or rather a mistresse in that practise and facultie. *Mal. Malef. de modo professionis.*

The order of the witches homage done (as it is written by lewd inquisitors and peeuish witchmoongers) to the diuell in person; of their songs and danses, and namelie of La volta, and of other ceremonies, also of their excourses.

The second Chapter.

Sometimes their homage with their oth and bargaine is receiued for a certeine terme of yeares; sometimes for euer. Sometimes it consisteth in the deniall of the whole faith, sometimes in part. The first is, when the soule is absolutelie yeelded to the diuell and hell fier: the other is, when they haue but bargained to obserue Homage of witches to the diuell.

obserue certeine ceremonies and statutes of the church; as to conceale faults at shrift, to fast on sundaies, &c. And this is doone either by oth, protestation of words, or by obligation in writing, sometimes sealed with wax, sometimes signed with bloud, sometimes by kissing the diuels bare buttocks; as did a Doctor called Edlin, who as (Bodin saith) was burned for witchcraft.

Bar. Spineus, cap.1. in nouo Mal. malef.

You must also vnderstand, that after they haue delicatlie banketted with the diuell and the ladie of the fairies; and haue eaten vp a fat oxe, and emptied a butt of malmesie, and a binne of bread at some noble mans house, in the dead of the night, nothing is missed of all this in the morning. For the ladie Sibylla, Minerua, or Diana with a golden rod striketh the vessell & the binne, and they are fullie replenished againe. Yea, she causeth the bullocks bones to be brought and laid togither vpon the hide, and lappeth the foure ends thereof togither, laieng hir golden rod thereon; and then riseth vp the bullocke againe in his former estate and condition: and yet at their returne home they are like to starue for hunger; as Spineus saith. And this must be an infallible rule, that euerie fortnight, or at the least euerie moneth, each witch must kill one child at the least for hir part.

Idem Ibid.

I. Bod. de demon. lib. 2. cap. 4.

And here some of Monsieur Bodins lies may be inserted, who saith, that at these magicall assemblies, the witches neuer faile to danse; and in their danse they sing these words; Har har, diuell diuell, danse here, danse here, plaie here, plaie here, Sabbath, sabbath. And whiles they sing and danse, euerie one hath a broome in hir hand, and holdeth it vp aloft. Item he saith, that these night-walking or rather night-dansing witches, brought out of Italie into France, that danse, which is called La volta.

Mal. Malef.

A part of their league is, to scrape off the oile, which is receiued in extreame follie (vnction I should haue said.) But if that be so dangerous, they which socke the corps had néede to take great care, that they rub not off the oile, which diuers other waies may also be thrust out of the forehead; and then I perceiue all the vertue thereof is gone, and farewell it. But I maruell how they take on to preserue the water powred on them in baptisme, which I take to be largelie of as great force as the other; and yet I thinke is commonlie wiped and washed off, within foure and twentie houres after baptisme: but this agréeth with the residue

of

of their follie.

And this is to be noted, that the inquisitors affirme, that during the whole time of the witches excourse, the diuell occupieth the roome and place of the witch, in so perfect a similitude, as hir husband in his bed, neither by féeling, spéech, nor countenance can discerne hir from his wife. Yea the wife departeth out of hir husbands armes insensiblie, and leaueth the diuell in hir roome visiblie. Wherein their incredulitie is incredible, who will haue a verie bodie in the feined plaie, and a phantasticall bodie in the true bed: and yet (forsooth) at the name of Jesus, or at the signe of the crosse, all these bodilie witches (they saie) vanish awaie. *Grillandus. de sort.10. vol.tract.*

How witches are summoned to appeere before the diuell, of their riding in the aire, of their accompts, of their conference with the diuell, of his supplies, and their conference, of their farewell and sacrifices: according to Danæus, Psellus, &c.

The third Chapter.

Hitherto, for the most part, are the verie words conteined in M. Mal. or Bodin, or rather in both; or else in the new M. Mal. or at the least-wise of some writer or other, that mainteineth the almightie power of witches. But Danæus saith, the diuell oftentimes in the likenes of a sumner, méeteth them at markets and faires, and warneth them to appéere in their assemblies, at a certeine houre in the night, that he may vnderstand whom they haue slaine, and how they haue profited. If they be lame, he saith the diuell deliuereth them a staffe, to conueie them thither inuisiblie through the aire; and that then they fall a dansing and singing of bawdie songs, wherein he leadeth the danse himselfe. Which danse, and other conferencies being ended, he supplieth their wants of powders and roots to intoxicate withall; and giueth to euerie nouice a marke, either with his téeth or with his clawes, and so they kisse the diuels bare buttocks, and depart: *Danæus in dialog.cap.4.*

not

Ide. Ibidem. not forgetting euery daie afterwards to offer to him, dogs, cats, *Idem in dialog. cap. 3.* hens, or bloud of their owne. And all this dooth Danæus report as a troth, and as it were vpon his owne knowledge. And yet else-where he saieth; In these matters they doo but dreame, and doo not those things indeed, which they confesse through their distemperature, growing of their melancholike humor: and therefore (saith he) these things, which they report of themselues, are but meere illusions.

Psellus addeth herevnto, that certeine magicall heretikes, to wit; the Eutychians, assemblie themselues euerie good fridaie at night; and putting out the candles, doo commit incestuous adulterie, the father with the daughter, the sister with the brother, and the sonne with the mother; and the ninth moneth they returne and are deliuered; and cutting their children in peeces, fill their pots with their bloud; then burne they the carcases, and mingle the ashes therewith, and so preserue the same for magicall purposes. Cardanus writeth (though in mine opinion not verie probablie) *Card. lib. de var. rerum. 15. cap. 80.* that these excourses, dansings, &c: had their beginning from certeine heretikes called Dulcini, who deuised those feasts of Bacchus which are named Orgia, whereunto these kind of people openlie assembled; and beginning with riot, ended with this follie. Which feasts being prohibited, they neuertheles hanted them secretlie; and when they could not doo so, then did they it in cogitation onelie, and euen to this daie (saith he) there remaineth a certeine image or resemblance thereof among our melancholike women.

That there can no reall league be made with the diuell the first author of the league, and the weake proofes of the aduersaries for the same.

The fourth Chapter.

If the league be vntrue, as are the residue of their confessions, the witchmongers arguments fall to the ground: for all the writers herein hold this bargaine for certeine, good, and granted, and as their onelie maxime. But surelie the

indentures

indentures, conteining those couenants, are sealed with butter; and the labels are but bables. What firme bargaine can be made betwixt a carnall bodie and a spirituall? Let any wise or honest man tell me, that either hath béene a partie, or a witnesse; and I will beléeue him. But by what authoritie, proofe, or testimonie; and vpon what ground all this géere standeth, if you read M. Mal. you shall find, to the shame of the reporters (who doo so varie in their tales, and are at such contrarietie:) and to the reproch of the beléeuers of such absurd lies.

Mal. Malef. par.2. que.7. cap.2.

For the beginning of the credit hereof, resteth vpon the confession of a baggage yoong fellow condemned to be burnt for witchcraft; who said to the inquisitors, of likelihood to prolong his life, (if at leastwise the storie be true, which is taken out of Nider;) If I wist (quoth he) that I might obteine pardon, I would discouer all that I knowe of witchcraft. The which condition being accepted, and pardon promised (partlie in hope thereof, and partlie to be rid of his wife) he said as followeth.

Vpon what ground this real league began to growe in credit.

The nouice or yoong disciple goeth to some church, togither with the mistresse of that profession, vpon a sundaie morning, before the coniuration of holie water, & there the said nouice renounceth the faith, promiseth obedience in obseruing, or rather omitting of ceremonies in méetings, and such other follies; and finallie, that they doo homage to their yoong maister the diuell, as they couenanted.

But this is notable in that storie, that this yoong witch, doubting that his wiues examination would bewraie his knauerie, told the inquisitor; that in truth his wife was guiltie as well as he, but she will neuer, I am sure (quoth he) though she should be burned a thousand times, confesse any of these circumstances.

And this is in no wise to be forgotten, that notwithstanding his contrition, his confession, and his accusation of his owne wife (contrarie to the inquisitors promise and oth) he and his wife were both burned at a stake, being the first discouerers of this notable league, whereupon the fable of witchcraft is mainteined; and thereby such other confessions haue béene from the like persons, since that time, extorted and augmented.

Of the priuate league, a notable tale of Bodins concerning a French ladie, with a confutation.

The fift Chapter.

The maner of witches priuate league with the diuell.

THe maner of their priuate league is said to be, when the diuell inuisible, and sometimes visible, in the middest of the people talketh with them priuatelie; promising, that if they will followe his counsell, he will supplie all their necessities, and make all their endeuors prosperous; and so beginneth with small matters: whereunto they consent priuilie, and come not into the fairies assemblie.

And in this case (mee thinks) the diuell sometimes, in such externall or corporall shape, should meete with some that would not consent to his motions (except [illegible] will saie he knoweth their cogitations) and so should be bewraied. They also (except they were idiots) would spie him, and forsake him for breach of couenants. But these bargaines, and these assemblies doo all the writers herevpon mainteine: and Bodin confirmeth them with a hundred and odd lies; among the number whereof I will (for diuerse causes) recite one.

I. Bod lib.2. de dæmonomania.cap.4.

There was (saith he) a noble Gentlewoman at Lions, that being in bed with a louer of hirs, suddenlie in the night arose vp, and lighted a candle: which when she had done, she tooke a box of ointment, wherewith she annointed hir bodie; and after a few words spoken, she was carried awaie. Hir bedfellow seeing the order hereof, lept out of his bed, tooke the candle in his hand, and sought for the ladie round about the chamber, and in euerie corner thereof. But though he could not find hir, yet did he find hir box of ointment: and being desirous to know the vertue thereof, besmeered himselfe therewith, euen as he perceiued hir to haue done before. And although he were not so superstitious, as to vse anie words to helpe him forward in his busines, yet by the vertue of that ointment (saith Bodin) he was immediatlie conueied

This agreeeth not with their interpreta-

to

to Lorreine, into the assemblie of witches. Which when he sawe, he was abashed, and said; In the name of God, what make I héere? And upon those words the whole assemblie vanished awaie, and left him there alone starke naked; and so was he faine to returne to Lions. But he had so good a conscience (for you may perceiue by the first part of the historie, he was a verie honest man) that he accused his true louer for a witch, and caused hir to be burned. But as for his adulterie, neither M. Mal. nor Bodin doo once so much as speake in the dispraise thereof.

tion, that saie, this is onlie done by vertue of the legue; nor yet to them that referre it vnto words: quoth nota.

It appeareth throughout all Bodins booke, that he is sore offended with Cornelius Agrippa, and the rather (as I suppose) bicause the said C. Agrippa recanted that which Bodin mainteineth, who thinketh he could worke wonders by magicke, and speciallie by his blacke dog. It should séeme he had prettie skill in the art of diuination. For though he wrote before Bodin manie a yeare, yet uttereth he these words in his booke *De vanitate scientiarum*: A certeine French protonotarie (saith he) a lewd fellow and a cosener, hath written a certeine fable or miracle done at Lions, &c. What Bodin is, I knowe not, otherwise than by report; but I am certeine this his tale is a fond fable: and Bodin saith it was performed at Lions; and this man (as I vnderstand) by profession is a ciuill lawier.

C. Agrippa. cap. 51.

A disproofe of their assemblies, and of their bargaine.

The sixt Chapter.

That the ioining of hands with the diuell, the kissing of his bare buttocks, and his scratching and biting of them, are absurd lies, euerie one hauing the gift of reason may plainlie perceiue: in so much as it is manifest vnto vs by the word of God, that a spirit hath no flesh, bones, nor sinewes, whereof hands, buttocks, claws, téeth, and lips doo consist. For admit that the constitution of a diuels bodie (as Tatian and other affirme) consisteth in spirituall conge-

Tatianus contra Græcos.

congelations, as of fier and aire; yet it cannot be perceiued of mortall creatures. What credible witnesse is there brought at anie time, of this their corporall, visible, and incredible bargaine; sauing the confession of some person diseased both in bodie and mind, wilfullie made, or iniuriouslie constrained? It is meruell that no penitent witch that forsaketh hir trade, confesseth not these things without compulsion. Mée thinketh their couenant made at baptisme with God, before good witnesses, sanctified with the word, confirmed with his promises, and established with his sacraments, should be of more force than that which they make with the diuell, which no bodie séeth or knoweth. For God deceiueth none, with whom he bargaineth; neither doth he mocke or disappoint them, although he danse not among them.

Their oth, to procure into their league and fellowship as manie as they can (wherby euerie one witch, as Bodin affirmeth, augmenteth the number of fiftie) bewraieth greatlie their indirect dealing. Hereof I haue made triall, as also of the residue of their cosening deuises; and haue béene with the best, or rather the worst of them, to sée what might be gathered out of their counsels; and haue cunninglie treated with them thereabouts: and further, haue sent certeine old persons to indent with them, to be admitted into their societie. But as well by their excuses and delaies, as by other circumstances, I haue tried and found all their trade to be méere cosening.

The author speaketh vpon due proofe and triall.

I praie you what bargaine haue they made with the diuell, that with their angrie lookes béewitch lambs, children, &c? Is it not confessed, that it is naturall, though it be a lie? What bargaine maketh the sothsaier, which hath his seuerall kinds of witchcraft and diuination expressed in the scripture? Or is it not granted that they make none? How chanceth it that we heare not of this bargaine in the scriptures?

A confutation of the obiection concerning witches confessions.

The seuenth Chapter.

IT is confessed (saie some by the waie of obiection) euen of these women themselues, that they do these and such other horrible things, as deserueth death, with all extremitie, &c. Whereunto I answer, that whosoeuer consideratelie beholdeth their confessions, shall perceiue all to be vaine, idle, false, inconstant, and of no weight; except their contempt and ignorance in religion: which is rather the fault of the negligent pastor, than of the simple woman.

First, if their confession be made by compulsion, of force or authoritie, or by persuasion, and vnder colour of freendship, it is not to be regarded; bicause the extremitie of threts and tortures prouokes it; or the qualitie of faire words and allurements constraines it. If it be voluntarie, manie circumstances must be considered, to wit; whether she appeach not hir selfe to ouerthrow hir neighbour, which manie times happeneth through their cankered and malicious melancholike humor: then; whether in that same melancholike mood and frentike humor, she desire not the abridgment of hir owne daies. Which thing Aristotle saith doth oftentimes happen vnto persons subiect to melancholike passions: and (as Bodin and Sprenger saie) to these old women called witches, which manie times (as they affirme) refuse to liue; threatning the iudges, that if they may not be burned, they will laie hands vpon themselues, and so make them guiltie of their damnation.

Confession compulsorie; as by Hispanicall inquisition: Looke *Mal. malef.* & *Io. Bodin.*

Confession persuasorie; as by flatterie: Looke *Bry. Darcie* against *Vrsu. Kempe.*

Iohn. Bod.

Mal. Malef.

I my selfe haue knowne, that where such a one could not preuaile, to be accepted as a sufficient witnesse against himselfe, he presentlie went and threw himselfe into a pond of water, where he was drowned. But the lawe saith; *Volenti mori non est habenda fides*, that is; His word is not to be credited that is desirous to die.

L. absent. de poenis. L. 2. cum glos.

de iis, qui ante sentent. mortui sunt, sibi necem consciscentes.

die. Also sometimes (as else-where I haue prooued) they confesse that, whereof they were neuer guiltie; supposing that they did that which they did not, by meanes of certeine circumstances. And as they sometimes confesse impossibilities, as that they flie in the aire, transubstantiate themselues, raise tempests, transfer or remoue corne, &c: so doo they also (I saie) confesse voluntarilie, that which no man could prooue, and that which no man would ghesse, nor yet beléeue, except he were as mad as they; so as they bring death wilfullie vpon themselues: which argueth an vnsound mind.

If they confesse that, which hath béene indéed committed by them, as poisoning, or anie other kind of murther, which falleth into the power of such persons to accomplish; I stand not to defend their cause. Howbeit, I would wish that euen in that case there be not too rash credit giuen, nor too hastie procéedings vsed against them: but that the causes, properties, and circumstances of euerie thing be dulie considered, and diligentlie examined.

Absurdities in witches confessions.

For you shall vnderstand, that as sometimes they confesse they haue murthered their neighbours with a wish, sometimes with a word, sometimes with a looke, &c: so they confesse, that with the deliuering of an apple, or some such thing, to a woman with child, they haue killed the child in the mothers wombe, when nothing was added therevnto, which naturallie could be noisome or hurtfull.

In like maner they confesse, that with a touch of their bare hand, they sometimes kill a man being in perfect health and strength of bodie; when all his garments are betwixt their hand and his flesh.

But if this their confession be examined by diuinitie, philosophie, physicke, lawe or conscience, it will be found false and insufficient. First, for that the working of miracles is ceased. Secondlie, no reason can be yéelded for a thing so farre beyond all reason. Thirdlie, no receipt can be of such efficacie, as when the same is touched with a bare hand, from whence the veines haue passage through the bodie vnto the hart, it should not annoie the poisoner; and yet reteine vertue and force enough, to pearse through so manie garments and the verie flesh incurablie, to the place of death in another person. *Cui argumento* (saith Bodin) *nescio quid respon-*

I. Bod. de dæmon. lib. 2. cap. 8.

respondere possit. Fourthlie, no lawe will admit such a confession, as yeeldeth unto impossibilities, against the which there is never any lawe provided; otherwise it would not serve a mans turne, to plead and prove that he was at Berwicke that daie, that he is accused to have doone a murther in Canturburie: for it might be said, he was conveied to Berwicke, and backe againe by inchantment. Fiftlie, he is not by conscience to be executed, which hath no sound mind nor perfect judgement. And yet forsooth we read, that one mother Stile did kill one [redacted] Saddocke with a touch on the shoulder, for not keeping promise with hir for an old cloake, to make hir a safegard; and that she was hanged for hir labour.

In a little pamphlet of the acts and hanging of foure witches, in anno.1579.

What follie it were for witches to enter into such desperate perill, and to endure such intollerable tortures for no gaine or commoditie, and how it comes to passe that witches are overthrowne by their confessions.

The eight Chapter.

ALas! if they were so subtill, as witchmongers make them to be, they would espie that it were meere follie for them, not onelie to make a bargaine with the divell to throw their soules into hell fire, but their bodies to the tortures of temporall fire and death, for the accomplishment of nothing that might benefit themselves at all: but they would at the least wise indent with the divell, both to inrich them, and also to enoble them; and finallie to endue them with all worldlie felicitie and pleasure: which is furthest from them of all other. Yea, if they were sensible, they would saie to the divell; Whie should I hearken to you, when you will deceive me? Did you not promise my neighbour mother Dutton to save and rescue hir; and yet lo she is hanged? Surelie this would appose the divell verie sore. And it is a wonder, that none, from the beginning of the world, till this daie, hath made this and such like objections, whereto the divell could never

make answer. But were it not more madnes for them, to serue the diuell, vnder these conditions; and yet to endure whippings with iron rods at the diuels hands: which (as the witchmongers write) are so set on, that the print of the lashes remaine vpon the witches bodie euer after, euen so long as she hath a daie to liue. *Iohn. Bod.*

But these old women being daunted with authoritie, circumuented with guile, constrained by force, compelled by feare, induced by error, and deceiued by ignorance, doo fall into such rash credulitie, and so are brought vnto these absurd confessions. Whose error of mind and blindnes of will dependeth vpon the disease and infirmitie of nature: and therefore their actions in that case are the more to be borne withall; bicause they, being destitute of reason, can haue no consent. For, *Delictum sine consensu non potest committi, neque iniuria sine animo iniuriandi*; that is, There can be no sinne without consent, nor iniurie committed without a mind to doo wrong. Yet the lawe saith further, that A purpose reteined in mind, dooth nothing to the priuat or publike hurt of anie man; and much more that an impossible purpose is vnpunishable. *Sanæ mentis voluntas, voluntas rei possibilis est*; A sound mind willeth nothing, but that which is possible.

L. si per errorem iurisd. omni cum inde. C. sed hoc d. de publ. &c. Bal. in leg. &c.

How melancholie abuseth old women, and of the effects thereof by sundrie examples.

The ninth Chapter.

IF anie man aduisedlie marke their words, actions, cogitations, and gestures, he shall perceiue that melancholie abounding in their head, and occupieng their braine, hath depriued or rather depraued their iudgements, and all their senses: I meane not of cosening witches, but of poore melancholike women, which are themselues deceiued. For you shall vnderstand, that the force which melancholie hath, and the effects that it worketh in the bodie of a man, or rather of a woman, are almost incredible. For as some of these melancholike persons imagine, they are witches, and

and by witchcraft can worke wonders, and doo what they list: so doo other, troubled with this disease, imagine manie strange, incredible, and impossible things. Some, that they are monarchs and princes, and that all other men are their subiects: some, that they are brute beasts: some, that they be vrinals or earthen pots, greatlie fearing to be broken: some, that euerie one that méeteth them, will conueie them to the gallowes; and yet in the end hang themselues. One thought, that Atlas, whome the poets feigne to hold vp heauen with his shoulders, would be wearie, and let the skie fall vpon him: another would spend a whole daie vpon a stage, imagining that he both heard and saw interludes, and therewith made himselfe great sport. One Theophilus a physician, otherwise sound inough of mind (as it is said) imagined that he heard and sawe musicians continuallie plaieng on instruments, in a certeine place of his house. One Bessus, that had killed his father, was notablie detected; by imagining that a swallowe vpraided him therewith: so as he himselfe thereby reuealed the murther.

Of one that through melancholie was induced to thinke that he had a nose as big as a house, &c.

But the notablest example héereof is, of one that was in great perplexitie, imagining that his nose was as big as a house; insomuch as no fréend nor physician could deliuer him from this conceipt, nor yet either ease his gréefe, or satisfie his fansie in that behalfe: till at the last, a physician more expert in this humor than the rest, vsed this deuise following. First, when he was to come in at the chamber doore being wide open, he suddenlie staied and withdrew himselfe; so as he would not in anie wise approch néerer than the doore. The melancholike person musing héereat, asked him the cause why he so demeaned himselfe? Who answered him in this maner: Sir, your nose is so great, that I can hardlie enter into your chamber but I shall touch it, and consequentlie hurt it. Lo (quoth he) this is the man that must doo me good; the residue of my fréends flatter me, and would hide mine infirmitie from me. Well (said the physician) I will cure you, but you must be content to indure a little paine in the dressing: which he promised patientlie to susteine, and conceiued certeine hope of his recouerie. Then entred the physician into the chamber, créeping close by the walles, séeming to feare the touching and hurting of his nose. Then did he blindfold him, which

being doone, he caught him by the nose with a paire of pinsors, and threw downe into a tub, which he had placed before his patient, a great quantitie of bloud, with manie peeces of bullocks liuers, which he had conueied into the chamber, whilest the others eies were bound vp, and then gaue him libertie to see and behold the same. He hauing doone thus againe two or three times, the melancholike humor was so qualified, that the mans mind being satisfied, his greefe was eased, and his disease cured.

Thrasibulus, otherwise called Thrasillus, being sore oppressed with this melancholike humor, imagined, that all the ships, which arriued at port Pyræus, were his: insomuch as he would number them, and command the mariners to lanch, &c: triumphing at their safe returnes, and morning for their misfortunes. The Italian, whom we called here in England, the Monarch, was possessed with the like spirit or conceipt. Danæus himselfe reporteth, that he sawe one, that affirmed constantlie that he was a cocke; and saith that through melancholie, such were alienated from themselues.

Danæus in dialog. cap. 3.

Now, if the fansie of a melancholike person may be occupied in causes which are both false and impossible; why should an old witch be thought free from such fantasies, who (as the learned philosophers and physicians saie) vpon the stopping of their monethlie melancholike flux or issue of bloud, in their age must needs increase therein, as (through their weakenesse both of bodie and braine) the aptest persons to meete with such melancholike imaginations: with whome their imaginations remaine, euen when their senses are gone. Which Bodin laboureth to disproue, therein shewing himselfe as good a physician, as else-where a diuine.

I. Baptist. P. N. cap. 2. Card. de var. rerum. I. Wier. de. prestigijs demonum, &c. Aristotle.

Iohn. Bod.

But if they may imagine, that they can transforme their owne bodies, which neuerthelesse remaineth in the former shape: how much more credible is it, that they may falselie suppose they can hurt and infeeble other mens bodies; or which is lesse, hinder the comming of butter? &c. But what is it that they will not imagine, and consequentlie confesse that they can doo; speciallie being so earnestlie persuaded therevnto, so sorelie tormented, so craftilie examined, with such promises of fauour, as wherby they imagine, that they shall euer after liue in great credit & welth? &c.

If you read the executions doone vpon witches, either in times

past in other countries, or latelie in this land; you shall sée such impossibilities confessed, as none, hauing his right wits, will beléeue. Among other like false confessions, we read that there was a witch confessed at the time of hir death or execution, that she had raised all the tempests, and procured all the frosts and hard weather that happened in the winter 1565: and that manie graue and wise men beléeued hir. *Ant.Houin.*

That voluntarie confessions may be vntrulie made, to the vndooing of the confessors, and of the strange operation of melancholie, prooued by a familiar and late example.

The tenth Chapter.

BVt that it may appéere, that euen voluntarie confession (in this case) may be vntrulie made, though it tend to the destruction of the confessor; and that melancholie may moue imaginations to that effect: I will cite a notable instance concerning this matter, the parties themselues being yet aliue, and dwelling in the parish of Sellenge in Kent, and the matter not long sithence in this sort performed.

One Ade Dauie, the wife of Simon Dauie husbandman, being reputed a right honest bodie, and being of good parentage, grew suddenlie (as hir husband informed mée, and as it is well knowne in these parts) to be somewhat pensiue and more sad than in times past. Which thing though it gréeued him, yet he was loth to make it so appéere, as either his wife might be troubled or discontented therewith, or his neighbours informed thereof; least ill husbandrie should be laid to his charge (which in these quarters is much abhorred.) But when she grew from pensiuenes, to some perturbation of mind; so as hir accustomed rest began in the night season to be withdrawne from hir, through sighing and secret lamentation; and that, not without teares, hée could not but demand the cause of hir conceipt and extraordina- *A Kentish storie of a late accident.*

rie morning. But although at that time she couered the same, acknowledging nothing to be amisse with hir: soone after notwithstanding she fell downe before him on hir knées, desiring him to forgiue hir, for she had gréeuouslie offended (as she said) both God & him. Hir poore husband being abashed at this hir behauiour, comforted hir, as he could; asking hir the cause of hir trouble & gréefe: who told him, that she had, contrarie to Gods lawe, & to the offense of all good christians, to the iniurie of him, & speciallie to the losse of hir owne soule, bargained and giuen hir soule to the diuell, to be deliuered vnto him within short space. Whereunto hir husband answered, saieng; Wife, be of good chéere, this thy bargaine is void and of none effect: for thou hast sold that which is none of thine to sell; sith it belongeth to Christ, who hath bought it, and déerelie paid for it, euen with his bloud, which he shed vpon the crosse; so as the diuell hath no interest in thée. After this, with like submission, teares, and penitence, she said vnto him; Oh husband, I haue yet committed another fault, and doone you more iniurie: for I haue bewitched you and your children. Be content (quoth he) by the grace of God, Jesus Christ shall vnwitch vs: for none euill can happen to them that feare God.

Note the christian comfort of the husbād to his wife.

And (as trulie as the Lord liueth) this was the tenor of his words vnto me, which I knowe is true, as procéeding from vnfeigned lips, and from one that feareth God. Now when the time approched that the diuell should come, and take possession of the woman, according to his bargaine, he watched and praied earnestlie, and caused his wife to read psalmes and praiers for mercie at Gods hands: and suddenlie about midnight, there was a great rumbling béelowe vnder his chamber windowe, which amazed them excéedinglie. For they conceiued, that the diuell was béelowe, though he had no power to come vp, bicause of their feruent praiers.

Confutation.

He that noteth this womans first and second confession, fréelie and voluntarilie made, how euerie thing concurred that might serue to adde credit thereunto, and yéeld matter for hir condemnation, would not thinke, but that if Bodin were foreman of hir inquest, he would crie; Guiltie: & would hasten execution vpon hir; who would haue said as much before any iudge in

the world, if she had béene examined; and haue confessed no lesse, if she had béene arraigned therupon. But God knoweth, she was innocent of anie these crimes: howbeit she was brought lowe and pressed downe with the weight of this humor, so as both hir rest and sléepe were taken awaie from hir; & hir fansies troubled and disquieted with despaire, and such other cogitations as grew by occasion thereof. And yet I beléeue, if any mishap had insued to hir husband, or his children; few witchmongers would haue iudged otherwise, but that she had bewitched them. And she (for hir part) so constantlie persuaded hir selfe to be a witch, that she iudged hir selfe worthie of death; insomuch as being reteined in hir chamber, she sawe not anie one carrieng a faggot to the fier, but she would saie it was to make a fier to burne hir for witcherie. But God knoweth she had bewitched none, neither insued there anie hurt vnto anie, by hir imagination, but vnto hir selfe.

And as for the rumbling, it was by occasion of a shéepe, which was flawed, and hoong by the wals, so as a dog came and deuoured it; whereby grew the noise which I before mentioned: and she being now recouered, remaineth a right honest woman, far from such impietie, and ashamed of hir imaginations, which she perceiueth to haue growne through melancholie. A comicall catastrophe.

The strange and diuers effects of melancholie, and how the same humor abounding in witches, or rather old women, filleth them full of meruellous imaginations, and that their confessions are not to be credited.

The eleuenth Chapter.

But in truth, this melancholike humor (as the best physicians affirme) is the cause of all their strange, impossible, and incredible confessions: which are so fond, that I wonder how anie man can be abused thereby. Howbeit, these affections, though they appeare in the mind of man, yet are they bred in the bodie, and procéed from this humor, which is the verie dregs of bloud, nourishing and féeding those places, from whence procéed feares, cogitations,

H.Card.de var.rerum. cap.8.
Io: Wierus de præst.lib.6 cap.8.

gitations, superstitions, fastings, labours, and such like.

Aristotle de somnio. H.Card.lib.8 de var.rer.

This maketh sufferance of torments, and (as some saie) foresight of things to come, and preserueth health, as being cold and drie: it maketh men subiect to leanenesse, and to the quartane ague. They that are vexed therewith, are destroiers of themselues, stout to suffer iniuries, fearefull to offer violence; except the humor be hot. They learne strange tongs with small industrie (as Aristotle and others affirme.)

Io.Bod.contra Io.Wierum.

If our witches phantasies were not corrupted, nor their wils confounded with this humor, they would not so voluntarilie and readilie confesse that which calleth their life in question; whereof they could neuer otherwise be conuicted. I. Bodin with his lawyers physicke reasoneth contrarilie; as though melancholie were furthest of all from those old women, whom we call witches: deriding the most famous and noble physician John Wier for his opinion in that behalfe. But bicause I am no physician, I will set a physician to him; namelie Erastus, who hath these words, to wit, that These witches, through their corrupt phantasie abounding with melancholike humors, by reason of their old age, doo dreame and imagine they hurt those things which they neither could nor doo hurt; and so thinke they knowe an art, which they neither haue learned nor yet understand.

But whie should there be more credit giuen to witches, when they saie they haue made a reall bargaine with the diuell, killed a cow, bewitched butter, infeebled a child, forespoken hir neighbour, &c: than when she confesseth that she transubstantiateth hir selfe, maketh it raine or haile, flieth in the aire, goeth inuisible, transferreth corne in the grasse from one field to another? &c. If you thinke that in the one their confessions be sound, whie should you saie that they are corrupt in the other; the confession of all these things being made at one instant, and affirmed with like constancie, or rather audacitie? But you see the one to be impossible, and therefore you thinke thereby, that their confessions are vaine and false. The other you thinke may be doone, and see them confesse it, and therefore you conclude, *A posse ad esse*; as being persuaded it is so, bicause you thinke it may be so. But I saie, both with the diuines, and philosophers, that that which is imagined of witchcraft, hath no truth of action; or being besides their imagination,

August. lib. de Trinit.3. Idem de ciuit.Dei.

gination, the which (for the most part) is occupied in false causes. *Clemens.recogn.3.*
For whosoeuer desireth to bring to passe an impossible thing, hath a vaine, an idle, and a childish persuasion, bred by an vnsound mind: for *Sanæ mentis voluntas, voluntas rei possibilis est*; The will of a sound mind, is the desire of a possible thing. *Iamblichus. Io.Wierus. Cardanus. Pampia.&c.*

A confutation of witches confessions, especiallie concerning their league.

The twelfe Chapter.

But it is obiected, that witches confesse they renounce the faith, and as their confession must be true (or else they would not make it:) so must their fault be worthie of death, or else they should not be executed. *An obiection.* Whereunto I answer as before; that their confessions are extorted, or else proceed from an vnsound mind. *The resolution.* Yea I saie further, that we our selues, which are sound of mind, and yet seeke anie other waie of saluation than Christ Jesus, or breake his commandements, or walke not in his steps with a liuelie faith, &c: doo not onlie renounce the faith, but God himselfe: and therefore they (in confessing that they forsake God, and imbrace satan) doo that which we all should doo. As touching that horrible part of their confession, in the league which tendeth to the killing of their owne and others children, the seething of them, and the making of their potion or pottage, and the effects thereof; their good fridaies meeting, being the daie of their deliuerance, their incests, with their returne at the end of nine moneths, when commonlie women be neither able to go that iournie, nor to returne, &c: it is so horrible, vnnaturall, vnlikelie, and vnpossible; that if I should behold such things with mine eies, I should rather thinke my selfe dreaming, dronken, or some waie depriued of my senses; than giue credit to so horrible and filthie matters.

How hath the oile or pottage of a sodden child such vertue, as that a staffe annointed therewith, can carrie folke in the aire? *A forged miracle.* Their potable liquor, which (they saie) maketh maisters of that fa-

cultie, is it not ridiculous? And is it not, by the opinion of all philosophers, physicians, and diuines, void of such vertue, as is imputed thereunto?

Their not fasting on fridaies, and their fasting on sundaies, their spetting at the time of eleuation, their refusall of holie water, their despising of superstitious crosses, &c: which are all good steps to true christianitie, helpe me to confute the residue of their confessions.

A confutation of witches confessions, concerning making of tempests and raine: of the naturall cause of raine, and that witches or diuels haue no power to doo such things.

The xiij. Chapter.

AND to speake more generallie of all the impossible actions referred unto them, as also of their false confessions; I saie, that there is none which acknowledgeth God to be onlie omnipotent, and the onlie worker of all miracles, nor anie other indued with meane sense, but will denie that the elements are obedient to witches, and at their commandement; or that they may at their pleasure send raine, haile, tempests, thunder, lightening; when she being but an old doting woman, casteth a flint stone ouer hir left shoulder, towards the west, or hurleth a little sea sand up into the element, or wetteth a broome sprig in water, and sprinkleth the same in the aire; or diggeth a pit in the earth, and putting water therein, stirreth it about with hir finger; or boileth hogs bristles, or laieth sticks acrosse upon a banke, where neuer a drop of water is; or burieth sage till it be rotten: all which things are confessed by witches, and affirmed by writers to be the meanes that witches use to moue extraordinarie tempests and raine, &c.

The waies that witches use to make raine, &c.

Nider. Mal. Malef.I.Bod. Frier Barth. Heming.Danæus,&c.

We read in M.Maleficarum, that a little girle walking abroad with hir father in his land, heard him complaine of drought, wishing for raine, &c. Whie father (quoth the child) I can make it raine

Mal. Malef. par.2. quæ.1. cap.12.

or

or haile, when and where I list? He asked where she learned it. She said, of hir mother, who forbad hir to tell anie bodie thereof. He asked hir how hir mother taught hir? She answered, that hir mother committed hir to a maister, who would at anie time doo anie thing for hir. Whie then (said he) make it raine but onlie in my field. And so she went to the streame, and threw vp water in hir maisters name, and made it raine presentlie. And procéeding further with hir father, she made it haile in another field, at hir fathers request. Herevpon he accused his wife, and caused hir to be burned; and then he new christened his child againe: which circumstance is common among papists and witchmongers. And howsoeuer the first part hereof was prooued, there is no doubt but the latter part was throughlie executed. If they could indéed bring these things to passe at their pleasure, then might they also be impediments vnto the course of all other naturall things, and ordinances appointed by God: as, to cause it to hold vp, when it should raine; and to make midnight, of high noone: and by those meanes (I saie) the diuine power should béecome seruile to the will of a witch, so as we could neither eat nor drinke, but by their permission.

He that can lie, can steale; as he that can worke can plaie.

Me thinks Seneca might satisfie these credulous or rather idolatrous people, that runne a whorehunting, either in bodie or phansie, after these witches, beléeuing all that is attributed vnto them, to the derogation of Gods glorie. He saith, that the rude people, and our ignorant predecessors did beléeue, that raine and showers might be procured and staied by witches charmes and inchantments: of which kind of things that there can nothing be wrought, it is so manifest, that we néed not go to anie philosophers schoole, to learne the confutation thereof.

But Ieremie, by the word of God, dooth vtterlie confound all that which may be deuised for the maintenance of that foolish opinion, saieng; Are there any among the gods of the gentiles, that sendeth raine, or giueth showers from heauen? Art not thou the selfe same our Lord God? We will trust in thée, for thou dooest and makest all these things. I may therefore with Brentius boldlie saie, that It is neither in the power of witches nor diuels, to accomplish that matter; but in God onelie. For when exhalations are drawne and lifted vp from out of the earth, by the power

Iere. 16, 22.

Dij gentium dæmonia, The gods of the gentiles are diuels.

of

of the sunne, into the middle region of the aire, the coldnes thereof constreineth and thickeneth those vapours; which being become clouds, are dissolued againe by the heate of the sunne, wherby raine or haile is ingendred; raine, if by the waie the drops be not frosen and made haile. These circumstances being considered with the course of the whole scripture, it can neither be in the power of witch or diuell to procure raine, or faire weather.

The naturall generation of haile and raine.

And whereas the storie of Iob in this case is alledged against me (wherein a witch is not once named) I haue particularlie answered it else-where. And therefore thus much onelie I say héere; that Euen there, where it pleased God (as Caluine saith) to set downe circumstances for the instruction of our grosse capacities, which are not able to conceiue of spirituall communication, or heauenlie affaires; the diuell desireth God to stretch out his hand, and touch all that Iob hath. And though he séemeth to grant sathans desire, yet God himselfe sent fire from heauen, &c. Wherby it is to be gathered, that although God said, He is in thine hand: it was the Lords hand that punished Iob, and not the hand of the diuell, who said not, Giue me leaue to plague him; but, Laie thine hand vpon him. And when Iob continued faithfull notwithstanding all his afflictions, in his children, bodie and goods; the diuell is said to come againe to God, and to saie as before, to wit: Now stretch out thine hand, and touch his bones and his flesh. Which argueth as well that he could not doo it, as that he himselfe did it not before. And be it here remembred, that M. Mal. and the residue of the witchmongers denie, that there were any witches in Iobs time. But sée more hereof else-where.

Iob.1, 11.

Ib.verse.16.

Iob.2, 5.

Mal.Malef. pa.1.quæ.2.

What

What wold ensue, if witches confessions or witchmongers opinions were true, concerning the effects of witchcraft, inchantments, &c.

The xiiij. Chapter.

If it were true that witches confesse, or that all writers write, or that witchmongers report, or that fooles beleeue, we should neuer haue butter in the chearne, nor cow in the close, nor corne in the field, nor faire weather abroad, nor health within doores. Or if that which is conteined in M. Mal. Bodin, &c: or in the pamphlets late set foorth in English, of witches executions, shuld be true in those things that witches are said to confesse, what creature could liue in securitie? Or what néeded such preparation of warres, or such trouble, or charge in that behalfe? No prince should be able to reigne or liue in the land. For (as Danæus saith) that one Martine a witch killed the emperour of Germanie with witchcraft: so would our witches (if they could) destroie all our magistrates. One old witch might ouerthrowe an armie roiall: and then what néeded we any guns, or wild fire, or any other instruments of warre? A witch might supplie all wants, and accomplish a princes will in this behalfe, euen without charge or bloudshed of his people.

But these suppositiōs are false, Ergo the consequencies are not true.

If it be obiected, that witches worke by the diuell, and christian princes are not to deale that way; I answer, that few princes disposed to battell would make conscience therin, speciallie such as take vniust wars in hand, vsing other helpes, deuises, & engines as vnlawfull and diuelish as that; in whose campe there is neither the rule of religion or christian order obserued: insomuch as rauishments, murthers, blasphemies and thefts are there most commonlie and fréelie committed. So that the diuell is more feared, and better serued in their camps, than God almightie.

Mal. Malef. I. Bodin. Bar. Spineus.

But admit that souldiers would be scrupulous herein, the pope hath authoritie to dispense therewith; as in like case he hath

doone, by the testimonie of his owne authors and friends. Admit also, that throughout all christendome, warres were iustly mainteined, and religion dulie obserued in their camps; yet would the Turke and other infidels cut our throtes, or at least one anothers throte, with the helpe of their witches; for they would make no conscience thereof.

Examples of forren nations, who in their warres vsed the assistance of witches; of eybiting witches in Ireland, of two archers that shot with familiars.

The xv. Chapter.

Witches in warres.

IN the warres betwéen the kings of Denmarke and Suecueland, 1563. the Danes doo write, that the king of Suecueland caried about with him in his campe, foure old witches, who with their charms so qualified the Danes, as they were thereby disabled to annoie their enimies: insomuch as, if they had taken in hand anie enterprise, they were so inféebled by those witches, as they could performe nothing. And although this could haue no credit at the first, yet in the end, one of these witches was taken prisoner, and confessed the whole matter; so as (saith he) the thréeds, the line, and the characters were found in the high waie and water plashes.

Eybiting witches.

The Irishmen addict themselues wonderfullie to the credit and practise hereof; insomuch as they affirme, that not onelie their children, but their cattell, are (as they call it) eybitten, when they fall suddenlie sicke, and terme one sort of their witches eybiters; onelie in that respect: yea and they will not sticke to affirme, that they can rime either man or beast to death. Also the West Indians and Muscouits doo the like: and the Hunnes (as Gregorie Turonensis writeth) vsed the helpe of witches in time of war.

Pumher an archer.

I find another storie written in M. Mal. repeated by Bodin; that one souldier called Pumher, dailie through witchcraft killed with his bowe and arrowes thrée of the enimies, as they stood péeping ouer the walles of a castell besieged: so as in the end he killed them all quite, sauing one. The triall of the archers sinister dea-

dealing, and a proofe thereof expressed, is; for that he neuer lightly failed when he shot, and for that he killed them by thrée a daie; and had shot thrée arrowes into a rood. This was he that shot at a penie on his sonnes head, and made readie another arrow, to haue slaine the duke Reingraue that commanded it. And doubtlesse, bicause of his singular dexteritie in shooting, he was reputed a witch, as dooing that which others could not doo, nor thinke to be in the power of man to doo: though indéed no miracle, no witchcraft, no impossibilitie nor difficultie consisted therein.

But this latter storie I can requite with a familiar example. For at Towne Malling in kent, one of Q. Maries iustices, vpon the complaint of many wise men, and a few foolish boies, laid an archer by the héeles; bicause he shot so néere the white at buts. For he was informed and persuaded, that the poore man plaied with a flie, otherwise called a diuell or familiar. And bicause he was certified that the archer aforesaid shot better than the common shooting, which he before had heard of or séene, he conceiued it could not be in Gods name, but by inchantment: whereby this archer (as he supposed by abusing the Quéenes liege people) gained some one daie two or thrée shillings, to the detriment of the commonwealth, and to his owne inriching. And therefore the archer was seuerelie punished, to the great encouragement of archers, and to the wise example of iustice; but speciallie to the ouerthrowe of witchcraft. And now againe to our matter.

A skilfull archer punished by an vnskilfull Iustice.

Authorities condemning the fantasticall confessions of witches, and how a popish doctor taketh vpon him to disproue the same.

The xvj. Chapter.

CErteine generall councels, by their decrées, haue condemned the confessions and erronious credulitie of witches, to be vaine, fantasticall and fabulous. And euen those, which are parcell of their league, wherevpon our witchmongers doo so build, to wit; their night walkings and méetings with Herodias, and

the Pagan gods: at which time they should passe so farre in so little a space on cockhorsse; their transubstantiation, their eating of children, and their pulling of them from their mothers sides, their entring into mens houses, through chinks and little holes, where a flie can scarselie wring out, and the disquieting of the inhabitants, &c: all which are not onelie said by a generall councell to be mere fantasticall, and imaginations in dreames; but so affirmed by the ancient writers. The words of the councell are these; It may not be omitted, that certeine wicked women following sathans prouocations, being seduced by the illusion of diuels, beleeue and professe, that in the night times they ride abroad with Diana, the goddesse of the Pagans, or else with Herodias, with an innumerable multitude, vpon certeine beasts, and passe ouer manie countries and nations, in the silence of the night, and doo whatsoeuer those fairies or ladies command, &c. And it followeth euen there; Let all ministers therefore in their seuerall cures, preach to Gods people, so as they may knowe all these things to be false, &c. It followeth in the same councell; Therefore, whosoeuer beleeueth that any creature may be either created by them, or else changed into better or worsse, or be any way transformed into any other kind or likenes of any, but of the creator himselfe, is assuredlie an infidell, and worsse than a Pagan.

Concil. Acquirens. in decret. 26. quę. 5. can. episcopi. August. de spiritu & anima cap. 8. Franc. Ponziuib. tract. de lam. numero 49. Grillandus de sort. numero. 6.

And if this be credible, then all these their bargaines and assemblies, &c: are incredible, which are onelie ratified by certeine foolish and extorted confessions; and by a fable of S. Germane, who watched the fairies or witches, being at a reere banket, and through his holinesse staied them, till he sent to the houses of those neighbours, which seemed to be there, and found them all in bed; and so tried, that these were diuels in the likenesse of those women. Which if it were as true, as it is false, it might serue well to confute this their meeting and night-walking. For if the diuels be onlie present in the likenesse of witches, then is that false, which is attributed to witches in this behalfe.

In histor. vel vita sancti Germani.

But bicause the old hammar of Sprenger and Institor, in their old *Malleo maleficarum*, was insufficient to knocke downe this councell; a yong beetle-head called Frier Bartholomæus Spineus hath made a new leaden beetle, to beate downe the councell, and to kill these old women. Wherein he counterfeiting

Nouus Mal. Mal. in quę. de strigib. cap. 21. 22. 23, &c.

Aesops

Aesops asse, claweth the pope with his héeles: affirming vpon his credit, that the councell is false and erronious; bicause the doctrine swarueth from the popish church, and is not authenticall but apocryphall; saieng (though vntrulie) that that councell was not called by the commandement and pleasure of the pope, nor ratified by his authoritie, which (saith he) is sufficient to disanull all councels. For surelie (saith this frier, which at this instant is a chéefe inquisitor) if the words of this councell were to be admitted, both I, and all my predecessors had published notorious lies, and committed manie iniurious executions; whereby the popes themselues also might iustlie be detected of error, contrarie to the catholike beléefe in that behalfe. Marrie he saith, that although the words and direct sense of this councell be quite contrarie to truth and his opinion; yet he will make an exposition thereof, that shall somewhat mitigate the lewdnes of the same; and this he saith is not onlie allowable to doo, but also meritorious. Marke the mans words, and iudge his meaning.

Bar. Spineus. Mal. Malef. cap.23 in quæ. de strigib.

Witchmongers reasons, to prooue that witches can worke wonders, Bodins tale of a Friseland preest transported, that imaginations proceeding of melancholie doo cause illusions.

The xvij. Chapter.

OLD M. Maleficarum also saith, that the councels and doctors were all deceiued héerein, and alledging authoritie therfore, confuteth that opinion by a notable reason, called *Petitio principij*, or rather, *Ignotum per ignotius*, in this maner: They can put changlings in the place of other children; *Ergo* they can transferre and transforme themselues and others, &c: according to their confession in that behalfe. Item he saith, and Bodin iustifieth it, that a préest in Friseland was corporallie transferred into a farre countrie, as witnessed another préest of Oberdorf his companion, who saw him aloft in the aire: *Ergo* saith M. Mal. they haue all béene deceiued

Mal. Malef. pa.1. cap.3. Guli. Parisi.

ued hitherto, to the great impunitie of horrible witches. Wherein he opposeth his follie against God and his church, against the truth, and against all possibilitie. But surelie it is almost incredible, how imagination shall abuse such as are subiect vnto melancholie; so as they shall beléeue they sée, heare, and doo that, which neuer was nor shall be; as is partlie declared, if you read Galen *De locis affectis*, and may more plainelie appéere also if you read Aristotle *De somnio*.

August. de spiritu & anima.

Lib. 1. cap. 7. de eucharist.

And thereof S. Augustine saith well, that he is too much a foole and a blockhead, that supposeth those things to be doone indéed, and corporallie, which are by such persons phantasticallie imagined: which phantasticall illusions do as well agrée and accord (as Algerus saith) with magicall deceipts, as the veritie accompanieth diuine holinesse.

That the confession of witches is insufficient in ciuill and common lawe to take awaie life. What the sounder diuines, and decrees of councels determine in this case.

The xviij. Chapter.

It is not likelie they would so doo: *Ergo* a lie.

Alas! what creature being sound in state of mind, would (without compulsion) make such maner of confessions as they do; or would, for a trifle, or nothing, make a perfect bargaine with the diuell for hir soule, to be yéelded vp vnto his tortures and euerlasting flames, and that within a verie short time; speciallie being through age most commonlie vnlike to liue one whole yeare? The terror of hell fire must néeds be to them diuerslie manifested, and much more terrible; bicause of their weaknesse, nature, and kind, than to any other: as it would appéere, if a witch were but asked, Whether she would be contented to be hanged one yeare hence, vpon condition hir displesure might be wreked vpon hir enimie presentlie. As for théeues, & such other, they thinke not to go to hell fire; but are either persuaded there is no hell, or that their crime deserueth it not, or else that they haue time e-

nough

nough to repent: so as, no doubt, if they were perfectlie resolued héereof, they would neuer make such aduentures. Neither doo I thinke, that for any summe of monie, they would make so direct a bargaine to go to hell fire. Now then I conclude, that confessi-on in this behalf is insufficient to take awaie the life of any body; or to atteine such credit, as to be beléeued without further proofe. For as Augustine and Isidore, with the rest of the sounder di-uines saie, that these prestigious things, which are wrought by witches, are fantasticall: so doo the sounder decrées of councels and canons agrée, that in that case, there is no place for crimi-nall action. And the lawe saith, that The confession of such per-sons as are illuded, must néeds be erronious, and therefore is not to be admitted: for, *Confessio debet tenere verum & possibile.* But these things are opposite both to lawe and nature, and therfore it follo-weth not; Bicause these witches confesse so, *Ergo* it is so. For the confession differeth from the act, or from the possibilitie of the act. And whatsoeuer is contrarie to nature faileth in his prin-ciples, and therefore is naturallie impossible.

The lawe also saith, *In criminalibus regulariter non statur soli con-fessioni rei*, In criminall cases or touching life, we must not abso-lutelie stand to the confession of the accused partie: but in these matters proofes must be brought more cleare than the light it selfe. And in this crime no bodie must be condemned vpon pre-sumptions. And where it is obiected and vrged, that Since God onelie knoweth the thoughts, therefore there is none other waie of proofe but by confession: It is answered thus in the lawe, to wit: Their confession in this case conteineth an outward act, and the same impossible both in lawe and nature, and also vnlikelie to be true; and therefore *Quod verisimile non est, attendi non debet.* So as, though their confessions may be worthie of punishment, as whereby they shew a will to commit such mischéefe, yet not wor-thie of credit, as that they haue such power. For, *Si factum absit, soláque opinione laborent, è stultorum genere sunt*; If they confesse a fact performed but in opinion, they are to be reputed among the num-ber of fooles. Neither may any man be by lawe condemned for criminall causes, vpon presumptions, nor yet by single witnes-ses: neither at the accusation of a capitall enimie, who indéed is not to be admitted to giue euidence in this case; though it please

August. de ciuit. Dei. Isidor. lib. 8. cap. 9. Etymol. 26. quæ. 5. ca. nec mirum.

Ponzinibius de lamijs, volum. 10.

L. error, & L. cum post. c. de iuris & facti ignor. ac in L. de ætat. §. item de in-terrog. actio.

Per glos. Bal. & alios in L. 1. c. de confes. glos. nec. si de confes. in 6. § ad leg. Aquil L. Neracius. § fin.

Vt per Bald. & August. in L. 1. c. de confess, &c. Extra. de presump. li-teras.

Per Bald. in d. leg. &c. Extra. de test cum literis.

Mal. Malef. pa. 3 quest. 5. cap. 11.

M. Mal. and Bodin to affirme the contrarie. But beyond all equitie, these inquisitors haue shifts and deuises enow, to plague and kill these poore soules: for (they say) their fault is greatest of all others; bicause of their carnall copulation with the diuell, and therefore they are to be punished as heretikes, foure maner of waies: to wit; with excommunication, depriuation, losse of goods, and also with death.

Mal. malef. quest. 14. pa. 1.

And indeede they find lawe, and prouide meanes thereby to mainteine this their bloudie humor. For it is written in their popish canons, that As for these kind of heretikes, how much soeuer they repent and returne to the faith, they may not be reteined aliue, or kept in perpetuall prison; but be put to extreame death. Yea, M. Mal. writeth, that A witches sinne is the sinne against the Holie-ghost; to wit, irremissible: yea further, that it is greater than the sinne of the angels that fell. In which respect I wonder, that Moses deliuered not three tables to the children of Israell; or at the leastwise, that he exhibited not commandements for it. It is not credible that the greatest should be included in the lesse, &c.

C. de malef. L. nullus. L. nemo. & L. culpa. and affirmed by Mal. malef.

Mal. malef. quest. 17.

But when these witchmongers are conuinced in the obiection concerning their confessions; so as thereby their tyrannicall arguments cannot preuaile, to imbrue the magistrates hands in so much bloud as their appetite requireth: they fall to accusing them of other crimes, that the world might thinke they had some colour to mainteine their malicious furie against them.

Of foure capitall crimes obiected against witches, all fullie answered and confuted as friuolous.

The xix. Chapter.

1. Idolatrie, confuted.

First therefore they laie to their charge idolatrie. But alas without all reason: for such are properlie knowne to vs to be idolaters, as doo externall worship to idols or strange gods. The furthest point that idolatrie can be stretched vnto, is, that they, which are culpable therein, are such as hope for and seeke saluation at

the hands of idols, or of anie other than God; or fix their whole mind and loue vpon anie creature, so as the power of God be neglected and contemned thereby. But witches neither seeke nor beleeue to haue saluation at the hands of diuels, but by them they are onlie deceiued; the instruments of their phantasie being corrupted, and so infatuated, that they suppose, confesse, and saie they can doo that, which is as farre beyond their power and nature to doo, as to kill a man at Yorke before noone, when they haue beene seene at London in that morning, &c. But if these latter idolaters, whose idolatrie is spirituall, and committed onelie in mind, should be punished by death; then should euerie couetous man, or other, that setteth his affection anie waie too much vpon an earthlie creature, be executed, and yet perchance the witch might escape scotfree.

Secondlie, apostasie is laid to their charge, whereby it is inferred, that they are worthie to die. But apostasie is, where anie of sound iudgement forsake the gospell, learned and well knowne vnto them; and doo not onelie imbrace impietie and infidelitie; but oppugne and resist the truth erst while by them professed. But alas these poore women go not about to defend anie impietie, but after good admonition repent. 2. Apostasie, confuted.

Thirdlie, they would haue them executed for seducing the people. But God knoweth they haue small store of Rhetorike or art to seduce; except to tell a tale of Robin good-fellow be to deceiue and seduce. Neither may their age or sex admit that opinion or accusation to be iust: for they themselues are poore seduced soules. I for my part (as else-where I haue said) haue prooued this point to be false in most apparent sort. 3. Seducing of the people, confuted.

Fourthlie, as touching the accusation, which all the writers vse herein against them for their carnall copulation with Incubus: the follie of mens credulitie is as much to be woondered at and derided, as the others vaine and impossible confessions. For the diuell is a spirit, and hath neither flesh nor bones, which were to be vsed in the performance of this action. And since he also lacketh all instruments, substance, and seed ingendred of bloud; it were follie to staie ouerlong in the confutation of that, which is not in the nature of things. And yet must I saie somewhat heerein, bicause the opinion hereof is so stronglie and vniuersallie receiued, 4. Carnall copulation with Incubus, confuted.

and the fables hereupon so innumerable; wherby M. Mal. Bodin, Hemingius, Hyperius, Danæus, Erastus, and others that take vpon them to write héerein, are so abused, or rather séeke to abuse others; as I wonder at their fond credulitie in this behalfe. For they affirme vndoubtedlie, that the diuell plaieth Succubus to the man, and carrieth from him the séed of generation, which he deliuereth as Incubus to the woman, who manie times that waie is gotten with child; which will verie naturallie (they saie) become a witch, and such a one they affirme Merline was.

How the diuell plaieth Succubus and Incubus.

A request to such readers as loath to heare or read filthie and bawdie matters (which of necessitie are heere to be inserted) to passe ouer eight chapters.

The xx. Chapter.

A peroration to the readers.

BUt in so much as I am driuen (for the more manifest bewraieng and displaieng of this most filthie and horrible error) to staine my paper with writing thereon certeine of their beastlie and bawdie assertions and examples, whereby they confirme this their doctrine (being my selfe both ashamed, and loth once to thinke vpon such filthinesse, although it be to the condemnation thereof) I must intreat you that are the readers hereof, whose chaste eares cannot well endure to heare of such abhominable lecheries, as are gathered out of the bookes of those witchmongers (although doctors of diuinitie, and otherwise of great authoritie and estimation) to turne ouer a few leaues, wherein (I saie) I haue like a grome thrust their bawdie stuffe (euen that which I my selfe loath) as into a stinking corner: howbeit, none otherwise, I hope, but that the other parts of my writing shall remaine swéet, and this also couered as close as may be.

The fourth Booke.

Of witchmongers opinions concerning euill spirits, how they frame themselues in more excellent sort than God made vs.

The first Chapter.

IAmes Sprenger and Henrie Institor, in M.Mal. agreeing with Bodin, Barth. Spineus, Danæus, Erastus, Hemingius, and the rest, do make a bawdie discourse; labouring to prooue by a foolish kind of philosophie, that euill spirits cannot onlie take earthlie formes and shapes of men; but also counterfeit hearing, seeing, &c: and likewise, that they can eate and deuoure meats, and also reteine, digest, and auoid the same: and finallie, vse diuerse kinds of actiuities, but speciallie excell in the vse and art of venerie. For M.Mal. saith, that The eies and eares of the mind are farre more subtill than bodilie eies or carnall eares. Yea it is there affirmed, that as they take bodies, and the likenesse of members; so they take minds and similitudes of their operations. But by the way, I would haue them answer this question. Our minds and soules are spirituall things. If our corporall eares be stopped, what can they heare or conceiue of anie externall wisedome? And truelie, a man of such a constitution of bodie, as they imagine of these spirits, which make themselues, &c: were of farre more excellent substance, &c: than the bodies of them that God made in paradise; and so the diuels workmanship should exceed the handie worke of God the father and creator of all things.

Mal.malef. par. 2.cap.4. quest.1.

If his bodilie eies were out, he would see but ilfauoredlie.

Of

Of bawdie Incubus and Succubus, and whether the action of venerie may be performed betweene witches and diuels, and when witches first yeelded to Incubus.

The second Chapter.

Nider in fornicario. T.Brabant. in lib.de apib.

Heretofore (they saie) Incubus was faine to rauish women against their will, vntill Anno. 1400: but now since that time witches consent willinglie to their desires: in so much as some one witch exerciseth that trade of lecherie with Incubus twentie or thirtie yeares togither; as was confessed by fourtie and eight witches burned at Rauenspurge. But what goodlie fellowes Incubus begetteth vpon these witches, is proued by Thomas of Aquine, Bodin, M. Mal. Hyperius, &c.

In sen. dist.4. art.4. Gen.6,4.

This is proued first by the diuels cunning, in discerning the difference of the seed which falleth from men. Secondlie, by his vnderstanding of the aptnes of the women for the receipt of such seed. Thirdlie by his knowledge of the constellations, which are freendlie to such corporall effects. And lastlie, by the excellent complexion of such as the diuell maketh choice of, to beget such notable personages vpon, as are the causes of the greatnesse and excellencie of the child thus begotten.

Mal.malef. par.2. quæ.1 August.de doctrina Christi.

And to proue that such bawdie doings betwixt the diuell and witches is not fained, S. Augustine is alledged, who saith, that All superstitious arts had their beginning of the pestiferous societie betwixt the diuell and man. Wherein he saith truelie; for that in paradise, betwixt the diuell and man, all wickednes was so contriued, that man euer since hath studied wicked arts: yea and the diuell will be sure to be at the middle and at both ends of euerie mischeefe. But that the diuell ingendreth with a woman, in maner and forme as is supposed, and naturallie begetteth the wicked, neither is it true, nor Augustines meaning in this place.

Howbeit M. Mal. proceedeth, affirming that All witches take their

their beginning from such filthie actions, wherein the diuell, in likenes of a prettie wench, lieth prostitute as Succubus to the man, and reteining his nature and seede, conueieth it vnto the witch, to whome he deliuereth it as Incubus. Wherein also is refuted the opinion of them that hold a spirit to be vnpalpable. M. Mal. saith, There can be rendred no infallible rule, though a probable distinction may be set downe, whether Incubus in the act of venerie do alwaies powre seed out of his assumed bodie. And this is the distinction; Either she is old and barren, or yong and pregnant. If she be barren, then doth Incubus vse hir without decision of seed; bicause such seed should serue for no purpose. And the diuell auoideth superfluitie as much as he may; and yet for hir pleasure and condemnation togither, he goeth to worke with hir. But by the waie, if the diuell were so compendious, what should he need to vse such circumstances, euen in these verie actions, as to make these assemblies, conuenticles, ceremonies, &c. when he hath alreadie bought their bodies, and bargained for their soules? Or what reason had he, to make them kill so manie infants, by whom he rather loseth than gaineth any thing; bicause they are, so farre as either he or we knowe, in better case than we, of riper yeares, by reason of their innocencie? Well, if she be not past children, then stealeth he seed awaie (as hath beene said) from some wicked man being about that lecherous busines, and therewith getteth yong witches vpon the old.

Mal. malef. quę. 1. par. 1.

And note, that they affirme that this businesse is better accomplished with seed thus gathered, than that which is shed in dreames, through superfluitie of humors: bicause that is gathered from the vertue of the seed generatiue. And if it be said that the seed will wax cold by the waie, and so lose his naturall heate, and consequentlie the vertue: M. Mal. Danæus, and the rest do answere, that the diuell can so carrie it, as no heate shall go from it, &c.

Mal. malef. par. 1. quę. 1. Danęus in dialog. de sortiarijs.

Furthermore, old witches are sworne to procure as manie yong virgins for Incubus as they can, whereby in time they growe to be excellent bawds: but in this case the preest plaieth Incubus. For you shall find, that confession to a preest, and namelie this word Benedicite, driueth Incubus awaie, when Aue Maries, crosses, and all other charmes faile.

Ia. Sprenger in Mal. male.

Of the diuels visible & inuisible dealing with witches in the waie of lecherie.

The third Chapter.

But as touching the diuels visible or inuisible execution of lecherie, it is written, that to such witches, as before haue made a visible legue with the preest, (the diuell I should saie) there is no necessitie that Incubus should appeere inuisible: marrie to the standers by hee is for the most part inuisible. For proofe hereof Iames Sprenger and Institor affirme, that Manie times witches are seene in the fields, and woods, prostituting themselues vncouered and naked vp to the nauill, wagging and mouing their members in euerie part, according to the disposition of one being about that act of concupiscence, and yet nothing seene of the beholders vpon hir; sauing that after such a conuenient time as is required about such a peece of worke, a blacke vapor, of the length and bignesse of a man, hath beene seene as it were to depart from hir, and to ascend from that place. Neuerthelesse, many times the husband seeth Incubus making him cuckhold, in the likenesse of a man, and sometimes striketh off his head with his sword: but bicause the bodie is nothing but aire, it closeth together againe: so as, although the goodwife be some times hurt therby, yet she maketh him beleeue he is mad or possessed, & that he doth he knoweth not what. For she hath more pleasure and delight (they say) with Incubus that waie, than with anie mortall man: whereby you may perceiue that spirits are palpable.

This was doone at Rauenspurge.

Mal.Malef.

(∴)

That the power of generation is both outwardlie and inwardlie impeached by witches, and of diuers that had their genitals taken from them by witches, and by the same meanes againe restored.

The fourth Chapter.

THey also affirme, that the vertue of generation is impeached by witches, both inwardlie, and outwardlie: for intrinsecallie they represse the courage, and they stop the passage of the mans séed, so as it may not descend to the vessels of generation: also they hurt extrinsecallie, with images, hearbs, &c. And to proue this true, you shall heare certeine stories out of M. Mal. worthie to be noted.

A yoong priest at Mespurge in the diocesse of Constance was bewitched, so as he had no power to occupie any other or mo women than one; and to be deliuered out of that thraldom, sought to flie into another countrie, where he might vse that préestlie occupation more fréelie. But all in vaine; for euermore he was brought as far backward by night, as he went forward in the daie before; sometimes by land, sometimes in the aire, as though he flew. And if this be not true, I am sure that Iames Sprenger doth lie. *Mal.Malef. cap.6.quæ.1. pa.2.*

For the further confirmation of our beléefe in Incubus, M.Mal. citeth a storie of a notable matter executed at Rauenspurge, as true and as cleanlie as the rest. A yoong man lieng with a wench in that towne (saith he) was faine to leaue his instruments of venerie behind him, by meanes of that prestigious art of witchcraft: so as in that place nothing could be séene or felt but his plaine bodie. This yoong man was willed by another witch, to go to hir whom he suspected, and by faire or fowle meanes to require hir helpe: who soone after méeting with hir, intreated hir faire, but that was in vaine; and therefore he caught hir by the throte, and with a towell strangled hir, saieng: Restore me my

toole, or thou shalt die for it: so as she being swolne and blacke in the face, and through his boisterous handling readie to die, said; Let me go, and I will helpe thée. And whilest he was loosing the towell, she put hir hand into his codpéece, and touched the place; saieng; Now hast thou thy desire: and euen at that instant he felt himselfe restored.

Ia. Sprenger. in Mal. malef. par. 2. quæ. 1.

Item, a reuerend father, for his life, holinesse, and knowledge notorious, being a frier of the order and companie of Spire, reported, that a yoong man at shrift made lamentable moane vnto him for the like losse: but his grauitie suffered him not to beléeue lightlie any such reports, and therefore made the yoong man vntrusse his codpéece point, and sawe the complaint to be true and iust. Wherevpon he aduised or rather inioined the youth to go to the witch whome he suspected, and with flattering words to intreat hir, to be so good vnto him, as to restore him his instrument: which by that meanes he obteined, and soone after returned to shew himselfe thankfull; and told the holie father of his good successe in that behalfe: but he so beléeued him, as he would néeds be *Oculatus testis,* and made him pull downe his bréeches, and so was satisfied of the troth and certeintie thereof.

Mal. malef. cap. 7. par. 2. quæst. 1.

Another yoong man being in that verie taking, went to a witch for the restitution thereof, who brought him to a trée, where she shewed him a nest, and bad him clime vp and take it. And being in the top of the trée, he tooke out a mightie great one, and shewed the same to hir, asking hir if he might not haue the same. Naie (quoth she) that is our parish préests toole, but take anie other which thou wilt. And it is there affirmed, that some haue found 20. and some 30. of them in one nest, being there preserued with prouender, as it were at the racke and manger, with this note, wherein there is no contradiction (for all must be true that is written against witches) that If a witch depriue one of his

Note.

priuities, it is done onlie by prestigious meanes, so as the senses are but illuded. Marie by the diuell it is reallie taken awaie, and in like sort restored. These are no iestes, for they be written by them that were and are iudges vpon the liues and deaths of those persons.

Of

Of bishop Syluanus his leacherie opened and couered againe, how maides hauing yellow haire are most combred with Incubus, how maried men are bewitched to vse other mens wiues, and to refuse their owne.

The fift Chapter.

YOu shall read in the legend, how in the night time Incubus came to a ladies bed side, and made hot loue vnto hir: whereat she being offended, cried out so lowd, that companie came and found him vnder hir bed in the likenesse of the holie bishop Syluanus, which holie man was much defamed therebie, vntill at the length this infamie was purged by the confession of a diuell made at S. Ieroms toombe. Oh excellent peece of witchcraft or cousening wrought by Syluanus! Item S. Christine would needes take vnto hir another maides Incubus, and lie in hir roome: and the storie saith, that she was shrewdlie accloied. But she was a shrew indeed, that would needes change beds with hir fellow, that was troubled euerie night with Incubus, and deale with him hir selfe. But here the inquisitors note maie not be forgotten, to wit: that Maides hauing yellow haire are most molested with this spirit. Also it is written in the Legend, of S. Barnard, that a pretie wench that had had the vse of Incubus his bodie by the space of six or seuen yeares in Aquitania (being beelike wearie of him for that he wared old) would needes go to S. Barnard another while. But Incubus told hir, that if she would so forsake him, being so long hir true louer, he would be reuenged vpon hir, &c. But befall what would, she went to S. Barnard, who tooke hir his staffe, and bad hir laie it in the bed besides hir. And indeed the diuell fearing the bedstaffe, or that S. Barnard laie there himselfe, durst not approch into hir chamber that night: what he did afterwards, I am vncerteine. Marrie you maie find other circumstances hereof, and manie other like bawdie lies in the golden Legend. But here againe we maie not forget the inquisitors

In vita Hieronym.

Saincts as holie and chaste as horsses & mares.

Maides hauing yellow haire.

quisitors

quisitors note, to wit; that manie are so bewitched, that they cannot vse their owne wiues: but anie other bodies they maie well enough awaie withall. Which witchcraft is practised among manie bad husbands, for whom it were a good excuse to saie they were bewitched.

Mal. Malef. par.2.quæ.2. cap.2.

How to procure the dissoluing of bewitched loue, also to enforce a man (how proper so euer he be) to loue an old hag: and of a bawdie tricke of a priest in Gelderland.

The sixt Chapter.

The priests saie, that the best cure for a woman thus molested, next to confession, is excommunication. But to procure the dissoluing of bewitched and constrained loue, the partie bewitched must make a iakes of the louers shooe. And to enforce a man, how proper so euer he be, to loue an old hag, she giueth vnto him to eate (among other meates) hir owne doong: and this waie one old witch made thrée abbats of one house successiuelie to die for hir loue, as she hir selfe confessed, by the report of M. Mal. In Gelderland a priest persuaded a sicke woman that she was bewitched; and except he might sing a masse vpon hir bellie, she could not be holpen. Whervnto she consented, and laie naked on the altar whilest he sang masse, to the satisfieng of his lust; but not to the release of hir gréefe. Other cures I will speake of in other places more ciuill. Howbeit, certeine miraculous cures, both full of bawderie and lies, must either haue place here, or none at all.

Of a bawdie priest in Gelderland.

Of diuers saincts and holie persons, which were exceeding bawdie and lecherous, and by certeine miraculous meanes became chaste.

The seuenth Chapter.

CAssianus writeth, that S. Syren being of bodie verie lecherous, and of mind wonderfull religious, fasted and praied; to the end his bodie might be reduced miraculouslie to chastitie. At length came an angell vnto him by night, and cut out of his flesh certeine kernels, which were the sparkes of concupiscence; so as afterwards he neuer had anie more motions of the flesh. It is also reported, that the abbat Equicius being naturallie as vnchast as the other, fell to his beads so deuoutlie for recouerie of honestie, that there came an angell vnto him in an apparition, that seemed to geld him; and after that (forsooth) he was as chaste as though he had had neuer a stone in his breech; and before that time being a ruler ouer monkes, he became afterwards a gouernour ouer nunnes. Euen as it is said Helias the holie monke gathered thirtie virgins into a monasterie, ouer whom he ruled and reigned by the space of two yeares, and grew so proud and hot in the codpeece, that he was faine to forsake his holie house, and flie to a desert, where he fasted and praied two daies, saieng; Lord quench my hot lecherous humors, or kill me. Whereupon in the night following, there came vnto him three angels, and demanded of him why he forsooke his charge: but the holie man was ashamed to tell them. Howbeit they asked him further, saieng; Wilt thou returne to these damsels, if we free thee from all concupiscence? Yea (quoth he) with all my heart. And when they had sworne him solemnelie so to doo, they tooke him vp, & gelded him; and one of them holding his hands, and another his feete, the third cut out his stones. But the storie saith it was not so ended, but in a vision. Which I beleeue, because within fiue daies he returned to his minions, who pitiouslie morned for him all this

In coll. patrum.

Gregor. lib. 1. dial. 2.

In vitis patrum.
Heraclides in paradiso.

while, and ioyfullie embraced his swéete companie at his returne. The like storie doth Nider write of Thomas, whome two angels cured of that lecherous disease; by putting about him a girdle, which they brought downe with them from heauen.

Nider in fornicario.

Certeine popish and magicall cures, for them that are bewitched in their priuities.

The eight Chapter.

FOr direct cure to such as are bewitched in the priuie members, the first and speciall is confession: then follow in a row, holie water, and those ceremoniall trumperies, Aue Maries, and all maner of crossings; which are all said to be wholesome, except the witchcraft be perpetuall, and in that case the wife maie haue a diuorse of course.

Aliter. Item, the eating of a haggister or pie helpeth one bewitched in that member.

Aliter. Item, the smoke of the tooth of a dead man.

Aliter. Item, to annoint a mans bodie ouer with the gall of a crow.

Item, to fill a quill with quicke siluer, and laie the same vnder the cushine, where such a one sitteth, or else to put it vnder the threshold of the doore of the house or chamber where he dwelleth.

Aliter. Item, to spet into your owne bosome, if you be so bewitched, is verie good.

Aliter. Item, to pisse through a wedding ring. If you would know who is hurt in his priuities by witchcraft; and who otherwise is therein diseased, Hostiensis answereth: but so, as I am ashamed to english it: and therefore haue here set downe his experiment in Latine; *Quando virga nullatenùs mouetur, & nunquam potuit cognoscere; hoc est signum frigiditatis: sed quando mouetur & erigitur, perficere autem non potest, est signum maleficij.*

S.Thomas Moores, medicinable receipt, &c.

But Sir Th. Moore hath such a cure in this matter, as I am ashamed to write, either in Latine or English: for in filthie bawdierie it passeth all the tales that euer I heard. But that is

rather a medicine to procure generation, than the cure of witchcraft, though it serue both turnes.

Item, when ones instrument of venerie is bewitched, certeine characters must be written in virgine parchment, celebrated and holied by a popish priest; and thereon also must the 141. Psalme be written, and bound *Ad viri fascinati coxam.* *Aliter.*

Item, one Katharine Loe (hauing a husband not so readilie disposed that waie as she wished him to be) made a waxen image to the likenes of hir husbands bewitched member, and offered it vp at S. Anthonies altar; so as, through the holinesse of the masse it might be sanctified, to be more couragious, and of better disposition and abilitie, &c. *Aliter.*

A strange cure doone to one that was molested with Incubus.

The ninth Chapter.

Now being wearied with the rehearsall of so manie lecheries most horrible, and verie filthie and fabulous actions and passions of witches, together with the spirit Incubus, I will end with a true storie taken out of Iason Pratensis, which though it be rude, yet is it not altogither so vncleane as the rest. *Iaso. Pratensis de cerebri morbo, ca. 16.*

There came (saith he) of late a masse priest vnto me, making pitious moane, and saieng, that if I holpt him not, he should be vndone, and vtterlie ouerthrowne; so great was his infirmitie: for (saith he) I was wont to be faire and fat, and of an excellent complexion; and lo how I looke, being now a verie ghost consisting of skinne and bone, &c. What is the matter (quoth Iason?) I will shew you sir, said the priest. There commeth vnto mée, almost euerie night, a certeine woman, vnknowne vnto me, and lieth so heauie vpon my brest, that I cannot fetch my breath, neither haue anie power to crie, neither do my hands serue me to shoue hir awaie, nor my féete to go from hir. I smiled (quoth Iason) and told him that he was vexed with a disease called In-

cubus, or the mare; and the residue was phantasie and vaine imagination. Naie (said the priest) it cannot be so: for by our blessed ladie, I tell you nothing but that with waking I saw with mine eies, and felt with mine hands. I see hir when she commeth vpon me, and striue to repell hir; but I am so infeebled that I cannot: and for remedie I haue runne about from place to place, but no helpe that I could get. At length I went to an old frier that was counted an od fellow; and thought to haue had help at his hands, but the diuell a whit had I of him; sauing that for remedie he willed me to praie to God; whome I am sure I wearied with my tedious praiers long before. Then went I vnto an old woman (quoth the priest) who was said to be a cunning witch: and she willed me, that the next morning, about the dawning of the daie, I should pisse, and immediatlie should couer the pispot, or stop it with my right netherstocke, and before night the witch should come to visit me. And although (quoth he) the respect of mine orders somewhat terrified me from the execution of hir aduise; yet my necessities diuerse waies, and speciallie my paines moued me to make triall of hir words. And by the masse (quoth the priest) hir prophesie fell out as sure as a club. For a witch came to my house, and complained of a greefe in hir bladder, and that she could not pisse. But I could neither by faire nor fowle meanes obteine at hir hands, that she would leaue molesting me by night; but she keepeth hir old custome, determining by these filthie meanes to dispatch me. I could hardlie (said Iason) reclaime him from this mad humor; but by that time he had beene with me three or foure times, he began to comfort himselfe, and at last perceiuing it, he acknowledged his disease, and recouered the same.

The priest is opinionatiue in the error of his phantasie.

The priest recouered.

A confutation of all the former follies touching Incubus, which by examples and proofes of like stuffe is shewed to be flat knauerie, wherein the carnall copulation with spirits is ouerthrowne.

The tenth Chapter.

Thus are lecheries couered with the cloke of Incubus and witchcraft, contrarie to nature and veritie: and with these fables is mainteined an opinion, that men haue béene begotten without carnall copulation (as Hyperius and others write that Merlin was, An. 440.) specialllie to excuse and mainteine the knaueries and lecheries of idle priests and bawdie monkes; and to couer the shame of their louers and concubines. Merlin begotten of Incubus.

And alas, when great learned men haue béene so abused, with the imagination of Incubus his carnall societie with women, misconstruing the scriptures, to wit, the place in Genesis 6. to the seducing of manie others; it is the lesse woonder, that this error hath passed so generallie among the common people.

But to vse few words herein, I hope you vnderstand that they affirme and saie, that Incubus is a spirit; and I trust you know that a spirit hath no flesh nor bones, &c: and that he neither dooth eate nor drinke. In déede your grandams maides were woont to set a boll of milke before him and his cousine Robin good-fellow, for grinding of malt or mustard, and swéeping the house at midnight: and you haue also heard that he would chafe excéedingly, if the maid or good-wife of the house, hauing compassion of his nakednes, laid anie clothes for him, béesides his messe of white bread and milke, which was his standing fée. For in that case he saith; What haue we here? Hemton hamten, here will I neuer more tread nor stampen.

But to procéed in this confutation. Where there is no meate eaten, there can be no séed which thereof is ingendred: although it be granted, that Robin could both eate and drinke, as being a *Quia humor spermaticus ex succo alimentari prouenit.*

cousening idle frier, or some such roge, that wanted nothing either belonging to lecherie or knauerie, &c. Item, where the genitall members want, there can be no lust of the flesh: neither doth nature giue anie desire of generation, where there is no propagation or succession required. And as spirits cannot be greeued with hunger, so can they not be inflamed with lustes. And if men should liue euer, what needed succession or heires? For that is but an ordinance of God, to supplie the place, the number, the world, the time, and speciallie to accomplish his will. But the power of generation consisteth not onlie in members, but chieflie of vitall spirits, and of the hart: which spirits are neuer in such a bodie as Incubus hath, being but a bodie assumed, as they themselues saie. And yet the most part of writers herein affirme, that it is a palpable and visible bodie; though all be phansies and fables that are written herevpon.

Ad facultatem generandi tam interna quàm externa organa requiruntur.

That Incubus is a naturall disease, with remedies for the same, besides magicall cures herewithall expressed.

The eleuenth Chapter.

What Incubus is, & who be most troubled therwith.

BUt in truth, this Incubus is a bodilie disease (as hath beene said) although it extend vnto the trouble of the mind: which of some is called The mare, oppressing manie in their sleepe so sore, as they are not able to call for helpe, or stir themselues vnder the burthen of that heauie humor, which is ingendred of a thicke vapor proceeding from the cruditie and rawnesse in the stomach: which ascending vp into the head oppresseth the braine, in so much as manie are much infeebled therebie, as being nightlie haunted therewith. They are most troubled with this disease, that being subiect therevnto, lie right vpward: so as, to turne and lie on the one side, is present remedie. Likewise, if anie heare the groning of the partie, speake vnto him, so as he wake him, he is presentlie releeued. Howbeit, there are magicall cures for it, as for example.

S. George, S. George, our ladies knight,
He walkt by daie, so did he by night:
Vntill such time as he hir found,
He hir beat and he hir bound,
Vntill hir troth she to him plight,
She would not come to hir that night.

Whereas S. George our ladies knight, was named thrée times S. George.

Item, hang a stone ouer the afflicted persons bed, which stone hath naturallie such a hole in it, as wherein a string may be put through it, and so be hanged ouer the diseased or bewitched partie; be it man, woman, or horsse.

Item, you shall read in M. Malefic. that excommunication is verie notable, and better than any charme for this purpose. There are also other verses and charmes for this disease deuised, which is the common cloke for the ignorance of bad physicians. But Leonard Fuchsius in his first booke, and 31. chapter, dooth not onelie describe this disease, and the causes of it; but also setteth downe verie learnedlie the cure thereof, to the vtter confusion of the witchmongers follie in this behalfe. Hyperius being much bewitched and blinded in this matter of witchcraft, houering about the interpretation of Genesis 6. from whence the opinion of Incubus and Succubus is extorted, *Viderunt filij Dei filias hominum, quòd elegantes essent, acceperunt sibi in vxores ex omnibus, quas elegerant, &c:* séemeth to mainteine vpon heare-saie, that absurd opinion; and yet in the end is driuen to conclude thus, to wit: Of the euill spirits Incubus and Succubus there can be no firme reason or proofe brought out of scriptures, vsing these verie words; *Hæc vt probabilia dicta sunto, quandoquidem scripturarum præsidio hac in causa destituimur.* As if he should saie, Take this as spoken probablie; to wit, by humane reason, bicause we are destitute of scriptures to mainteine the goodnesse of the cause.

M. malefic. par. 2. que. 2. cap. 1. col. 2.

Leon. Fuchsius de curandi ratione.

Tertullian and Sulpicius Seuerus doo interpret *Filios Dei* in that place to be angels, or euill spirits, and to haue béene enamored with the beautie of those wenches; and finallie, begat giants by them.

Tertull. in libro de habitu muliebri. Sulp. Seuer. in epitome hist. sacr.

them. Which is throughlie confuted by Chrysostome, Hom. 22. in Gen: but speciallie by the circumstance of the text.

The censure of G. Chaucer, vpon the knauerie of Incubus.

The twelfe Chapter.

NOw will I (after all this long discourse of abhominable cloked knaueries) here conclude with certeine of G. Chaucers verses, who as he smelt out the absurdities of poperie, so found he the priests knauerie in this matter of Incubus, and (as the time would suffer him) he derided their follie and falshood in this wise:

Geffr. Chau. in the beginning of the wife of Baths tale.

For now the great charitie and praiers
Of limitors and other holie friers,
That searchen euerie land and euerie streame
As thicke as motes in the sunne beame,
Blissing halles, kitchens, chambers & bowers,
Cities, borroghes, castels and hie towers,
Thropes, barnes, shepens, and dairies,
This maketh that there beene now no fairies;
For there as woont to walken was an elfe,
There walketh now the limitor himselfe,
In vndermeales, and in mornings,
And saith his mattens and his holie things
As he goeth in his limitatiowne,
Women may go safelie vp and downe,
In euerie bush, and vnder euerie tree,
There nis none other Incubus but hee, &c.

¶The

¶ The fift Booke.

Of transformations, ridiculous examples brought by the aduersaries for the confirmation of their foolish doctrine.

The first Chapter.

Now that I may with the verie absurdities, conteined in their owne authors, and euen in their principall doctors and last writers, confound them that mainteine the transubstantiations of witches; I will shew you certeine proper stuffe, which Bodin (their chéefe champion of this age) hath gathered out of M. Mal. and others, whereby he laboureth to establish this impossible, incredible, and supernaturall, or rather vnnaturall doctrine of transubstantiation. I. Bod. lib. 2. de dæmon. cap. 6.

First, as touching the diuell (Bodin saith) that he doth most properlie and commonlie transforme himselfe into a gote, confirming that opinion by the 33. and 34. of Esaie: where there is no one title sounding to anie such purpose. Howbeit, he sometimes alloweth the diuell the shape of a blacke Moore, and as he saith he vsed to appeare to Mawd Cruse, Kate Darey, and Ione Haruiller. But I meruell, whether the diuell createth himselfe, when he appeareth in the likenesse of a man; or whether God createth him, when the diuell wisheth it. As for witches, he saith they speciallie transubstantiate themselues into wolues, and them whom they bewitch into asses: though else-where he differ somewhat herein from

I. Bodin abuseth scripture to prooue a lie.

from

Pudendis tunc primùm erumpentibus.

from himselfe. But though he affirme, that it may be naturallie brought to passe, that a girle shall become a boie; and that anie female may be turned into the male: yet he saith the same hath no affinitie with Lycanthropia; wherein he saith also, that men are wholie transformed, and citeth infinite examples hereof.

Io.Wier. lib.6. de mag.ca.12.

First, that one Garner in the shape of a woolfe killed a girle of the age of twelue yeares, and did eat vp hir armes and legges, and carried the rest home to his wife. Item, that Peter Burget, and Michael Werdon, hauing turned themselues with an ointment into woolues, killed, and finallie did eate vp an infinite number of people. Which lie Wierus doth sufficientlie confute. But vntill you sée and read that, consider whether Peter could eate rawe flesh without surfetting, speciallie flesh of his owne kind. Item, that there was an arrowe shot into a woolues thigh, who afterwards being turned into his former shape of a man, was found in his bed, with the arrowe in his thigh, which the archer that shot it knew verie well. Item, that another being Lycanthropus in the forme of a woolfe, had his woolues féet cut off, and in a moment he became a man without hands or féete.

I. Bodinus mendaciorum helluo.

He accuseth also one of the mightiest princes in christendome, euen of late daies, to be one of those kind of witches (so as he could, when he list, turne himselfe to a woolfe) affirming that he was espied and oftentimes séene to performe that villanie; bicause he would be counted the king of all witches. He saith that this transubstantiation is most common in Greece, and through out all Asia, as merchant strangers haue reported to him. For Anno Domini. 1542, when Sultan Solimon reigned, there was such force and multitude of these kind of woolues in Constantinople, that the emperour draue togither in one flocke 150. of them, which departed out of the citie in the presence of all the people.

A warme season to swim in.

I meruell that they forsake not the diuell,

To persuade vs the more throughlie héerein, he saith, that in Liuonia, yearelie (about the end of December) a certeine knaue or diuell warneth all the witches in the countrie to come to a certeine place: if they faile, the diuell commeth and whippeth them with an iron rod; so as the print of his lashes remaine vpon their bodies for euer. The capteine witch leadeth the waie through a

great poole of water: manie millians of witches swim after. They are no sooner passed through that water, but they are all transformed into woolues, and flie vpon and deuoure both men, women, cattell, &c. After twelue daies they returne through the same water, and so receiue humane shape againe.

who punisheth them so sore: ywis they get not so much at his hands.

Item, that there was one Baianus a Iew, being the sonne of Simeon, which could, when he list, turne himselfe into a woolfe; and by that meanes could escape the force and danger of a whole armie of men. Which thing (saith Bodin) is woonderfull: but yet (saith he) it is much more maruelous, that men will not beléeue it. For manie poets affirme it; yea, and if you looke well into the matter (saith he) you shall find it easie to doo. Item, he saith, that as naturall woolues persecute beasts; so doo these magicall woolues deuoure men, women, and children. And yet God saith to the people (I trowe) and not to the cattell of Israell; If you obserue not my commandements, I will send among you the beasts of the féeld, which shall deuoure both you and your cattell. Item, I will send the téeth of beasts vpon you. Where is Bodins distinction now become? He neuer saith, I will send witches in the likenes of woolues, &c: to deuoure you or your cattell. Neuertheles, Bodin saith it is a cleare case: for the matter was disputed vpon before pope Leo the seuenth; and by him all these matters were iudged possible: and at that time (saith he) were the transformations of Lucian and Apuleius made canonicall.

Leuiti. 16.

Deut. 32.

Furthermore he saith, that through this art they are so cunning that no man can apprehend them, but when they are a sléepe. Item, he nameth another witch, that (as M. Mal. saith) could not be caught, bicause he would transforme himselfe into a mouse, and runne into euerie little hole, till at length he was killed comming out of the hole of a iamme in a windowe: which indéed is as possible, as a camell to go through a néedels eie. Item, he saith, that diuerse witches at Vernon, turned themselues into cats, and both committed and receiued much hurt. But at Argentine there was a wonderfull matter done, by thrée witches of great wealth, who transforming themselues into thrée cats, assalted a faggotmaker: who hauing hurt them all with a faggot sticke, was like to haue béene put to death. But he was miraculouslie deliuered, and they worthilie punished; as the storie saith, from whence

Stafus a witch could not be apprehended, and why?

I. Bodin. Mal. malef.

Iohn. Bodin. Mal. malef. Barth. Spin. &c.

Mal. malef. part. 3.

Bodin

Bodin had it.

An error about Lycanthropia.

After a great manie other such beastlie fables, he inueieth against such physicians, as saie that Lycanthropia is a disease, and not a transformation. Item, he mainteineth, as sacred and true, all Homers fables of Circes and Vlysses his companions: inueieng against Chrysostome, who rightlie interpreteth Homers meaning to be, that Vlysses his people were by the harlot Circes made in their brutish maners to resemble swine.

But least some poets fables might be thought lies (whereby the witchmongers arguments should quaile) he mainteineth for true the most part of Ouids Metamorphôsis, and the greatest absurdities and impossibilities in all that booke: marie he thinketh some one tale therein may be fained. Finallie, he confirmeth all these toies by the storie of Nabuchadnez-zar. And bicause (saith he) Nabuchadnez-zar continued seuen yeres in the shape of a beast, therefore may witches remaine so long in the forme of a beast; hauing in all the meane time, the shape, haire, voice, strength, agilitie, swiftnes, food and excrements of beasts, and yet reserue the minds and soules of women or men. Howbeit, S. Augustine (whether to confute or confirme that opinion iudge you) saith;

August. lib. 8 de ciuit. Dei. cap. 18.
Idem, lib. de spiritu & anima, cap. 26.

Non est credendum humanum corpus dæmonum arte vel potestate in bestialia lineamenta conuerti posse: We may not beléeue that a mans bodie may be altered into the lineaments of a beast by the diuels art or power. Item, Bodin saith, that the reason whie witches are most commonlie turned into wolues, is; bicause they vsuallie eate children, as wolues eate cattell. Item, that the cause whie other are truelie turned into asses, is; for that such haue béene desirous to vnderstand the secrets of witches. Whie witches are turned into cats, he alledgeth no reason, and therefore (to helpe him forth with that paraphrase) I saie, that witches are curst queanes, and manie times scratch one another, or their neighbours by the faces; and therefore perchance are turned into cats. But I haue put twentie of these witchmongers to silence with this one question; to wit, Whether a witch that can turne a woman into a cat, &c: can also turne a cat into a woman?

Ironia.

Absurd

Absurd reasons brought by Bodin, and such others, for confirmation of transformations.

The second Chapter.

These Examples and reasons might put vs in doubt, that euerie asse, woolfe, or cat that we see, were a man, a woman, or a child. I maruell that no man vseth this distinction in the definition of a man. But to what end should one dispute against these creations and recreations; when Bodin washeth away all our arguments with one word, confessing that none can create any thing but God; acknowledging also the force of the canons, and imbracing the opinions of such diuines, as write against him in this behalfe? Yea he dooth now (contrarie to himselfe elsewhere) affirme, that the diuell cannot alter his forme. And lo, this is his distinction, *Non essentialis forma (id est ratio) sed figura solùm permutatur*: The essentiall forme (to wit, reason) is not changed, but the shape or figure. And thereby he prooueth it easie enough to create men or beasts with life, so as they remaine without reason. Howbeit, I thinke it is an easier matter, to turne Bodins reason into the reason of an asse, than his bodie into the shape of a sheepe: which he saith is an easie matter; bicause Lots wife was turned into a stone by the diuell. Whereby he sheweth his grosse ignorance. As though God that commanded Lot vpon paine of death not to looke backe, who also destroied the citie of Sodome at that instant, had not also turned hir into a salt stone. And as though all this while God had béene the diuels drudge, to go about this businesse all the night before, and when a miracle should be wrought, the diuell must be faine to doo it himselfe.

I.Bod.lib.2. de mag dæmon. cap.6.

Gen.19,24. & 26. &27.

Item, he affirmeth, that these kind of transfigurations are more common with them in the west parts of the world, than with vs here in the east. Howbeit, this note is giuen withall; that that is ment of the second persons, and not of the first: to wit, of the bewitched, and not of the witches. For they can transforme

I.Bod.lib. de dæmon. 2. cap.20. M.Mal. pa.1.quæ.9.

John. Bodin. lib. de demon. 2. cap. 1.

forme themselues in euerie part of the world, whether it be east, west, north, or south. Marrie he saith, that spirits and diuels vexe men most in the north countries, as Norway, Finland, &c: and in the westerne ilands, as in the west India: but among the heathen speciallie, and wheresoeuer Christ is not preached. And that is true, though not in so foolish, grosse, and corporall a sense as Bodin taketh it. One notable instance of a witches cunning in this behalfe touched by Bodin in the chapter aforesaid, I thought good in this place to repeat: he taketh it out of M. Mal. which tale was deliuerd to Sprenger by a knight of the Rhods, being of the order of S. Iones at Ierusalem; and it followeth thus.

M. malefic. par. 2. quæ. 2. cap. 4.

Of a man turned into an asse, and returned againe into a man by one of Bodins witches: S. Augustines opinion thereof.

The third Chapter.

IT happened in the citie of Salamin, in the kingdome of Cyprus (wherein is a good hauen) that a ship loaden with merchandize staied there for a short space. In the meane time many of the souldiers and mariners went to shoare, to prouide fresh victuals. Among which number, a certaine English man, being a sturdie yoong fellowe, went to a womans house, a little waie out of the citie, and not farre from the sea side, to see whether she had anie egs to sell. Who perceiuing him to be a lustie yoong fellowe, a stranger, and farre from his countrie (so as vpon the losse of him there would be the lesse misse or inquirie) she considered with hir selfe how to destroie him; and willed him to staie there awhile, whilest she went to fetch a few egs for him. But she tarried long, so as the yoong man called vnto hir, desiring hir to make hast: for he told hir that the tide would be spent, and by that meanes his ship would be gone, and leaue him behind. Howbeit, after some detracting of time, she brought him a few egs, willing him to returne to hir, if his ship were gone when he came. The yoong fellowe

What the diuel shuld the witch meane to make chois of the English man?

lowe returned towards his ship: but before he went abord, hée would néeds eate an eg or twaine to satisfie his hunger, and within short space he became dumb and out of his wits (as he afterwards said.) When he would haue entred into the ship, the mariners beat him backe with a cudgell, saieng; What a murren lacks the asse? Whither the diuell will this asse? The asse or yong man (I cannot tell by which name I should terme him) being many times repelled, and understanding their words that called him asse, considering that he could speake neuer a word, and yet could understand euerie bodie; he thought that he was bewitched by the woman, at whose house he was. And therefore, when by no meanes he could get into the boate, but was driuen to tarrie and sée hir departure; being also beaten from place to place, as an asse: he remembred the witches words, and the words of his owne fellowes that called him asse, and returned to the witches house, in whose seruice hée remained by the space of thrée yeares, doing nothing with his hands all that while, but carried such burthens as she laied on his backe; hauing onelie this comfort, that although he were reputed an asse among strangers and beasts, yet that both this witch, and all other witches knew him to be a man.

A strange metamorphôsis, of bodie, but not of mind.

After thrée yeares were passed ouer, in a morning betimes he went to towne before his dame; who upon some occasion (of like to make water) staied a little behind. In the meane time being néere to a church, he heard a little saccaring bell ring to the eleuation of a morrowe masse, and not daring to go into the church, least he should haue béene beaten and driuen out with cudgels, in great deuotion he fell downe in the churchyard, upon the knées of his hinder legs, and did lift his forefeet ouer his head, as the préest doth hold the sacrament at the eleuation. Which prodigious sight when certeine merchants of Genua espied, and with wonder beheld; anon commeth the witch with a cudgell in hir hand, beating foorth the asse. And bicause (as it hath béene said) such kinds of witchcrafts are verie usuall in those parts; the merchants aforesaid made such meanes, as both the asse and the witch were attached by the iudge. And she being examined and set upon the racke, confessed the whole matter, and promised, that if she might haue libertie to go home, she would restore him to his old

Note the deuotion of the asse.

shape:

shape: and being dismissed, she did accordinglie. So as notwithstanding they apprehended hir againe, and burned hir: and the yoong man returned into his countrie with a ioifull and merrie hart.

Upon the aduantage of this storie M.Mal. Bodin, and the residue of the witchmongers triumph; and speciallie bicause S. Augustine subscribeth therevnto; or at the least to the verie like. Which I must confesse I find too common in his books, insomuch as I iudge them rather to be foisted in by some fond papist or witchmonger, than so learned a mans doings. The best is, that he himselfe is no eie-witnesse to any of those his tales; but speaketh onelie by report; wherein he vttereth these words: to wit, that It were a point of great inciuilitie, &c: to discredit so manie and so certeine reports. And in that respect he iustifieth the corporall transfigurations of Vlysses his mates, through the witchcraft of Circes: and that foolish fable of Præstantius his father, who (he saith) did eate prouender and haie among other horsses, being himselfe turned into an horsse. Yea he verifieth the starkest lie that euer was inuented, of the two alewiues that vsed to transforme all their ghests into horsses, and to sell them awaie at markets and faires. And therefore I saie with Cardanus, that how much Augustin saith he hath séen with his eies, so much I am content to beléeue. Howbeit S. Augustin concludeth against Bodin. For he affirmeth these transubstantiations to be but fantasticall, and that they are not according to the veritie, but according to the appearance. And yet I cannot allow of such appearances made by witches, or yet by diuels: for I find no such power giuen by God to any creature. And I would wit of S. Augustine, where they became, whom Bodins transformed woolues deuoured. But

August.lib. 18. de ciui. Dei.cap.17 & 18.

At the alps in Arcadia.

Card.de var. rerum.lib.15 cap.80.

August.Lib. 18.de ciuit. Dei.

ô quàm

Credula mens hominis, & erectæ fabulis aures!

Good Lord! how light of credit is
the wauering mind of man!
How vnto tales and lies his eares
attentiue all they can?

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Generall

Generall councels, and the popes canons, which Bodin so regardeth, doo condemne and pronounce his opinions in this behalfe to be absurd; and the residue of the witchmongers, with himselfe in the number, to be worsse than infidels. And these are the verie words of the canons, which else-where I haue more largelie repeated; Whosoeuer beléeueth, that anie creature can be made or changed into better or worsse, or transformed into anie other shape, or into anie other similitude, by anie other than by God himselfe the creator of all things, without all doubt is an infidell, and worsse than a pagan. And therewithall this reason is rendered, to wit: bicause they attribute that to a creatnre, which onelie belongeth to God the creator of all things.

Canon.26. quæ.5.episcopi ex con. acquir.&c.

A summarie of the former fable, with a refutation thereof, after due examination of the same.

The fourth Chapter.

COncerning the veritie or probabilitie of this enterlude, betwixt Bodin, M. Mal. the witch, the asse, the masse, the merchants, the inquisitors, the tormentors, &c: First I woonder at the miracle of transubstantiation: Secondlie at the impudencie of Bodin and Iames Sprenger, for affirming so grosse a lie, deuised béelike by the knight of the Rhodes, to make a foole of Sprenger, and an asse of Bodin: Thirdlie, that the asse had no more wit than to knéele downe and hold vp his forefeete to a péece of starch or flowre, which neither would, nor could, nor did helpe him: Fourthlie, that the masse could not reforme that which the witch transformed: Fiftlie, that the merchants, the inquisitors, and the tormentors, could not either seuerallie or iointlie doo it, but referre the matter to the witches courtesie and good pleasure.

But where was the yoong mans owne shape all these thrée yeares, wherein he was made an asse? It is a certeine and a generall rule, that two substantiall formes cannot be in one subiect *Simul & semel*, both at once: which is confessed by themselues. The

His shape was in the woods: where else should it be?

Mal.malef. par. 1.quæ.2.

forme of the beast occupied some place in the aire, and so I thinke should the forme of a man doo also. For to bring the bodie of a man, without féeling, into such a thin airie nature, as that it can neither be séene nor felt, it may well be vnlikelie, but it is verie impossible: for the aire is inconstant, and continueth not in one place. So as this airie creature would soone be carried into another region: as else-where I haue largelie prooued. But indéed our bodies are visible, sensitiue, and passiue, and are indued with manie other excellent properties, which all the diuels in hell are not able to alter: neither can one haire of our head perish, or fall awaie, or be transformed, without the speciall prouidence of God almightie.

In my discourse of spirits and diuels, being the 17 booke of this volume.

But to procéed vnto the probabilitie of this storie. What lucke was it, that this yoong fellow of England, landing so latelie in those parts, and that old woman of Cyprus, being both of so base a condition, should both vnderstand one anothers communication; England and Cyprus being so manie hundred miles distant, and their languages so farre differing? I am sure in these daies, wherein trafficke is more vsed, and learning in more price; few yong or old mariners in this realme can either speake or vnderstand the language spoken at Salamin in Cyprus, which is a kind of Greeke; and as few old women there can speake our language. But Bodin will saie; You heare, that at the inquisitors commandement, and through the tormentors correction, she promised to restore him to his owne shape: and so she did, as being therevnto compelled. I answer, that as the whole storie is an impious fable; so this assertion is false, and disagréeable to their owne doctrine, which mainteineth, that the witch dooth nothing but by the permission and leaue of God. For if she could doo or vndoo such a thing at hir owne pleasure, or at the commandement of the inquisitors, or for feare of the tormentors, or for loue of the partie, or for remorse of conscience: then is it not either by the extraordinarie leaue, nor yet by the like direction of God; except you will make him a confederate with old witches. I for my part woonder most, how they can turne and tosse a mans bodie so, and make it smaller and greater, to wit, like a mowse, or like an asse, &c: and the man all this while to féele no paine. And I am not alone in this maze: for Danæus a speciall mainteiner of their fol-

Dan. in dialog. cap. 3.

lies

lies saith, that although Augustine and Apuleius doo write verie *August.lib.*
credible of these matters; yet will he neuer beleeue, that wit- *de ciuit.Dei.*
ches can change men into other formes; as asses, apes, woolues, *cap.17.18.*
beares, mice, &c.

That the bodie of a man cannot be turned into the bodie of a beast by a witch, is prooued by strong reasons, scriptures, and authorities.

The fift Chapter.

But was this man an asse all this while? Or was this asse a man? Bodin saith (his reason onelie reserued) he was trulie transubstantiated into an asse; so as there must be no part of a man, but reason remaining in this asse. And yet Her- *Hermes*
mes Trismegistus thinketh he hath good *Trismeg.in*
authoritie and reason to saie; *Aliud corpus* *suo Periandro.*
quàm humanum non capere animam humanam; nec fas esse in corpus animæ ratione carentis animam rationalem corruere; that is; An humane soule cannot receiue anie other than an humane bodie, nor yet canne light into a bodie that wanteth reason of mind. But S. James saith; The bodie without the spirit is dead. And surelie, Iam.2,26.
when the soule is departed from the bodie, the life of man is dissolued: and therefore Paule wished to be dissolued, when he would Phili.1,23.
haue beene with Christ. The bodie of man is subiect to diuers kinds of agues, sicknesses, and infirmities, whereunto an asses bodie is not inclined: and mans bodie must be fed with bread, &c: and not with hay. Bodins asseheaded man must either eate haie, or nothing: as appeareth in the storie. Mans bodie also is subiect unto death, and hath his daies numbred. If this fellowe had died in the meane time, as his houre might haue beene come, for anie thing the diuels, the witch, or Bodin knew; I meruell then what would haue become of this asse, or how the witch could haue restored him to shape, or whether he should haue risen at the daie of iudgement in an asses bodie and shape. For Paule saith, that that 1.Cor.15.
verie bodie which is sowne and buried a naturall bodie, is raised 44.

a spirituall bodie. The life of Jesus is made manifest in our mortall flesh, and not in the flesh of an asse.

God hath endued euerie man and euerie thing with his proper nature, substance, forme, qualities, and gifts, and directeth their waies. As for the waies of an asse, he taketh no such care: howbeit, they haue also their properties and substance seuerall to themselues. For there is one flesh (saith Paule) of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, another of birds. And therefore it is absolutelie against the ordinance of God (who hath made me a man) that I should flie like a bird, or swim like a fish, or créepe like a worme, or become an asse in shape: insomuch as if God would giue me leaue, I cannot doo it; for it were contrarie to his owne order and decrée, and to the constitution of anie bodie which he hath made. Yea the spirits themselues haue their lawes and limits prescribed, beyond the which they cannot passe one haires breadth; otherwise God should be contrarie to himselfe: which is farre from him. Neither is Gods omnipotencie hereby qualified, but the diuels impotencie manifested, who hath none other power, but that which God from the beginning hath appointed vnto him, consonant to his nature and substance. He may well be restreined from his power and will, but beyond the same he cannot passe, as being Gods minister, no further but in that which he hath from the beginning enabled him to doo: which is, that he being a spirit, may with Gods leaue and ordinance viciat and corrupt the spirit and will of man: wherein he is verie diligent.

1.Cor.15, 39.

Psal.119.

What a beastlie assertion is it, that a man, whom GOD hath made according to his owne similitude and likenes, should be by a witch turned into a beast? What an impietie is it to affirme, that an asses bodie is the temple of the Holy-ghost? Or an asse to be the child of God, and God to be his father; as it is said of man? Which Paule to the Corinthians so diuinelie confuteth, who saith, that Our bodies are the members of Christ. In the which we are to glorifie God: for the bodie is for the Lord, and the Lord is for the bodie. Surelie he meaneth not for an asses bodie, as by this time I hope appeareth: in such wise as Bodin may go hide him for shame; especiallie when he shall vnderstand, that euen into these our bodies, which God hath framed after his owne likenesse,

1.Cor.6,19. verse.15,&c verse.2. verse.13.

nesse, he hath also brethed that spirit, which Bodin saith is now remaining within an asses bodie, which God hath so subiected in such seruilitie vnder the foote of man; of whom God is so mindfull, that he hath made him little lower than angels, yea than himselfe, and crowned him with glorie and worship, and made him to haue dominion ouer the workes of his hands, as hauing put all things vnder his feete, all sheepe and oxen, yea woolues, asses, and all other beasts of the field, the foules of the aire, the fishes of the sea, &c. Bodins poet, Ouid, whose Metamorphôsis make so much for him, saith to the ouerthrow of this phantasticall imagination:

Psalm. 8. verses. 5, 6, 7, 8.

Os homini sublime dedit, cœlúmque videre
Jussit, & erectos ad sydera tollere vultus.

The effect of which verses is this;

The Lord did set mans face so hie,
That he the heauens might behold,
And looke vp to the starrie skie,
To see his woonders manifold.

Now, if a witch or a diuell can so alter the shape of a man, as contrarilie to make him looke downe to hell, like a beast; Gods works should not onelie be defaced and disgraced, but his ordinance should be wonderfullie altered, and thereby confounded.

The witchmongers obiections, concerning Nabuchadnez-zar answered, and their errour concerning Lycanthropia confuted.

The sixt Chapter.

Malleus Maleficarum, Bodin, and manie other of them that mainteine witchcraft, triumph vpon the storie of Nabuchadnez-zar; as though Circes had transformed him with hir sorceries into an oxe, as she did others into swine, &c. I answer, that he was neither in bodie nor shape transformed at all, accor-

Their ground worke is as sure as to hold a quick eele by the taile.

ding to their grosse imagination; as appeareth both by the plaine words of the text, and also by the opinions of the best interpretors thereof: but that he was, for his beastlie gouernment and conditions, throwne out of his kingdome and banished for a time, and driuen to hide himselfe in the wildernesse, there in exile to lead his life in beastlie sort, among beasts of the field, and fowles of the aire (for by the waie I tell you it appeareth by the text, that he was rather turned into the shape of a fowle than of a beast) untill he reiecting his beastlie conditions, was upon his repentance and amendment called home, and restored unto his kingdome. Howbeit, this (by their confession) was neither diuels nor witches doing; but a miracle wrought by God, whom alone I acknowledge to be able to bring to passe such workes at his pleasure. Wherein I would know what our witchmongers haue gained.

Dan. 4.

I am not ignorant that some write, that after the death of Nabuchadnez-zar, his sonne Eilumorodath gaue his bodie to the rauens to be deuoured, least afterwards his father should arise from death, who of a beast became a man againe. But this tale is méeter to haue place in the Cabalisticall art, to wit: among unwritten verities than here. To conclude, I saie that the transformations, which these witchmongers do so raue and rage upon, is (as all the learned sort of physicians affirme) a disease procéeding partlie from melancholie, wherebie manie suppose themselues to be woolues, or such rauening beasts. For Lycanthropia is of the ancient physicians called *Lupina melancholia*, or *Lupina insania*. I. Wierus declareth verie learnedlie, the cause, the circumstance, and the cure of this disease. I haue written the more herein; bicause hereby great princes and potentates, as well as poore women and innocents, haue béene defamed and accounted among the number of witches.

Cor. Agrip. de vanit. scient. cap. 44.

Paul. Aegi-net. li. 3. c. 16. Aetius. lib. 6. cap. 11. I. Wier. de præst. dæm. lib. 4. cap. 23.

A speciall obiection answered concerning transportations, with the consent of diuerse writers therevpon.

The seuenth Chapter.

For the maintenance of witches transportations, they obiect the words of the Gospell, where the diuell is said to take vp Christ, and to set him on a pinnacle of the temple, and on a mountaine, &c. Which if he had doone in maner and forme as they suppose, it followeth not therefore that witches could doo the like; nor yet that the diuell would doo it for them at their pleasure; for they know not their thoughts, neither can otherwise communicate with them. But I answer, that if it were so grosselie to be vnderstood, as they imagine it, yet should it make nothing to their purpose. For I hope they will not saie, that Christ had made anie ointments, or entred into anie league with the diuell, and by vertue thereof was transported from out of the wildernes, vnto the top of the temple of Jerusalem; or that the diuell could haue maisteries ouer his bodie, whose soule he could neuer laie hold vpon; especiallie when he might (with a becke of his finger) haue called vnto him, and haue had the assistance of manie legions of angels. Neither (as I thinke) will they presume to make Christ partaker of the diuels purpose and sinne in that behalfe. If they saie; This was an action wrought by the speciall prouidence of God, and by his appointment, that the scripture might be fulfilled: then what gaine our witchmongers by this place? First, for that they maie not produce a particular example to proue so generall an argument. And againe, if it were by Gods speciall prouidence and appointment; then why should it not be doone by the hand of God, as it was in the storie of Iob? Or if it were Gods speciall purpose and pleasure, that there should be so extraordinarie a matter brought to passe by the hand of the diuell; could not God haue giuen to the wicked angell extraordinarie power, and cloathed him with extraordinarie shape; where-

Matth.4, 8. Luk.3,9.

Answer to the former obiection.

Matt.26,53.

Iob.1, 11. Iob.2,5.

by he might be made an instrument able to accomplish that matter, as he did to his angell that carried Abacuck to Daniell, and to them that he sent to destroie Sodome? But you shall understand, that this was doone in a vision, and not in veritie of action. So as they haue a verie cold pull of this place, which is the speciall péece of scripture alledged of them for their transportations.

I.Caluine in harmon.Euang. in Matth.4. & Luk.4.

Heare therefore what Caluine saith in his commentarie vpon that place, in these words; The question is, whether Christ were carried aloft indéed, or whether it were but in a vision? Manie affirme verie obstinatlie, that his bodie was trulie and reallie as they saie taken vp: bicause they thinke it too great an indignitie for Christ to be made subiect to sathans illusions. But this obiection is easilie washed awaie. For it is no absurditie to grant all this to be wrought through Gods permission, or Christes voluntarie subiection: so long as we yéeld not to thinke that he suffered these temptations inwardlie, that is to saie, in mind or soule. And that which is afterwards set downe by the Euangelist, where the diuell shewed him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glorie of the same, and that to be doone (as it is said in Luke) in the twinkling of an eie, dooth more agrée with a vision than with a reall action. So farre are the verie words of Caluine. Which differ not one syllable nor fiue words from that which I had written herein, before I looked for his opinion in the matter. And this I hope will be sufficient to ouerthrow the assertions of them that laie the ground of their transportations and flieng in the aire herevpon.

Ezec.3, 12. and 14.

He that will saie, that these words; to wit, that Christ was taken vp, &c: can hardlie be applied to a vision, let him turne to the prophesie of Ezechiell, and sée the selfe-same words vsed in a vision: sauing that where Christ is said to be taken vp by the diuell, Ezechiell is taken vp, and lifted vp, and carried by the spirit of God, and yet in a vision. But they haue lesse reason that build vpon this sandie rocke, the supernaturall frame of transubstantiation; as almost all our witching writers doo. For Sprenger & Institor saie, that the diuell in the likenesse of a falcon caught him vp. Danæus saith; it was in the similitude of a man; others saie, of an angell painted with wings; others, inuisiblie; *Ergo* the di-

Mal.malef.

uell can take (saie they) what shape he list. But though some may cauill vpon the diuels transforming of himselfe; yet, that either diuell or witch can transforme or transubstantiat others, there is no tittle nor colour in the scriptures to helpe them. If there were authoritie for it, and that it were past all peraduenture, lo, what an easie matter it is to resubstantiate an asse into a man. For Bodin saith vpon the word of Apuleius, that if the asse eate new roses, anise, or baie leaues out of spring water, it will presentlie returne him into a man. Which thing Sprenger saith maie be doone, by washing the asse in faire water: yea he sheweth an instance, where, by drinking of water an asse was turned into a man.

I. Bod. lib. de dæm. 3. cap. 5.

In Mal. mal.

The witchmongers obiection concerning the historie of Iob answered.

The eight Chapter.

These witchmongers, for lacke of better arguments, doo manie times obiect Iob against me; although there be neuer a word in that storie, which either maketh for them, or against me: in so much as there is not the name of a witch mentioned in the whole booke. But (I praie you) what witchmonger now seeing one so afflicted as Iob, would not saie he were bewitched, as Iob neuer saith? [a] For first there came a messenger vnto him, and said; Thy oxen were plowing, and thy asses were feeding in their places, [b] and the Sabeans came violentlie and tooke them; yea they haue slaine thy seruants with the edge of the sword; but I onlie am escaped to tell thee. [c] And whilest he was yet speaking, another came, and said; The fier of God is fallen from the heauen, & hath burnt vp thy sheepe and thy seruants, and deuoured them; but I onlie am escaped to tell thee. [d] And while he was yet speaking, another came, and said; The Chaldæans set out their bands, and fell vpon thy camels, and haue taken them, and haue slaine thy seruants with the edge of the sword; but I onlie am

[a] Iob. 1, 14.
[b] verse, 15.
[c] verse, 16.
[d] verse, 17.

e verse,18. escaped alone to tell thée. [e] And whilest he was yet speaking, came another, and said; Thy sonnes and thy daughters were ea-
f verse,19. ting and drinking wine in their elder brothers house, [f] and be-hold there came a great wind from beyond the wildernesse, and smote the foure corners of the house, which fell vpon thy children,
g Ibid. ca.2. vers.7. and they are dead; and I onlie am escaped alone to tell thée. [g] Be-sides all this, he was smitten with biles, from the sole of his foote to the crowne of his head. If anie man in these daies called Iob should be by the appointment or hand of God thus handled, as this Iob was; I warrant you that all the old women in the coun-trie would be called *Coram nobis*: warrants would be sent out on euerie side, publike and priuate inquirie made what old women latelie resorted to Iobs house, or to anie of those places, where these missfortunes fell. If anie poore old woman had chanced within two or thrée moneths to haue borrowed a curtsie of seasing, or to haue fetcht from thence a pot of milke, or had she required some almes, and not obteined it at Iobs hand; there had béene argu-ment enough to haue brought hir to confusion: and to be more certeine to haue the right witch apprehended, figures must haue béene cast, the siue and sheares must haue béene set on worke; yea rather than the witch should escape, a coniuror must haue ear-ned a little monie, a circle must haue béene made, and a diuell raised to tell the truth: mother Bungie must haue béen gon vnto, and after she had learned hir name, whom Iob most suspected, she would haue confirmed the suspicion with artificiall accusations: in the end, some woman or other must haue béene hanged for it. But as Iob said; *Dominus dedit*: so said he not; *Diabolus vel Lamia sed Dominus abstulit*. Which agréeth with the tenor of the text, where it is written, that the diuell at euerie of Iobs afflictions de-

I.Caluin. in Iob. cap.1.21. sired God to laie his hand vpon him. Insomuch as Iob imputed no part of his calamitie vnto diuels, witches, nor yet vnto con-iurors, or their inchantments; as we haue learned now to doo. Neither sinned he, or did God any wrong, when he laid it to his

** I.Caluin. in Iob, cap.2. Sermon.8. Muscul. in loc.comm. Idem, ibidem.* charge: but we dishonour God greatlie, when we attribute ei-ther the power or proprietie of God the creator vnto a creature.

*Caluine saith; We derogate much from Gods glorie and om-nipotencie, when we saie he dooth but giue sathan leaue to doo it: which is (saith he) to mocke Gods iustice; and so fond an asser-

tion,

tion, that if asses could speake, they would speake more wiselie than so. For a temporall iudge saith not to the hangman; I giue thée leaue to hang this offender, but commandeth him to doo it. But the mainteiners of witches omnipotencie, saie; Doo you not sée how reallie and palpablie the diuell tempted and plagued Iob? I answer first, that there is no corporall or visible diuell named nor séene in any part of that circumstance; secondlie, that it was the hand of God that did it; thirdlie, that as there is no communitie betwéene the person of a witch, and the person of a diuell, so was there not any conference or practise betwixt them in this case.

And as touching the communication betwixt God and the diuell, behold what Caluine saith, writing or rather preaching of purpose vpon that place, wher vpon they thinke they haue so great aduantage; When sathan is said to appéere before God, it is not doone in some place certeine, but the scripture speaketh so to applie it selfe to our rudenes. Certeinlie the diuell in this and such like cases is an instrument to worke Gods will, and not his owne: and therefore it is an ignorant and an vngodlie saieng (as Caluine iudgeth it) to affirme, that God dooth but permit and suffer the diuell. For if sathan were so at his owne libertie (saith he) we should be ouerwhelmed at a sudden. And doubtlesse, if he had power to hurt the bodie, there were no waie to resist: for he would come inuisiblie vpon vs, and knocke vs on the heads; yea hée would watch the best and dispatch them, whilest they were about some wicked act. If they saie; God commandeth him, no bodie impugneth them: but that God should giue him leaue, I saie with Caluine, that the diuell is not in such fauour with God, as to obteine any such request at his hands. *I.Caluine in his sermons vpon Iob.*

And wheras by our witchmongers opinions and arguments, the witch procureth the diuell, and the diuell asketh leaue of God to plague whom the witch is disposed: there is not (as I haue said) any such corporall communication betwéene the diuell and a witch, as witchmongers imagine. Neither is God mooued at all at sathans sute, who hath no such fauour or grace with him, as to obteine any thing at his hands. *I.Caluine in Iob.cap.1. sermon.5.*

But M. Mal. and his friends denie, that there were any witches in Iobs time: yea the witchmongers are content to saie, that *Mal. malef. pa.1. quest.1. Idem part.1. quest.4.*

there

there were none found to exercise this art in Christs time, from his birth to his death, euen by the space of thirtie thrée yeares. If there had béene anie (saie they) they should haue béene there spoken of. As touching the authoritie of the booke of Iob, there is no question but that it is verie canonicall and authentike. Howbeit, manie writers, both of the Iewes and others, are of opinion, that Moses was the author of this booke; and that he did set it as a looking glasse before the people: to the intent the children of Abraham (of whose race he himselfe came) might knowe, that God shewed fauour to others that were not of the same line, and be ashamed of their wickednesse: séeing an vncircumcised Painime had so well demeaned himselfe. Upon which argument Caluine (though he had written vpon the same) saith, that Forsomuch as it is vncerteine, whether it were *Res gesta* or *Exempli gratia*, we must leaue it in suspense. Neuertheles (saith he) let vs take that which is out of all doubt; namelie, that the Holy-ghost hath indited the booke, to the end that the Iewes should knowe that God hath had a people alwaies to serue him throughout the world, euen of such as were no Iewes, nor segregated from other nations.

Note what is said touching the booke of Iob.

Howbeit, I for my part denie not the veritie of the storie; though indéed I must confesse, that I thinke there was no such corporall enterlude betwéene God, the diuell, and Iob, as they imagine: neither anie such reall presence and communication as the witchmongers conceiue and mainteine; who are so grosse herein, that they doo not onlie beléeue, but publish so palpable absurdities concerning such reall actions betwixt the diuell and man, as a wise man would be ashamed to read, but much more to credit: as that S. Dunstan lead the diuell about the house by the nose with a paire of pinsors or tongs, and made him rore so lowd, as the place roong thereof, &c: with a thousand the like fables, without which neither the art of poperie nor of witchcraft could stand. But you may sée more of this matter else-where, where in few words (which I thought good here to omit, least I should séeme to vse too manie repetitions) I answer effectuallie to their cauils about this place.

In legenda aurea.

What

What seuerall sorts of witches are mentioned in the scriptures, and how the word witch is there applied.

The ninth Chapter.

But what sorts of witches so euer M. Mal. or Bodin saie there are; Moses spake onlie of foure kinds of impious couseners or witches (whereof our witchmongers old women which dansc with the fairies, &c; are none.) The first were *Præstigiatores Pharaonis,* which (as all diuines, both Hebrues and others conclude) were but couseners and iugglers, deceiuing the kings eies with illusions and sleights; and making false things to appeare as true: which neuertheles our witches cannot doo. The second is *Mecasapha,* which is she that destroieth with poison. The third are such as vse sundrie kinds of diuinations, and hereunto perteine these words, *Kasam, Onen, Ob, Idoni.* The fourth is *Habar,* to wit: when magicians, or rather such, as would be reputed cunning therein, mumble certeine secret words, wherin is thought to be great efficacie.

1. Præstigiatores Pharaonis.
2. Mecasapha.
3. Kasam. Onen. Ob. Idoni.
4. Habar.

These are all couseners and abusers of the people in their seuerall kinds. But bicause they are all termed of our translators by the name of witches in the Bible: therefore the lies of M. Mal. and Bodin, and all our old wiues tales are applied vnto these names, and easilie beléeued of the common people, who haue neuer hitherto béene instructed in the vnderstanding of these words. In which respect, I will (by Gods grace) shew you (concerning the signification of them) the opinion of the most learned in our age; speciallie of Iohannes Wierus; who though hée himselfe were singularlie learned in the tongs, yet for his satisfaction and full resolution in the same, he sent for the iudgement of Andræas Masius, the most famous Hebrician in the world, and had it in such sense and order, as I meane to set downe vnto you. And yet I giue you this note by the waie, that witchcraft or inchantment is diuerslie taken in the scriptures; somtimes nothing tending to such end as it is commonlie thought to doo. For in 1. Samuell,

Note.

1.Sa.15,23. muell, 15,23. it is all one with rebellion. Iesabell for hir idola-
2.Re.9,22. trous life is called a witch. Also in the new testament, euen S.
Gal.3,1. Paule saith the Galathians are bewitched, bicause they were sedu-
ced and lead from the true understanding of the scriptures.

Math.2,1. Item sometimes it is taken in good part; as the magicians
Daniel.4. that came to worship and offer to Christ: and also where Daniell
is said to be an inchanter, yea a principall inchanter: which title
being giuen him in diuers places of that storie, he neuer seemeth
to refuse or dislike; but rather intreateth for the pardon and qua-
lification of the rigor towards other inchanters, which were
meere couseners indeed: as appeareth in the second chapter of
Dan.2,8. Daniell, where you may see that the king espied their fetches.

Actes.19. Sometimes such are called coniurors, as being but roges,
and lewd people, would use the name of Jesus to worke mira-
cles, whereby, though they being faithlesse could worke nothing;
yet is their practise condemned by the name of coniuration.
Gen.4,18. Sometimes iugglers are called witches. Sometimes also they
Exod.7, 13,&c. are called sorcerers, that impugne the gospell of Christ, and se-
Acts 13. duce others with violent persuasions. Sometimes a murtherer
Exod.22, &c. with poison is called a witch. Sometimes they are so termed by
the verie signification of their names; as Elimas, which signifi-
Acts.13. eth a sorcerer. Somtimes bicause they studie curious and vaine
Acts.19. arts. Sometimes it is taken for wonding or greeuing of the
Canticles of Salo- hart. Yea the verie word *Magus*, which is Latine for a magician,
mon.cap.4. is translated a witch; and yet it was hertofore alwaies taken in
verse.9. the good part. And at this daie it is indifferent to saie in the Eng-
lish tong; She is a witch; or, She is a wise woman.

Sometimes obseruers of dreames, sometimes soothsaiers,
Deut.18,2. sometimes the obseruers of the flieng of foules, of the meeting of
Ierem.27. todes, the falling of salt, &c: are called witches. Sometimes he or
Acts.8. she is called a witch, that take upon them either for gaine or glo-
rie, to doo miracles; and yet can doo nothing. Sometimes they are
called witches in common speech, that are old, lame, curst, or me-
lancholike, as a nickname. But as for our old women, that are
said to hurt children with their eies, or lambs with their lookes, or
that pull downe the moone out of heauen, or make so foolish a bar-
gaine, or doo such homage to the diuell; you shall not read in the
bible of any such witches, or of any such actions imputed to them.

¶ *The*

¶ *The sixt Booke.*

The exposition of this Hebrue word Chasaph, wherein is answered the obiection conteined in Exodus 22. to wit: Thou shalt not suffer a witch to liue, and of Simon Magus. Acts. 8.

The first Chapter.

CHasaph, being an Hebrue word, is Latined *veneficium*, and is in English, poisoning, or witchcraft; if you will so haue it. The Hebrue sentence written in Exodus, 22. is by the 70. interpretors translated thus into Greeke, φάρμακοῦς οὐκ ἐπιζεάσετε, which in Latine is, *veneficos (siue) veneficas non retinebitis in vita*, in English, You shall not suffer anie poisoners, or (as it is translated) witches to liue. The which sentence Iosephus an Hebrue borne, and a man of great estimation, learning and fame, interpreteth in this wise; Let none of the children of Israel haue any poison that is deadlie, or prepared to anie hurtfull vse. If anie be apprehended with such stuffe, let him be put to death, and suffer that which he ment to do to them, for whom he prepared it. The Rabbins exposition agrée héere withall. *Lex Cornelia* differeth not from this sense, to wit, that he must suffer death, which either maketh, selleth, or hath anie poison, to the intent to kill anie man. This word is found in these places following: Exodus. 22, 18. Deut. 18, 10. 2. Sam. 9, 22. Dan. 2, 2. 2. Chr. 33, 6. Esay. 47, 9, 12. Malach, 3, 5. Ierem. 27, 9. Mich. 5, 2. Nah. 3, 4. bis. Howbeit, in all our English transla-

Ioseph. in Iudæorum antiquitat.

translations, *Chasaph* is translated, witchcraft.

And bicause I will auoid prolixitie and contention both at once, I will admit that Veneficæ were such witches, as with their poisons did much hurt among the children of Israell; and I will not denie that there remaine such vntill this daie, bewitching men, and making them beléeue, that by vertue of words, and certeine ceremonies, they bring to passe such mischéefes, and intoxications, as they indéed accomplish by poisons. And this abuse in cousenage of people, together with the taking of Gods name in vaine, in manie places of the scripture is reproued, especiallie by the name of witchcraft, euen where no poisons are. According to the sense which S. Paule vseth to the Galathians in these words, where he sheweth plainelie, that the true significati-
Gal.3,1. on of witchcraft is cousenage; O ye foolish Galathians (saith he) who hath bewitched you? to wit, cousened or abused you, making you beléeue a thing which is neither so nor so. Whereby he meaneth not to aske of them, who haue with charmes, &c: or with poisons depriued them of their health, life, cattell, or children, &c: but who hath abused or cousened them, to make them beléeue lies.
Iob.15,12. This phrase is also vsed by Iob.15. But that we may be throughlie resolued of the true meaning of this phrase vsed by Paule, Gal.3. let vs examine the description of a notable witch called
Acts.8,9. Simon Magus, made by S. Luke; There was (saith he) in the citie of Samaria, a certeine man called Simon, which vsed witchcraft, and bewitched the people of Samaria, saieng that he himselfe was some great man. I demand, in what other thing here do we sée anie witchcraft, than that he abused the people, making them beléeue he could worke miracles, whereas in truth he could do no such thing; as manifestlie may appeare in the 13. and 19. verses of the same chapter: where he wondered at the miracles wrought by the apostles, and would haue purchased with monie the power of the Holy-ghost to worke wonders.

Acts.8,11. It will be said, the people had reason to beléeue him, bicause it is written, that he of long time had bewitched them with sorceries. But let the bewitched Galathians be a warning both to the bewitched Samaritans, and to all other that are cousened or bewitched through false doctrine, or legierdemaine; least while they attend to such fables and lies, they be brought into ignorance,

and

and so in time be led with them awaie from God. And finallie, let vs all abandon such witches and couseners, as with Simon Magus set themselues in the place of God, boasting that they can doo miracles, expound dreames, foretell things to come, raise the
dead, &c: which are the workes of the Holy-ghost, who onlie sear- 1.Reg.8,39.
cheth the heart and reines, and onelie worketh great wonders, Matth.9.4. 12.25.22.
which are now staied and accomplished in Christ, in whome who Acts.1,24.
so stedfastlie beléeueth shall not néed to be by such meanes re- &15,8.
solued or confirmed in his doctrine and gospell. And as for the Rom.8,27.
vnfaithfull, they shall haue none other miracle shewed vnto Mark.2.
them, but the signe of Ionas the prophet. Luk.6,17.& 11.&9.

And therefore I saie, whatsoeuer they be that with Simon Ma- Ioh.1.&2.
gus take vpon them to worke such wonders, by soothsaieng, sor- &6.&13.
cerie, or witchcraft, are but liers, deceiuers, and couseners, ac- Apoc.2.&.3
cording to Syrachs saieng; Sorcerie, witchcraft, soothsaieng, and Luk.11,29. Eccl.34,5.
dreames, are but vanitie, and the lawe shalbe fulfilled without such lies.
God commanded the people, that they should not re- Eccl.34,8.
gard them that wrought with spirits, nor soothsaiers: for the esti- Leui.19,31.
mation that was attributed vnto them, offended God.

The place of Deuteronomie expounded, wherin are recited all kind of witches; also their opinions confuted, which hold that they can worke such miracles as are imputed vnto them.

The second Chapter.

THe greatest and most common obiection is, that if there were not some, which could worke such miraculous or supernaturall feats, by themselues, or by their diuels, it should not haue béene said; Deut.18.10. 11.
Let none be found among you, that maketh his sonne or his daughter to go through the fier, or that vseth witchcraft, or is a regarder of times, or a marker of the flieng of fowles, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or that counselleth with spirits, or a soothsaier, or that asketh counsell of the dead, or (as some translate it)

that raiseth the dead. But as there is no one place in the scripture that saith they can worke miracles, so it shalbe easie to prooue, that these were all couseners, euerie one abusing the people in his seuerall kind; and are accursed of God. Not that they can doo all such things indeed, as there is expressed; but for that they take vpon them to be the mightie power of God, and to doo that which is the onelie worke of him, seducing the people, and blaspheming the name of God, who will not giue his glorie to anie creature, being himselfe the king of glorie and omnipotencie.

Esay.42,8. Psal.24.8.10.

First I aske, what miracle was wrought by their passing through the fier? Trulie it cannot be prooued that anie effect followed; but that the people were bewitched, to suppose their sinnes to be purged thereby; as the Spaniards thinke of scourging and whipping themselues. So as Gods power was imputed to that action, and so forbidden as an idolatrous sorcerie. What woonders worketh the regarder of times? What other diuell dealeth he withall, than with the spirit of superstition? Doth he not deceiue himselfe and others, and therefore is worthilie condemned for a witch? What spirit vseth he, which marketh the flieng of fowles? Neuertheles, he is here condemned as a practiser of witchcraft; bicause he couseneth the people, and taketh vpon him to be a prophet; impiouslie referring Gods certeine ordinances to the flittering fethers and vncerteine waies of a bird? The like effects produceth sorcerie, charming, consultation with spirits, soothsaieng, and consulting with the dead: in euerie of the which Gods power is obscured, his glorie defaced, and his commandement infringed.

And to prooue that these soothsaiers and witches are but lieng mates and couseners; note these words pronounced by God himselfe, euen in the selfe same place to the children of Israell: Although the Gentiles suffered themselues to be abused, so as they gaue eare to these sorcerers, &c: he would not suffer them so, but would raise them a prophet, who should speake the truth. As if he should saie; The other are but lieng and cousening mates, deceitfull and vndermining merchants, whose abuses I will make knowne to my people. And that euerie one maie be resolued herein, let the last sentence of this precept be well weighed; to wit, Let none be found among you, that asketh counsell of (or raiseth

Deut.18,14

seth

seth the dead.)

First you know the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God, and resting with Lazarus in Abrahams bosome, doo sleepe in Jesus Christ. And from that sleepe, man shall not be raised, till the heauens be no more: according to this of Dauid; Wilt thou shew wonders among the dead? Nay, the Lord saith, The liuing shall not be taught by the dead, but by the liuing. As for the vnrighteous, they are in hell, where is no redemption; neither is there anie passage from heauen to earth, but by God and his angels. As touching the resurrection and restauration of the bodie, read Iohn.5. and you shall manifestlie see, that it is the onelie worke of the father, who hath giuen the power therof to the sonne, and to none other, &c. *Dominus percutit, & ipse medetur: Ego occidam, & ego viuefaciam.* And in manie other places it is written, that God giueth life and beeing to all. Although Plato, with his maister Socrates, the cheefe pillers of these vanities, say, that one Pamphilus was called vp out of hel, who when he cam among the people, told manie incredible tales concerning infernall actions. But herein I take vp the prouerbe; *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed maior amica veritas.*

Sap.3,1. Luk.16,23. Iob.14,12. Psal.88, 10. Deut.18,11. Luk. 16. 29. 31. Luk.16,22. Ioh.5,21. Ose.6. Acts.17.25. 28. Tim.6,13.

So as this last precept, or last part thereof, extending to that which neither can be done by witch nor diuell, maie well expound the other parts and points therof. For it is not ment hereby, that they can doo such things indeed; but that they make men beleeue they doo them, and thereby cousen the people, and take vpon them the office of God, and therewithall also blaspheme his holie name, and take it in vaine; as by the words of charmes and coniurations doo appeare, which you shall see, if you looke into these words, Habar and Idoni.

In like maner I saie you may see, that by the prohibition of diuinations by augurie, and of soothsaienges, &c, who are witches, and can indeed doo nothing but lie and cousen the people, the lawe of God condemneth them not, for that they can worke miracles, but bicause they saie they can doo that which perteineth to God, and for cousenage, &c. Concerning other points of witchcraft conteined therein, and bicause some cannot otherwise be satisfied, I will alledge vnder one sentence, the decretals, the mind of S. Augustine, the councell Aurelian, and the determination of Paris,

26. quæ. 7. non obser. fact. 1398. act. 17. August. de spirit. & anima. cap. 28.

Paris, to wit: Who so obserueth, or giueth hæd vnto soothsaiengs, diuinations, witchcraft, &c, or doth giue credit to anie such, he renounceth christianitie, and shalbe counted a pagane, & an enimie to God; yea and he erreth both in faith and philosophie. And the reason is therewithall expressed in the canon, to wit; Bicause hereby is attributed to a creature, that which perteineth to God onelie and alone. So as, vnder this one sentence (Thou shalt not suffer a poisoner or a witch to liue) is forbidden both murther and witchcraft; the murther consisting in poison; the witchcraft in cousenage or blasphemie.

That women haue vsed poisoning in all ages more than men, and of the inconuenience of poisoning.

The third Chapter.

AS women in all ages haue bæne counted most apt to conceiue witchcraft, and the diuels speciall instruments therin, and the onelie or chæfe practisers therof: so also it appeareth, that they haue bæen the first inuenters, and the greatest practisers of poisoning, and more naturallie addicted and giuen therevnto than men: according to the saieng of Quintilian; *Latrocinium facilius in viro, veneficium in fœmina credam.* From whom Plinie differeth nothing in opinion, when he saith, *Scientiam fœminarum in veneficijs præualere.* To be short, Augustine, Liuie, Valerius, Diodorus, and manie other agrée, that women were the first inuenters and practisers of the art of poisoning. As for the rest of their cunning, in what estimation it was had, may appeare by these verses of Horace, wherein he doth not onelie declare the vanitie of witchcraft, but also expoundeth the other words, wherewithall we are now in hand.

Plin. lib. 25. cap. 2.

Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portentáq; Thessala rides:

These

These dreames and terrors magicall,
these miracles and witches,
Night-walking sprites, or Thessal bugs,
esteeme them not twoo rushes.

Here Horace (you see) contemneth as ridiculous, all our witches cunning: marrie herein he comprehendeth not their poisoning art, which hereby he onelie seemed to thinke hurtfull. Pythagoras and Democritus giue vs the names of a great manie magicall hearbs and stones, whereof now, both the vertue, and the things themselues also are vnknowne: as Marmaritin, whereby spirits might be raised: Archimedon, which would make one bewraie in his sleepe, all the secrets in his heart: Adincantida, Calicia, Meuais, Chirocineta, &c: which had all their seuerall vertues, or rather poisons. But all these now are worne out of knowledge: marrie in their steed we haue hogs turd and cheruill, as the onelie thing whereby our witches worke miracles.

Trulie this poisoning art called *Veneficium*, of all others is most abhominable; as whereby murthers maie be committed, where no suspicion maie be gathered, nor anie resistance can be made; the strong cannot auoid the weake, the wise cannot preuent the foolish, the godlie cannot be preserued from the hands of the wicked; children maie hereby kill their parents, the seruant the maister, the wife hir husband, so priuilie, so ineuitablie, and so incurablie, that of all other it hath beene thought the most odious kind of murther; according to the saieng of Ouid:

——————non hospes ab hospite tutus, *Ouid. metamorph. lib. 1.*
Non socer à genero, fratrum quóq; gratia rara est:
Imminet exitio vir coniugis, illa mariti,
Lurida terribiles miscent aconita nouercæ,
Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos.

Engliſhed by Abraham Fleming.

——The trauelling gheſt oppreſt
Dooth ſtand in danger of his hoſt,
the hoſt eke of his gheſt:
The father of his ſonne in lawe,
yea rare is ſeene to reſt
Twixt brethren loue and amitie,
and kindneſſe void of ſtrife;
The husband ſeekes the goodwifes death,
and his againe the wife.
Vngentle ſtepdames grizlie poi-
ſon temper and doo giue:
The ſonne too ſoone dooth aske how long
his father is to liue.

The monke that poiſoned king Iohn, was a right Veneficus; to wit, both a witch and a murtherer: for he killed the king with poiſon, and perſuaded the people with lies, that he had doone a good and a meritorious act; and doubtleſſe, manie were ſo bewitched, as they thought he did verie well therein. Antonius Sabellicus writeth of a horrible poiſoning murther, committed by women at Rome, where were executed (after due conuiction, 170. women at one time; beſides 20. women of that conſort, who were poiſoned with that poiſon which they had prepared for others.

Aeneid.4. lib.4.

Of

Of diuers poisoning practises, otherwise called veneficia, committed in Italie, Genua, Millen, Wittenberge, also how they were discouered and executed.

The fourth Chapter.

ANother practise, not unlike to that mentioned in the former chapter, was doone in Cassalis at Salassia in Italie, Anno 1536. where 40. Veneficæ or witches being of one confederacie, renewed a plague which was then almost ceased, besmeering with an ointment and a pouder, the posts and doores of mens houses; so as thereby whole families were poisoned: and of that stuffe they had prepared aboue 40. crocks for that purpose. Herewithall they conueied inheritances as it pleased them, till at length they killed the brother and onelie sonne of one Necus (as lightlie none died in the house but the maisters and their children) which was much noted; and therewithall that one Androgina haunted the houses, speciallie of them that died: and she being suspected, apprehended, and examined, confessed the fact, conspiracie, and circumstance, as hath beene shewed. The like villanie was afterwards practised at Geneua, and execution was doone upon the offenders. At Millen there was another like attempt that tooke none effect. This art consisteth as well in poisoning of cattell as of men: and that which is doone by poisons unto cattell, towards their destruction, is as commonlie attributed to witches charms as the other. And I doubt not, but some that would be thought cunning in incantations, and to doo miracles, haue experience in this behalf. For it is written by diuers authors, that if wolues doong be hidden in the mangers, racks, or else in the hedges about the pastures, where cattell go (through the antipathie of the nature of the woolfe and other cattell) all the beasts that sauour the same doo not onlie forbeare to eate, but run about as though they were mad, or (as they say) bewitched.

Veneficæ in Italie.

Veneficæ in Genua & Millen.

But Wierus telleth a notable storie of a Veneficus, or destroier

Of a butcher a right veneficall witch.

of cattell, which I thought méete héere to repeat. There was (saith he) in the dukedome of Wittingberge, not farre from Tubing, a butcher, anno 1564. that bargained with the towne for all their hides which were of steruen cattell, called in these parts Morts. He with poison priuilie killed in great numbers, their bullocks, shéepe, swine, &c: and by his bargaine of the hides and tallowe he grew infinitlie rich. And at last being suspected, was examined, confessed the matter and maner thereof, and was put to death with hot tongs, wherewith his flesh was pulled from his bones. We for our parts would haue killed fiue poore women, before we would suspect one rich butcher.

A great obiection answered concerning this kind of witchcraft called Veneficium.

The fift Chapter.

IT is obiected, that if Veneficium were comprehended vnder the title of manslaughter, it had béene a vaine repetition, and a disordered course vndertaken by Moses, to set forth a lawe against Veneficas seuerallie. But it might suffice to answer any reasonable christian, that such was the pleasure of the Holie-ghost, to institute a particular article herof, as of a thing more odious, wicked and dangerous, than any other kind of murther. But he that shall read the lawe of Moses, or the testament of Christ himselfe, shall find this kind of repetition and reiteration of the law most common. For as it is written Exod. 22, 21. Thou shalt not gréeue nor afflict a stranger, for thou wast a stranger in the land of Aegypt: so are the same words found repeated in Leuit. 19, 33. Polling and shauing of heads and beards is forbidden in Deut. 27. which was before prohibited in 22. It is written in Exodus the 20. Thou shalt not steale: and it is repeated in Leuiticus 19. and in Deut. 5. Murther is generallie forbidden in Exod. 20. and likewise in 22. and repeated in Num. 35. But the aptest example is, that magicke is forbidden in thrée seuerall places, to wit, once

Leuit. 19, 33

in Leuit.19. and twise in Leuit.20. For the which a man might as well cauill with the Holie-ghost as for the other.

In what kind of confections that witchcraft, which is called Venificium, consisteth: of loue cups, and the same confuted by poets.

The sixt Chapter.

AS touching this kind of witchcraft, the principall part thereof consisteth in certeine confections prepared by lewd people to procure loue; which indéed are méere poisons, bereauing some of the benefit of the braine, and so of the sense and vnderstanding of the mind. And from some it taketh awaie life, & that is more common than the other. These be called *Philtra*, or *Pocula amatoria*, or *Venenosa pocula*, or *Hippomanes*; which bad and blind physicians rather practise, than witches or coniurers, &c. But of what value these bables are, towards the end why they are prouided, may appéere by the opinions of poets themselues, from whence was deriued the estimation of that stuffe. And first you shall heare what Ouid saith, who wrote of the verie art of loue, and that so cunninglie and féelinglie, that he is reputed the speciall doctor in that science:

Fallitur Æmonias si quis decurrit ad artes, *Ouid.lib.2. de arte amandi.*
Dátq; quod à teneri fronte reuellit equi.
Non facient vt viuat amor Medeides herbæ,
Mistáq; cum magicis mersa venena sonis.
Phasias Æsonidem, Circe tenuisset Vlyssem,
Si modò seruari carmine posset amor:
Nec data profuerint pallentia philtra puellis,
Philtra nocent animis, vímq; furoris habent.

Who

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Who so dooth run to Hæmon arts,
I dub him for a dolt,
And giueth that which he dooth plucke
from forhead of a colt:
Medeas herbs will not procure
that loue shall lasting liue,
Nor steeped poison mixt with ma-
gicke charmes the same can giue.
The witch Medea had full fast
held Iason for hir owne,
So had the grand witch Circe too
Vlysses, if alone
With charms mainteind & kept might be
the loue of twaine in one.
No slibbersawces giuen to maids,
to make them pale and wan,
Will helpe: such slibbersawces marre
the minds of maid and man,
And haue in them a furious force
of phrensie now and than.

Philtra, slibbersawces procure loue.

Ouid. lib. de remedio amoris. 1.

Viderit Aemoniæ si quis mala pabula terræ,
Et magicas artes posse iuuare putat.

Ab. Fleming.

If any thinke that euill herbs
in Hæmon land which be,
Or witchcraft able is to helpe,
let him make proofe and see.

These verses precedent do shew, that Ouid knew that those

beggerlie

beggerlie sorceries might rather kill one, or make him starke mad, than doo him good towards the atteinement of his pleasure or loue; and therefore he giueth this counsell to them that are amorous in such hot maner, that either they must enioy their loue, or else néeds die; saieng:

Sit procul omne nefas, vt ameris amabilis esto:

Farre off be all vnlawfull meanes,
thou amiable bee,
Louing I meane, that she with loue
may quite the loue of thee.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

It is proued by more credible writers, that loue cups rather ingender death through venome, than loue by art: and with what toies they destroie cattell, and procure loue.

The seuenth Chapter.

But bicause there is no hold nor trust to these poets, who saie and vnsaie, dalliеng with these causes; so as indéed the wise may perceiue they haue them in derision: let vs sée what other grauer authors speake hereof. Eusebius Cæsariensis writeth, that the poet Lucretius was killed with one of those louers poisoned cups. Hierome reporteth that one Liuia herewith killed hir husband, whome she too much hated; and Lucilla killed hirs, whome she too much loued. Calisthenes killed Lucius Lucullus the emperor with a loue pot, as Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos saie. Plinie & Iosephus report, that Cæsonia killed hir husband Caligula *Amatorio poculo* with a louers cup, which was indéed starke poison. Aristotle saith, that all which is beléeued touching the efficacie of these matters, is lies and old wiues tales. He that will read more arguments and histories concerning these poisons, let him looke in I. Wier *De Veneficijs.*

Hieronym. in Ruff.
Plin. lib. 25. cap. 3. Ioseph lib. 11. de Iudeorum antiquit.
Aristot. lib. 8. de natura animal. cap. 24.
Io. Wier. de venef. cap. 40.

The

Toies to mocke apes.

The toies, which are said to procure loue, and are exhibited in their poison looing cups, are these: the haire growing in the nethermost part of a woolues taile, a woolues yard, a little fish called Remora, the braine of a cat, of a newt, or of a lizzard: the bone of a greene frog, the flesh thereof being consumed with pismers or ants; the left bone whereof ingendereth (as they saie) loue; the bone on the right side, hate. Also it is said, that a frogs bones, the flesh being eaten off round about with ants, whereof some will swim, and some will sinke: those that sinke, being hanged vp in a white linnen cloth, ingender loue, but if a man be touched therewith, hate is bred thereby. Another experiment is thereof, with yong swalowes, whereof one brood or nest being taken and buried in a crocke vnder the ground, till they be starued vp; they that be found open mouthed, serue to engender loue; they whose mouthes are shut, serue to procure hate. Besides these, manie other follies there be to this purpose proposed to the simple; as namelie, the garments of the dead, candels that burne before a dead corps, and needels wherwith dead bodies are sowne or sockt into their sheetes: and diuerse other things, which for the reuerence of the reader, and in respect of the vncleane speach to be vsed in the description thereof, I omit; which (if you read Dioscorides, or diuerse other learned physicians) you maie see at large. In the meane while, he that desireth to see more experiments concerning this matter, let him read Leonardus Vairus de fascino, now this present yeare 1583. newlie published; wherein (with an incestuous mouth) he affirmeth directlie, that Christ and his apostles were *venefici*; verie fondlie prosecuting that argument, and with as much popish follie as may be; labouring to proue it lawfull to charme and inchant vermine, &c.

Dioscorid. de materia medicin.

L. Vairus de fascin. lib. 2. cap. 11. prope finem.

Iohn Bodin triumphing against Iohn Wier is ouertaken with false Greeke & false interpretation thereof.

The eight Chapter.

Monsieur Bodin triumpheth ouer doctor Wier herein, pronouncing a heauie sentence vpon him; bicause he referreth this word to poison. But he reigneth or rather rideth ouer him, much more for speaking false Gréeke; affirming that he calleth Veneficos φαρμακεύσυς, which is as true as the rest of his reports and fables of witches miracles conteined in his bookes of diuelish deuises. For in truth he hath no such word, but saith they are called φαρμακεύεις, whereas he should haue said φαρμακεῖς, the true accent being omitted, and ευ being interposed, which should haue béene left out. Which is nothing to the substance of the matter, but must néeds be the Printers fault. *I. Bodin.*

But Bodin reasoneth in this wise, φαρμακεῖς is sometimes put for Magos or Præstigiatores: *Ergo* in the translation of the Septuaginta, it is so to be taken. Wherein he manifesteth his bad Logicke, more than the others ill Gréeke. For it is well knowne to the learned in this tong, that the vsuall and proper signification of this word, with all his deriuations and compounds doo signifie Veneficos, Poisoners by medicine. Which when it is most vsuall and proper, why should the translators take it in a signification lesse vsuall, and nothing proper. Thus therefore he reasoneth and concludeth with his new found Logicke, and old fond Gréeke; Sometimes it signifieth so, though vnproperlie, or rather metaphoricallie; *Ergo* in that place it is so to be taken, when another fitter word might haue béene vsed. Which argument being vaine, agréeth well with his other vaine actions. The Septuaginta had béene verie destitute of words, if no proper word could haue béene found for this purpose. But where they haue occasion to speake of witchcraft in their translations, they vse Magian, Maggagian, &c: and therfore belike they sée some difference betwixt them and the other, and knew some cause that mooued them to vse the word φαρμακεία, Veneficium.

¶ *The*

¶ *The seuenth Booke.*

Of the Hebrue word Ob, what it signifieth where it is found, of Pythonisses called Ventriloquæ, who they be, and what their practises are, experience and examples thereof shewed.

The first Chapter.

THis word Ob, is translated *Pytho*, or *Pythonicus spiritus*: Deutre. 18. Isaie. 19. 1.Sam.28. 2.Reg.23. &c: somtime, though vnproperlie, *Magus*; as 2. Sam. 33. But *ob* signifieth most properlie a bottle, and is vsed in this place, bicause the Pythonists spake hollowe; as in the bottome of their bellies, whereby they are aptlie in Latine called *Ventriloqui*: of which sort was Elizabeth Barton, the holie maid of Kent, &c. These are such as take vpon them to giue oracles, to tell where things lost are become, and finallie to appeach others of mischéefs, which they themselues most commonlie haue brought to passe: whereby many times they ouerthrowe the good fame of honest women, and of such others of their neighbors, with whome they are displeased. For triall hereof, letting passe a hundred cousenages that I could recite at this time, I will begin with a true storie of a wench, practising hir diabolicall witchcraft, and ventriloquie An. 1574. at Westwell in Kent, within six miles where I dwell, taken and noted by two ministers and preachers of Gods word, foure substantiall yeomen, and thrée women of good fame & reputation, whose names are after written.

The holie maid of Kent a ventriloqua.

Mildred

Mildred, the base daughter of Alice Norrington, and now ser-uant to William Sponer of Westwell in the countie of Kent, be-ing of the age of seuentéene yeares, was possessed with sathan in the night and daie aforesaid. About two of the clocke in the afternoone of the same day, there came to the same Sponers house Roger Newman minister of Westwell, Iohn Brainford minister of Kenington, with others, whose names are vnderwritten, who made their praiers vnto God, to assist them in that néedfull case; and then commanded sathan in the name of the eternall God, and of his sonne Iesus Christ, to speake with such a voice as they might vnderstand, and to declare from whence he came. But he would not speake, but rored and cried mightilie. And though we did command him manie times, in the name of God, and of his sonne Iesus Christ, and in his mightie power to speake; yet he would not: vntill he had gon through all his delaies, as roring, crieng, striuing, and gnashing of téeth; and otherwhile with mowing, and other terrible countenances, and was so strong in the maid, that foure men could scarse hold hir downe. And this conti-nued by the space almost of two houres. So sometimes we char-ged him earnestlie to speake; and againe praieng vnto GOD that he would assist vs, at the last he spake, but verie strangelie; and that was thus; He comes, he comes: and that oftentimes he repeated; and He goes, he goes. And then we charged him to tell vs who sent him. And he said; I laie in hir waie like a log, and I made hir runne like fier, but I could not hurt hir. And whie so, said we? Bicause God kept hir, said he. When camest thou to hir, said we? To night in hir bed, said he. Then we charged him as before, to tell what he was, and who sent him, and what his name was. At the first he said, The diuell, the diuell. Then we charged him as before. Then he rored and cried as before, and spake terrible words; I will kill hir, I will kill hir; I will teare hir in péeces, I will teare hir in péeces. We said, Thou shalt not hurt hir. He said, I will kill you all. We said, Thou shalt hurt none of vs all. Then we charged him as before. Then he said, You will giue me no rest. Wée said, Thou shalt haue none here, for thou must haue no rest within the seruants of God: but tell vs in the name of God what thou art, and who sent thée. Then he said he would teare hir in péeces. We said, Thou shalt not hurt hir. Then he

An. Domi. 1574. Octob. 13.

Confer this storie with the woman of Endor, 1. Sam. 28. and see whether the same might not be accom-plished by this deuise.

he said againe he would kill vs all. We said againe, Thou shalt hurt none of vs all, for we are the seruants of God. And we charged him as before. And he said againe, Will you giue me no rest? We said, Thou shalt haue none here, neither shalt thou rest in hir, for thou hast no right in hir, sith Jesus Christ hath redéemed hir with his bloud, and she belongeth to him; and therefore tell vs thy name, and who sent thée? He said his name was sathan. We said, Who sent thée? He said, Old Alice, old Alice. Which old Alice, said we? Old Alice, said he. Where dwelleth she, said we? In Westwell stréete, said he. We said, How long hast thou béene with hir? These twentie yeares, said he. We asked him where she did kéepe him? In two bottels, said he. Where be they, said we? In the backside of hir house, said he. In what place, said we? Vnder the wall, said he. Where is the other? In Kenington. In what place, said we? In the ground, said he. Then we asked him, what she did giue him. He said, hir will, hir will. What did shée bid thée doo, said we? He said, kill hir maid. Wherefore did she bid thée kill hir, said we? Bicause she did not loue hir, said he. We said; How long is it ago, since she sent thée to hir? More than a yeare, said he. Where was that, said we? At hir masters, said he. Which masters, said we? At hir master Brainfords at Kenington, said he. How oft wert thou there, said we? Manie times, said he. Where first, said we? In the garden, said he: Where the second time? In the hall: Where the third time? In hir bed: Where the fourth time? In the field: Where the fift time? In the court: Where the sixt time? In the water, where I cast hir into the mote: Where the seuenth time? In hir bed. We asked him againe, where else? He said, in Westwell. Where there, said we? In the vicarige, said he. Where there? In the loft. How camest thou to hir, said we? In the likenesse of two birds, said he. Who sent thée to that place, said we? Old Alice, said he. What other spirits were with thée there, said we? My seruant, said he. What is his name said we? He said, little diuell. What is thy name, said we? Sathan, said he. What dooth old Alice call thée, said we? Partener, said he. What dooth she giue thée, said we? Hir will, said he. How manie hast thou killed for hir, said we? Thrée, said he. Who are they, said we? A man and his child, said he. What were their names, said we? The childs name was

Edward

Edward, said he; what more than Edward, said we? Edward Ager, said he. What was the mans name, said we? Richard said he. What more, said we? Richard Ager, said he. Where dwelt the man and the child, said we? At Dig at Dig, said he. This Richard Ager of Dig, was a Gentleman of xl. pounds land by the yeare, a verie honest man, but would often saie he was bewitched, and languished long before he died. Whom else hast thou killed for hir, said we? Woltons wife said he. Where did she dwell? In Westwell said he. What else hast thou doone for hir said we? What she would haue me, said he. What is that said we? To fetch hir meat, drinke, and corne, said he. Where hadst thou it, said we? In euerie house, said he. Name the houses, said we? At Petmans, at Farmes, at Millens, at Fullers, and in euerie house. After this we commanded sathan in the name of Jesus Christ to depart from hir, and neuer to trouble hir anie more, nor anie man else. Then he said he would go, he would go: but he went not. Then we commanded him as before with some more words. Then he said, I go, I go; and so he departed. Then said the maid, He is gone, Lord haue mercie upon me, for he would haue killed me. And then we knéeled downe and gaue God thanks with the maiden; praieng that God would kéepe hir from sathans power, and assist hir with his grace. And noting this in a péece of paper, we departed. Sathans voice did differ much from the maids voice, and all that he spake, was in his owne name. Subscribed thus:

Witnesses to this, that heard and *sawe this whole matter, as followeth:*

Roger Newman, vicar of Westwell.	*Iohn Tailor.*
Iohn Brainford, vicar of Kennington.	*Thomas Frenchborns wife.*
Thomas Tailor.	*William Spooner.*
Henrie Tailors wife.	*Iohn Frenchborne, and his wife.*

How the lewd practise of the Pythonist of Westwell came to light, and by whome she was examined; and that all hir diabolicall speach was but ventriloquie and plaine cousenage, which is prooued by hir owne confession.

The second Chapter.

Matt.24,44. IT is written, that in the latter daies there shalbe shewed strange illusions, &c: in so much as (if it were possible) the verie elect shalbe deceiued: howbeit, 2.Thes.2,9. S. Paule saith, they shalbe lieng and false wonders. Neuerthelesse, this sentence, and such like, haue béene often laid in my dish, and are vrged by diuerse writers, to approue the miraculous working of witches, whereof I will treat more largelie in another place. Howbeit, by the waie I must confesse, that I take that sentence to be spoken of Antichrist, to wit: the pope, who miraculouslie, contrarie to nature, philosophie, and all diuinitie, being of birth and calling base, in learning grosse; in valure, beautie, or actiuitie most commonlie a verie lubber, hath placed himselfe in the most loftie and delicate seate, putting almost all christian princes heads, not onelie vnder his girdle, but vnder his foote, &c.

Surelie, the tragedie of this Pythonist is not inferior to a thousand stories, which will hardlie be blotted out of the memorie and credit either of the common people, or else of the learned. How hardlie will this storie suffer discredit, hauing testimonie of such authoritie? How could mother Alice escape condemnation and hanging, being arreigned vpon this euidence; when a poore woman hath béene cast awaie, vpon a cousening oracle, or rather a false lie, deuised by Feats the iuggler, through the malicious instigation of some of hir aduersaries?

The ventriloqua of Westwell discouered. But how cunninglie soeuer this last cited certificat be penned, or what shew soeuer it carrieth of truth and plaine dealing, there may be found conteined therein matter enough to detect the cousening knauerie therof. And yet diuerse haue béene déepelie deceiued therewith, and can hardlie be remoued from the credit

dit thereof, and without great disdaine cannot endure to heare the reproofe thereof. And know you this by the waie, that heretofore Robin goodfellow, and Hob gobblin were as terrible, and also as credible to the people, as hags and witches be now: and in time to come, a witch will be as much derided and contemned, and as plainlie perceiued, as the illusion and knauerie of Robin goodfellow. And in truth, they that mainteine walking spirits, with their transformation, &c: haue no reason to denie Robin goodfellow, vpon whom there hath gone as manie and as credible tales, as vpon witches; sauing that it hath not pleased the translators of the Bible, to call spirits by the name of Robin goodfellow, as they haue termed diuinors, soothsaiers, poisoners, and couseners by the name of witches.

But to make short worke with the confutation of this bastardlie queanes enterprise, & cousenage; you shall vnderstand, that vpon the brute of hir diuinitie and miraculous transes, she was conuented before M. Thomas Wotton of Bocton Malherbe, a man of great worship and wisedome, and for deciding and ordering of matters in this commonwealth, of rare and singular dexteritie; through whose discreet handling of the matter, with the assistance & aid of M. George Darrell esquire, being also a right good and discreet Justice of the same limit, the fraud was found, the coosenage confessed, and she receiued condigne punishment. Neither was hir confession wone, according to the forme of the Spanish inquisition; to wit, through extremitie of tortures, nor yet by guile or flatterie, nor by presumptions; but through wise and perfect triall of euerie circumstance the illusion was manifestlie disclosed: not so (I say) as witches are commonlie conuinced and condemned; to wit, through malicious accusations, by ghesses, presumptions, and extorted confessions, contrarie to sense and possibilitie, and for such actions as they can shew no triall nor example before the wise, either by direct or indirect meanes; but after due triall she shewed hir feats, illusions, and transes, with the residue of all hir miraculous works, in the presence of diuers gentlemen and gentlewomen of great worship and credit, at Bocton Malherbe, in the house of the aforesaid M. Wotton. Now compare this wench with the witch of Endor, & you shall see that both the cousenages may be doone by one art.

The Pythonist of westwell conuicted by hir owne confession.

Bodins stuffe concerning the Pythonist of Endor, with a true storie of a counterfeit Dutchman.

The third Chapter.

I.Bodin.lib. de demon. 3. cap.2.

Vpon the like tales dooth Bodin build his doctrine, calling them Atheists that will not beléeue him, adding to this kind of witchcraft, the miraculous works of diuerse maidens, that would spue pins, clowts, &c: as one Agnes Brigs, and Rachell Pinder of London did, till the miracles were detected, and they set to open penance. Others he citeth of that sort, the which were bound by diuels with garters, or some such like stuffe to posts, &c: with knots that could not be vndone, which is an Aegyptians iuggling or cousening feat. And of such foolish lies ioined with bawdie tales, his whole booke consisteth: wherein I warrant you there are no fewer than two hundreth fables, and as manie impossibilities. And as these two wenches, with the maiden of Westwell, were detected of cousenage; so likewise a Dutchman at Maidstone long after he had accomplished such knaueries, to the astonishment of a great number of good men, was reuealed to be a cousening knaue; although his miracles were imprinted and published at London: anno 1572. with this title before the booke, as followeth.

¶ A verie wonderfull and strange miracle of God, *shewed vpon a Dutchman of the age of* 23. yeares, which was possessed of ten diuels, *and was by Gods mightie prouidence dis*possessed of them againe, the 27. *of Ianuarie last past,* 1572.

VNto this the Maior of Maidstone, with diuerse of his brethren subscribed, chieflie by the persuasion of

of Nicasius Vander Schuere, the minister of the Dutch church there, Iohn Stikelbow, whome (as it is there said) God made the instrument to cast out the diuels, and foure other credible persons of the Dutch church. The historie is so strange, & so cunninglie performed, that had not his knauerie afterwards brought him into suspicion, he should haue gone awaie vnsuspected of this fraud. A great manie other such miracles haue béene latelie printed, whereof diuerse haue béene bewraied: all the residue doubtles, if triall had béene made, would haue béene found like vnto these. But some are more finelie handled than othersome. Some haue more aduantage by the simplicitie of the audience, some by the maiestie and countenance of the confederates; as namelie, that cousening of the holie maid of Kent. Some escape vtterlie vnsuspected, some are preuented by death; so as that waie their examination is vntaken. Some are weakelie examined: but the most part are so reuerenced, as they which suspect them, are rather called to their answers, than the others.

Of the great oracle of Apollo the Pythonist, and how men of all sorts haue been deceiued, and that euen the apostles haue mistaken the nature of spirits, with an vnanswerable argument, that spirits can take no shapes.

The fourth Chapter.

With this kind of witchcraft, Apollo and his oracles abused and cousened the whole world: which idoll was so famous, that I néed not stand long in the description thereof. The princes and monarchs of the earth reposed no small confidence therein: the préests, which liued therevpon, were so cunning, as they also ouertooke almost all the godlie and learned men of that age, partlie with their doubtfull answers; as that which was made vnto Pyrrhus, in these words, *Aio te Aeacida Romanos vincere posse*, and to Crœsus his ambassadours in these words, *Si Crœsus arma Persis inferat, magnum imperium euertat*; and otherwise thus, *Crœsus Halin*

The amphibologies of oracles.

penetrans, magnam subuertet opum vim: or thus, *Crœsus perdet Halin, trangressus plurima regna, &c:* partlie through confederacie, whereby they knew mens errands yer they came, and partlie by cunning, as promising victorie vpon the sacrificing of some person of such account, as victorie should rather be neglected, than the murther accomplished. And if it were, yet should there be such conditions annexed thereunto, as alwaies remained vnto them a starting hole, and matter enough to cauill vpon; as that the partie sacrificed must be a virgin, no bastard, &c. Furthermore, of two things onelie proposed, and where yea or naie onelie doth answer the question, it is an euen laie, that an idiot shall coniecture right. So as, if things fell out contrarie, the fault was alwaies in the interpretor, and not in the oracle or the prophet. But what meruell (I saie) though the multitude and common people haue béene abused herein; since lawiers, philosophers, physicians, astronomers, diuines, generall councels, and princes haue with great negligence and ignorance béen deceiued and seduced hereby, as swallowing vp and deuouring an inueterate opinion, receiued of their elders, without due examination of the circumstance?

The subtiltie of oracles.

Howbeit, the godlie and learned fathers (as it appéereth) haue alwaies had a speciall care and respect, that they attributed not vnto God such diuelish deuises; but referred them to him, who indéed is the inuenter and author thereof, though not the personall executioner, in maner and forme as they supposed: so as the matter of faith was not thereby by them impeached. But who can assure himselfe not to be deceiued in matters concerning spirits, when the apostles themselues were so far from knowing them, as euen after the resurrection of Christ, hauing heard him preach and expound the scriptures, all his life time, they shewed themselues not onelie ignorant therein, but also to haue misconceiued thereof? Did not the apostle Thomas thinke that Christ himselfe had béene a spirit; vntill Christ told him plainelie, that a spirit was no such creature, as had flesh and bones, the which (he said) Thomas might sée to be in him? And for the further certifieng and satisfieng of his mind, he commended vnto him his hands to be séene, and his sides to be felt. Thomas, if the answer be true that some make herevnto, to wit: that spirits take formes and

John.20, 9.

shapes

shapes of bodies at their pleasure, might haue answered Christ, and remaining vnsatisfied might haue said; Oh sir, what do you tell me that spirits haue no flesh and bones? Why they can take shapes and formes, and so perchance haue you doone. Which argument all the witchmongers in the world shall neuer be able to answere.

Some of them that mainteine the creation, the transformation, the transportation, and transubstantiation of witches, obiect that spirits are not palpable, though visible, and answer the place by me before cited: so as the féeling and not the séeing should satisfie Thomas. But he that shall well weigh the text and the circumstances thereof, shall perceiue, that the fault of Thomas his incredulitie was secondlie bewraied, and condemned, in that he would not trust his owne eies, nor the view taken by his fellow apostles, who might haue béene thought too credulous in this case, if spirits could take shapes at their pleasure. Jesus saith to him; Bicause thou hast séene (and not, bicause thou hast felt) thou beléeuest. Item he saith; Blessed are they that beléeue and sée not (and not, they that beléeue and féele not.) Whereby he noteth that our corporall eies may discerne betwixt a spirit and a naturall bodie; reprooving him, bicause he so much relied vpon his externall senses, in cases where faith should haue preuailed; & here, in a matter of faith reuealed in the word, would not credit the miracle which was exhibited vnto him in most naturall and sensible sort. Iohn.20, 29

Howbeit, Erastus saith, and so doth Hyperius, Hemingius, Danæus, M. Mal. Bodin, &c. that euill spirits eate, drinke, and kéepe companie with men, and that they can take palpable formes of bodies, producing examples thereof, to wit: *Spectrum Germanicum seu Augustanum*, and the angell whose féet Lot washed; as though bicause God can indue his messengers with bodies at his pleasure, therefore the diuell and euerie spirit can doo the like. How the eleuen apostles were in this case deceiued, appeareth in Luke.24. and in Mark.16. as also in Matth.14. where the apostles and disciples were all deceiued, taking Christ to be a spirit, when he walked on the sea. And why might they not be deceiued herein, as well as in that they thought Christ had spoken of a temporall kingdome, when he preached of the kingdome of heauen? *Erast. fol.62.* Luk.24, 37. Mark.16, 14 Mat.14, 26. Matth.20.

 uen?

uen? Which thing they also much misconceiued; as likewise
Mat.16,11. when he did bid them beware of the leuen of the Pharisies, they vnderstood that he spake of materiall bread.

Why Apollo was called Pytho whereof those witches were called Pythonists: Gregorie his letter to the diuell.

The fift Chapter.

But to returne to our oracle of Apollo at Delphos, who was called Pytho, for that Apollo slue a serpent so called, whereof the Pythonists take their name: I praie you consider well of this tale, which I will trulie rehearse out of the ecclesiasticall historie, written by Eusebius, wherein you shall see the absurditie of the opinion, the cousenage of these oraclers, and the deceiued mind or vaine opinion of so great a doctor bewraied and deciphered altogither as followeth.

Euseb. lib.7. cap.25.

Gregorie Neocæsariensis in his iornie and waie to passe ouer the Alpes, came to the temple of Apollo: where Apollos priest liuing richlie vpon the reuenues and benefit proceeding from that idoll, did giue great intertainement vnto Gregorie, and made him good cheare. But after Gregorie was gone, Apollo waxed dumbe, so as the priests gaines decaied: for the idoll growing into contempt, the pilgrimage ceased. The spirit taking compassion vpon the priests case, and vpon his greefe of mind in this behalfe, appeared vnto him, and told him flatlie, that his late ghest Gregorie was the cause of all his miserie. For (saith the diuell) he hath banished me, so that I cannot returne without a speciall licence or pasport from him. It was no need to bid the priest make hast, for immediatlie he tooke post horsses, and galloped after Gregorie, till at length he ouertooke him, and then expostulated with him for this discourtesie profered in recompense of his good cheare; and said, that if he would not be so good vnto him, as to write his letter to the diuell in his behalfe, he should be vtterlie vndone.

vndone. To be short, his importunitie was such, that he obtained Gregorie his letter to the diuell, who wrote vnto him in maner and forme following, word for word: *Permitto tibi redire in locum tuum, & agere quæ consueuisti;* which is in English; I am content thou returne into thy place, and doo as thou wast woont. Immediatlie vpon the receipt of this letter, the idoll spake as before. And here is to be noted, that as well in this, as in the execution of all their other oracles and cousenages, the answers were neuer giuen *Ex tempore,* or in that daie wherein the question was demanded, because forsooth they expected a vision (as they said) to be giuen the night following, whereby the cousenage might the more easilie be wrought. Note the cousenage of oracles.

Apollo, who was called Pytho, compared to the Rood of grace: Gregories letter to the diuell confuted.

The sixt Chapter.

What need manie words to confute this fable? For if Gregorie had béene an honest man, he would neuer haue willinglie permitted, that the people should haue béene further cousened with such a lieng spirit: or if he had béene halfe so holie as Eusebius maketh him, he would not haue consented or yéelded to so lewd a request of the priest, nor haue written such an impious letter, no not though good might haue come thereof. And therefore as well by the impossibilitie and follie conteined therein, as of the impietie (whereof I dare excuse Gregorie) you maie perceiue it to be a lie. Me thinks they which still mainteine that the diuell made answer in the idoll of Apollo, &c: maie haue sufficient persuasion to reuoke their erronious opinions: in that it appeareth in record, that such men as were skilfull in augurie, did take vpon them to giue oracles at Delphos, in the place of Apollo: of which number Tisanius the sonne of Antiochus was one. But vaine is the answer of idols. Our Rood of grace, with the helpe of little S. Rumball, was not inferior to the idoll of Apollo: for these could Zach.10.

not

not onlie worke externall miracles, but manifest the internall thoughts of the art, I beléeue with more liuelie shew, both of humanitie and also of diuinitie, than the other. As if you read M.
W. Lambert in titulo Boxley. Lamberts booke of the perambulation of Kent, it shall partlie appeare. But if you talke with them that haue béene beholders thereof, you will be satisfied herein. And yet in the blind time of poperie, no man might (vnder paine of damnation) nor without danger of death, suspect the fraud. Naie, what papists will yet confesse they were idols, though the wiers that made their eies gogle, the pins that fastened them to the postes to make them séeme heauie, were séene and burnt together with the images themselues, the knauerie of the priests bewraied, and euerie circumstance thereof detected and manifested?

How diuerse great clarkes and good authors haue beene abused in this matter of spirits through false reports, and by meanes of their credulitie haue published lies, which are confuted by Aristotle and the scriptures.

The seuenth Chapter.

PLutarch, Liuie, and Valerius Maximus, with manie other graue authors, being abused with false reports, write that in times past beasts spake, and that images could haue spoken and wept, and did let fall drops of blood, yea and could walk from place to place: which they saie was doone by procuration of spirits. But I rather thinke with Aristotle, that it was brought to passe *Hominum & sacerdotum deceptionibus,* to wit: by the cousening art of craftie knaues and priests. And therefore let vs follow Esaies aduise,
Esai.8,19. who saith; When they shall saie vnto you, Enquire of them that haue a spirit of diuination, and at the sothsaiers, which whisper and mumble in your eares to deceiue you, &c: enquire at your owne God, &c. And so let vs doo. And here you sée they are such as runne into corners, and cousen the people with lies, &c. For if they could doo as they saie, they could not aptlie be called liers,

neither néed they to go into corners to whisper, &c.

Of the witch of Endor, and whether she accomplished the raising of Samuel truelie, or by deceipt: the opinion of some diuines herevpon.

The eight Chapter.

THe woman of Endor is comprised vnder this word Ob: for she is called Pythonissa. It is written in 2.Sam. cap.28. that she raised vp Samuel from death, and the other words of the text are strongly placed, to inforce his verie resurrection. The mind and opinion of Jesus Syrach euidentlie appeareth to be, that Samuel in person was raised out from his graue, as if you read Eccl.46.19,20. you shall plainlie perceiue. Howbeit he disputeth not there, whether the storie be true or false, but onlie citeth certaine verses of the 1.booke of Samuel cap.18. simplie, according to the letter, persuading maners and the imitation of our vertuous predecessors, and repeating the examples of diuerse excellent men; namelie of Samuel: euen as the text it selfe vrgeth the matter, according to the deceiued mind and imagination of Saule, and his seruants. And therefore in truth, Sirach spake there according to the opinion of Saule, which so supposed, otherwise it is neither heresie nor treason to saie he was deceiued. 2.Sam.28.

He that weigheth well that place, and looketh into it aduisedlie, shall sée that Samuel was not raised from the dead; but that it was an illusion or cousenage practised by the witch. For the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God: according to that which Chrysostome saith; Soules are in a certeine place expecting iudgement, and cannot remoue from thence. Neither is it Gods will, that the liuing should be taught by the dead. Which things are confirmed and approued by the example of Lazarus and Diues: where it appeareth according to Deut.18. that he will not haue the liuing taught by the dead, but will haue vs sticke to his word, wherein his will and testament is declared. In déed Sap.3. Psal 92. & 97. *Chrysost. homilia.* 21. *in Matth.* Luke.16.

Lyra

Lyra and Dionysius incline greatlie to the letter. And Lyra saith, that as when Balaam would haue raised a diuell, God interposed himselfe: so did he in this case bring vp Samuell, when the witch would haue raised hir diuell. Which is a probable interpretation. But yet they dare not stand to that opinion, least they should impeach S. Augustines credit, who (they confesse) remained in iudgement and opinion (without contradiction of the church) that Samuell was not raised. For he saith directlie, that Samuell himselfe was not called vp. And indéed, if he were raised, it was either willinglie, or perforce: if it were willinglie, his sinne had béene equall with the witches.

August. lib. quæ. vet. et noui testam. quæst. 27. Item, part. 2. cap. 26. Item, quæ. 5. nec mirum ad Simplician. lib. 2. q. 3 ad Dulcitium. quæ. 6. Item. lib. 2. de doct. chri.

And Peter Martyr (me thinks) saith more to the purpose, in these words, to wit: This must haue béene doone by Gods good will, or perforce of art magicke: it could not be doone by his good will, bicause he forbad it; nor by art, bicause witches haue no power ouer the godlie. Where it is answered by some, that the commandement was onlie to prohibit the Iewes to aske counsell of the dead, and so no fault in Samuell to giue counsell. We may as well excuse our neighbours wife, for consenting to our filthie desires, bicause it is onlie written in the decalog; Thou shalt not desire thy neighbours wife. But indéed Samuell was directlie forbidden to answer Saule before he died: and therefore it was not likelie that God would appoint him, when he was dead, to doo it.

Deut. 18, Exodus. 20.

That Samuel was not raised indeed, and how Bodin and all papists dote herein, and that soules cannot be raised by witchcraft.

The ninth Chapter.

Furthermore, it is not likelie that God would answer Saule by dead Samuell, when he would not answer him by liuing Samuell: and most vnlikelie of all, that God would answer him by a diuell, that denied to doo it by a prophet. That he was not brought vp perforce, the whole course of the scripture witnesseth, and

prooueth;

proueth; as also our owne reason may giue vs to vnderstand. For what quiet rest could the soules of the elect enioy or possesse in Abrahams bosome, if they were to be plucked from thence at a witches call and commandement? But so should the diuell haue power in heauen, where he is vnworthie to haue anie place himselfe, and therefore vnmeete to command others.

Manie other of the fathers are flatlie against the raising vp of Samuell: namelie, Tertullian in his booke *De anima*, Iustine Martyr *In explicatione, quæ.* 25. Rabanus *In epistolis ad Bonaf. Abat*, Origen *In historia de Bileamo, &c.* Some other dote exceedinglie herein, as namelie Bodin, and all the papists in generall: also Rabbi Sedias Haias, & also all the Hebrues, sauing R. Dauid Kimhi, which is the best writer of all the Rabbins: though neuer a good of them all. But Bodin, in maintenance therof, falleth into manie absurdities, prouing by the small faults that Saule had committed, that he was an elect: for the greatest matter (saith he) laid vnto his charge, is the reseruing of the Amalekits cattell, &c. He was an elect, &c: confirming his opinion with manie ridiculous fables, & with this argument, to wit: His fault was too little to deserue damnation; for Paule would not haue the incestuous man punished too sore, that his soule might be saued. Iustine Martyr in another place was not onlie deceiued in the actuall raising vp of Samuels soule, but affirmed that all the soules of the prophets and iust men are subiect to the power of witches. And yet were the Heathen much more fond herein, who (as Lactantius affirmeth) boasted that they could call vp the soules of the dead, and yet did thinke that their soules died with their bodies. Whereby is to be seene, how alwaies the world hath beene abused in the matters of witchcraft & coniuration. The Necromancers affirme, that the spirit of anie man may be called vp, or recalled (as they terme it) before one yeare be past after their departure from the bodie. Which C. Agrippa in his booke *De occulta philosophia* saith, may be doone by certeine naturall forces and bonds. And therefore corpses in times past were accompanied and watched with lights, sprinkled with holie water, perfumed with incense, and purged with praier all the while they were aboue ground: otherwise the serpent (as the Maisters of the Hebrues saie) would deuoure them, as the food appointed to him by God: Gen. 3. alledging

I. Bod. lib. de dæm. 2. cap. 3.

1. Samu. 28.

1. Cor. 5.

I. Martyr in colloquio cum Triphone Iudæo.

Lact. lib. 7. cap. 13.

ging also this place; We shall not all sléepe, but we shall be changed, bicause manie shall remaine for perpetuall meate to the serpent: whervpon riseth the contention betwéene him and Michaell, concerning the bodie of Moses; wherein scripture is alledged. I confesse that Augustine, and the residue of the doctors, that denie the raising of Samuell, conclude, that the diuell was fetcht vp in his likenesse: from whose opinions (with reuerence) I hope I may dissent.

Iud, vers. 9.

That neither the diuell nor Samuell was raised, but that it was a meere cousenage, according to the guise of our Pythonists.

The tenth Chapter.

Againe, if the diuell appeared, and not Samuell; whie is it said in Eccle. that he slept? for the diuell neither sléepeth nor dieth. But in truth we may gather, that it was neither the diuell in person, nor Samuell: but a circumstance is here described, according to the deceiued opinion and imagination of Saule. Howbeit Augustine saith, that both these sides may easilie be defended. But we shall not néed to fetch an exposition so farre off: for indéed (me thinkes) it is *Longè petita*; nor to descend so lowe as hell, to fetch vp a diuell to expound this place. For it is ridiculous (as Pompanacius saith) to leaue manifest things, and such as by naturall reason may be prooued, to séeke vnknowne things, which by no likeliehood can be conceiued, nor tried by anie rule of reason. But in so much as we haue libertie by S. Augustines rule, in such places of scripture as séeme to conteine either contrarietie or absurditie, to varie from the letter, and to make a godlie construction agréeable to the word; let vs confesse that Samuell was not raised (for that were repugnant to the word) and sée whether this illusion may not be contriued by the art and cunning of the woman, without anie of these supernaturall deuises: for I could cite a hundred papisticall and cousening practises, as difficult

Pompanacius lib. de incant. cap. 2.

difficult as this, and as cleanlie handled. And it is to be surelie thought, if it had béene a diuell, the text would haue noted it in some place of the storie: as it doth not. But Bodin helpeth me excéedinglie in this point, wherein he forsaketh (he saith) Augustine, Tertullian, and D. Kimhi himselfe, who saie it was the diuell that was raised vp: which (saith Bodin) could not be; for that in the same communication betwéene Saule and Samuell, the name of Iehouah is fiue times repeated, of which name the diuell cannot abide the hearing. *I. Bod. lib. de dem. 2. cap. 3.*

The obiection of the witchmongers concerning this place fullie answered, and what circumstances are to be considered for the vnderstanding of this storie, which is plainelie opened from the beginning of the 28. chap. of the 1. Samuel, to the 12. verse.

The eleuenth Chapter.

WHere such a supernaturall miracle is wrought, no doubt it is a testimonie of truth; as Peter Martyr affirmeth. And in this case it should haue béene a witnesse of lies: for (saith he) a matter of such weight cannot be attributed vnto the diuell, but it is the mightie power of God that doth accomplish it. And if it laie in a witches power to call vp a diuell, yet it lieth not in a witches power to worke such miracles: for God will not giue his power and glorie to anie creature. To vnderstand this place, we must diligentlie examine the circumstance thereof. It was well knowne that Saule, before he resorted to the witch, was in despaire of the mercies and goodnes of God; partlie for that Samuell told him long before, that he should be ouerthrowne, and Dauid should haue his place; and partlie bicause God before had refused to answer him, either by Samuell when he liued, or by anie other prophet, or by Vrim or Thumim, &c. And if you desire to sée this matter discussed, turne to the first of Samuell, the 28. chapter, and conferre my words therewith.

P. Martyr in comment. in Sam. 28. verse. 9.

Isai. 42.
1. Sam. 28.

Saule

Saule séeing the host of the Philistines come vpon him (which thing could not be vnknown to all the people) fainted, bicause he sawe their strength, and his owne weaknesse, and speciallie that he was forsaken: so as being now straught of mind, desperate, and a verie foole, he goeth to certeine of his seruants, that sawe in what taking he was, and asked them for a woman that had a familiar spirit, and they told him by and by that there dwelt one at Endor. By the waie you shall vnderstand, that both Saule and his seruants ment such a one as could by hir spirit raise vp Samuell, or any other that was dead and buried. Wherein you sée they were deceiued, though it were true, that she tooke vpon hir so to doo. To what vse then serued hir familiar spirit, which you conceiue she had, bicause Saules seruants said so? Surelie, as they were deceiued and abused in part, so doubtlesse were they in the rest. For to what purpose (I saie) should hir familiar serue, if not for such intents as they reported, and she vndertooke? I thinke you will grant that Saules men neuer sawe hir familiar: for I neuer heard any yet of credit saie, that he was so much in the witches fauour, as to sée hir diuell; although indéed we read among the popish trumperie, that S. Cicilie had an angell to hir familiar, and that she could shew him to whom she would, and that she might aske and haue what she or hir friend list: as appeareth in the lesson read in the popish church on saint Cicilies daie. Well, I perceiue the woman of Endors spirit was a counterfeit, and kept belike in hir studie at Endor, or in the bottle, with mother Alices diuell at Westwell, and are now bewraied and fled togither to *Limbo patrum, &c.* And though Saule were bewitched and blinded in the matter; yet doubtlesse a wise man wold haue perchance espied hir knauerie. Me thinks Saule was brought to this witch, much after the maner that doctor Burcot was brought to Feats, who sold maister Doctor a familiar, wherby he thought to haue wrought miracles, or rather to haue gained good store of monie. This fellowe by the name of Feats was a iugler, by the name of Hilles a witch or coniurer, euerie waie a cousener: his qualities and feats were to me and manie other well knowne and detected. And yet the opinion conceiued of him was most strange and woonderfull; euen with such and in such cases, as it gréeueth me to thinke of; speciallie bicause his knauerie and cou-

[Margin: 1.Sam.28,7.]

[Margin: S.Cicilies familiar.]

[Margin: D.Burcot. Feats.]

senage reached to the shedding of innocent bloud. But now forsooth Saule couereth himselfe with a net: and bicause he would not be knowne, he put on other garments. But to bring that matter to passe, he must haue béene cut shorter by the head and shoulders, for by so much he was higher than any of the people. And therfore whatsoeuer face the craftie quene did set vpon it, she knew him well enough. And for further proofe thereof, you may vnderstand, that the princes of the Jewes were much conuersant with the people. And it appéereth manifestlie, that Saule dwelt verie néere to Endor, so as she should the rather knowe him; for in the euening he went from his lodging vnto hir house: neither should it séeme that she was gone to bed when he came. But bicause that may be vncerteine, you may sée in the processe of the text, that in a péece of the night he went from his house to hirs, and with much adoo intreated hir to consent to his request. She finished hir coniuration, so as both Saules part, the witches part, and also Samuels part was plaied: and after the solemnization therof, a calfe was killed, a batch of bread baked, and a supper made readie and eaten vp; and after all this, he went home the same night: and had néed so to doo, for he had some businesse the next daie. By these and manie other circumstances it may bée gathered, that she dissembled, in saieng she knew him not, and consequentlie counterfaited, and made a foole of him in all the rest.

1.Sam.28,8

1.Sa.10,23.

Ibidem.

It appéereth there, that he, with a couple of his men, went to hir by night, and said; Coniecture vnto me by thy familiar spirit, and bring me vp whom I shall name vnto thée. The godlie learned knowe that this was not in the power of the witch of Endor, but in the God of heauen onelie to accomplish. Howbeit, Saule was bewitched so to suppose: and yet is he more simple that will be ouertaken with the deuises of our old witches, which are produced to resemble hir. And why should we thinke, that GOD would rather permit the witch to raise Samuel, than that Diues could obteine Lazarus to come out of Abrahams bosome, vpon more likelie and more reasonable conditions? Well now doth this strumpet (according to the guise of our cousening witches and coniurers) make the matter strange vnto Saule, saieng that he came to take hir in a snare, &c. But witches seldome make

Ibidem.

1.Sam.28,9.

this obiection, sauing when they mistrust that he which commeth to them will espie their iugling: for otherwise, where the witchmonger is simple and easie to be abused, the witch will be as easie to be intreated, and nothing dangerous of hir cunning; as you sée this witch was sone persuaded (notwithstanding that obiection) bicause she perceiued and sawe that Saule was affraid and out of his wits. And therfore she said vnto him; Whom shall I raise vp? As though she could haue brought vnto him Abraham, Isaac, or Iacob; who cannot heare vs, therefore cannot rise at our call. For it is written; Looke thou downe from heauen and behold vs, &c: as for Abraham he is ignorant of vs, and Israel knoweth vs not.

1.Sa.28.12.
Isa.63,15.16

The 12.13.& 14.verses of 1.Samuel 28.expounded: wherin is shewed that Saule was cousened and abused by the witch, and that Samuel was not raised, is prooued by the witches owne talke.

The twelfe Chapter.

The manner and circumstance of their communication, or of hir coniuration, is not verbatim set downe and expressed in the text; but the effect thereof bréefly touched: yet will I shew you the common order of their coniuration, and speciallie of hirs at this time vsed. When Saule had told hir, that he would haue Samuel brought vp to him, she departed from his presence into hir closet, where doubtles she had hir familiar; to wit, some lewd craftie préest, and made Saule stand at the doore like a foole (as it were with his finger in a hole) to heare the cousening answers, but not to sée the cousening handling thereof, and the counterfeting of the matter. And so goeth she to worke, vsing ordinarie words of coniuration, of which there are sundrie varieties and formes (whereof I shall haue occasion to repeat some in another place) as you sée the iuglers (which be inferior coniurors) speake certeine strange words of course to lead awaie the eie from espi-

The maner of the witch of Endors cousening of Saule.

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eng the maner of their conueiance, whilest they may induce the mind to conceiue and suppose that he dealeth with spirits; saieng, Hay, fortune furie, nunq; credo, passe, passe, when come you sirra. So belike after many such words spoken, she saith to hir selfe; Lo now the matter is brought to passe, for I sée wonderfull things. So as Saule hearing these words, longed to knowe all, 1.Sa.28,13.
and asked hir what she sawe. Whereby you may know that Saule sawe nothing, but stood without like a mome, whilest she plaied hir part in hir closet: as may most euidentlie appéere by the 21. 1.Sa.28,21.
verse of this chapter where it is said; Then the woman came out vnto Saule. Howbeit, a little before she cunninglie counterfaited that she sawe Samuel, and thereby knewe it was Saule that was come vnto hir. Whereby all the world may perceiue the cousening, and hir dissimulation. For by that which hath béene before said, it must néeds be that she knew him. And (I praie you) why should she not haue suspected aswell him to be Saule before, when in expresse words he required hir to bring vnto him Samuel, as now, when Samuel appéered vnto hir?

Well, to the question before proposed by Saule, she answereth and lieth, that she saw angels or gods ascending vp out of 1.Sa.28,14.
the earth. Then procéedeth she with hir inchanting phrases and words of course: so as thereby Saule gathereth and supposeth that she hath raised a man. For otherwise his question dependeth not vpon any thing before spoken. For when she hath said; I sawe angels ascending, &c: the next word he saith is; What fashion is he of? Which (I saie) hangeth not vpon hir last expressed words. And to this she answered not directlie, that it was Samuel; but that it was an old man lapped in a mantell: as though she knew not him that was the most notorious man in Israell, that had béene hir neighbour by the space of manie yéeres, and vpon whom (while he liued) euerie eie was fixed, and whom also she knew within lesse than a quarter of an houre before, as by whose meanes also she came acquainted with Saule. Read the 1.Sa.28,12.
text and sée.

But she describeth his personage, and the apparell which he did vsuallie weare when he liued: which if they were both buried togither, were consumed and rotten, or deuoured with wormes before that time. Belike he had a new mantell made him in hea-

uen: and yet they saie Tailors are skantie there, for that their consciences are so large here. In this countrie, men giue awaie their garments when they die: if Samuel had so doone, hée could not haue borrowed it againe; for of liklieh ood it would haue béene worne out in that space, except the donée had béene a better husband than I: for the testator was dead (as it is supposed) two yeares before.

The residue of 1.Sam.28. expounded: wherin is declared how cunninglie this witch brought Saule resolutelie to beleeue that she raised Samuel, what words are vsed to colour the cousenage, and how all might also be wrought by ventriloquie.

The xiij. Chapter.

Now commeth in Samuel to plaie his part: but I am persuaded it was performed in the person of the witch hir selfe, or of hir confederate. He saith to Saule;
1.Sa.28,15. Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me vp? As though without guile or packing it had béene Samuel himselfe. Saule an-
Ibidem. swered that he was in great distresse: for the Philistines made warre vpon him. Whereby the witch, or hir confederate priest might easilie coniecture that his heart failed, and direct the oracle or prophesie accordinglie: especiallie vnderstanding by his present talke, and also by former prophesies and doings that were past, that God had forsaken him, and that his
1.Sam.13,5. people were declining from him. For when Ionathan (a little before) ouerthrew the Philistines, being thirtie thousand chariots and six thousand horssemen; Saule could not assemble aboue six
1.Sa.13,15. hundred souldiers.

Then said Samuel (which some suppose was sathan, and as I thinke was the witch, with a confederate; for what need so farre fetches, as to fetch a diuell supernaturallie out of hell, when the illusion may be here by naturall meanes deciphered? And if you note the words well, you shall perceiue the phrase not to come out

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of a spirituall mouth of a diuell, but from a lieng corporall tong of a cousener, that careth neither for God nor the diuell, frō whence issueth such aduise and communication, as greatlie disagréeth from sathans nature and purpose. For thus (I saie) the said Samuel speaketh: Wherefore doest thou aske me, séeing the Lord is gone from thée, and is thine enimie? Euen the Lord hath doon vnto him as he spake by mine hand: for the Lord will rent thy kingdome out of thine hand, and giue it to thy neighbour Dauid, bicause thou obeiedst not the voice of the Lord, &c. This (I say) is no phrase of a diuell, but of a cousener, which knew before that Samuel had prophesied concerning Saules destruction. For it is the diuels condition, to allure the people vnto wickednes, and not in this sort to admonish, warne, and rebuke them for euill. And the popish writers confes, that the diuell would haue béene gone at the first naming of God. If it bée said, that it was at Gods speciall commandement and will, that Samuel or the diuell should be raised, to propound this admonition, to the profit of all posteritie: I answer, that then he would rather haue doone it by some of his liuing prophets, and that sathan had not béene so fit an instrument for that purpose. After this falleth the witch (I would saie Samuel) into the veine of prophesieng, and speaketh to Saule on this wise; The Lord will rent thy kingdome out of thine hand, and giue it to thy neighbor Dauid, bicause thou obeiedst not the voice of the Lord, nor executedst his fierse wrath vpon the Amalekites: therefore hath the Lord doone this vnto thée this daie. Moreouer, the Lord will deliuer thée into the hands of the Philistines, and to morrowe shalt thou and thy sonnes be with me, and the Lord shall giue the host of Israel into the hands of the Philistines. What could Samuel haue said more?

1. Sam. 28. 16.17.

1. Sa. 15, 28.

1. Sa. 28, 17. 18.

19.

Me thinks the diuell would haue vsed another order, encouraging Saule rather than rebuking him for his euill. The diuell is craftier than to leaue such an admonition to all posterities, as should be preiudiciall vnto his kingdome, and also be void of all impietie. But so diuine a sentence maketh much for the maintenance of the witches credit, and to the aduancement of hir gaines. Howbeit, concerning the veritie of this prophesie, there be many disputable questions: first, whether the battell were fought the next daie; secondlie, whether all his sonnes were kil-

led with him; item, whether they went to heauen or hell togither; as being with Samuel, they must be in heauen, and being with sathan, they must be in hell. But although euerie part of this prophesie were false, as that all his sonnes were not slaine (Ishbosheth liuing and reigning in Israel two yeares after Saules death) and that the battell was not on the morrow, and that wicked Saule, after that he had killed himselfe, was not with good Samuel; yet this witch did giue a shrewd gesse to the sequele. Which whether it were true or false, perteins not to my purpose; and therfore I will omit it. But as touching the opinion of them that saie it was the diuell, bicause that such things came to passe; I would faine knowe of them where they learne that diuels foreknow things to come. If they saie he gesseth onelie vpon probabilities, the witch may also doo the like. But here I may not forget the decrées, which conclude, that Samuel appéered not vnto Saule; but that the historiographer set foorth Saules mind and Samuels estate, and certeine things which were said & séene, omitting whether they were true or false: and further, that it were a great offense for a man to beléeue the bare words of the storie. And if this exposition like you not, I can easilie frame my selfe to the opinion of some of great learning, expounding this place, and that with great probabilitie, in this sort; to wit, that this Pythonist being Ventriloqua; that is, Speaking as it were from the bottome of hir bellie, did cast hir selfe into a transe, and so abused Saule, answering to Saule in Samuels name, in hir counterfeit hollow voice: as the wench of Westwell spake, whose historie I haue rehearsed before at large, in pag. 127 and this is right Ventriloquie.

2.Reg.4.

Canon.26. quest. cap.5. nec mirum.

Right Ventriloquie.

(∴)

Opinions

Opinions of ſome learned men, that Samuel was indeed raiſed, not by the witches art or power, but by the ſpeciall miracle of God, that there are no ſuch viſions in theſe our daies, & that our witches cannot doo the like.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Alias and Sadaias write, that when the woman ſawe the miracle indéed, and more than ſhe looked for, or was wont to doo; ſhe began to crie out, that this was a viſion indéed, and a true one, not doone by hir art, but by the power of God. Which expoſition is far more probable than our late writers iudgements herevpon, and agréeth with the expoſition of diuerſe good diuines. Gelaſius ſaith, it was the verie ſpirit of Samuel: and where he ſuffered himſelfe to be worſhipped, it was but in ciuill ſalutation and courteſie; and that God did interpoſe Samuel, as he did Elias to the meſſenger of Ochoſias, when he ſent to Belzebub the god of Acharon. And here is to be noted, that the witchmongers are ſet vp in this point: for the papiſts ſaie, that it cannot be a diuell, bicauſe Iehouah is thriſe or fiue times named in the ſtorie. Vpon this péece of ſcripture arguments are daielie deuiſed, to prooue and mainteine the miraculous actions of witchcraft, and the raiſing of the dead by coniurations. And yet if it were true, that Samuel himſelfe were raiſed, or the diuell in his likeneſſe; and that the witch of Endor by hir art and cunning did it, &c: it maketh rather to the diſproofe than to the proofe of our witches, which can neither do that kind of miracle, or any other, in any ſuch place or companie, where their iugling and couſenage may be ſéen and laid open. And I challenge them all (euen vpon the aduenture of my life) to ſhew one péece of a miracle, ſuch as Chriſt did trulie, or ſuch as they ſuppoſe this witch did diabolicallie, be it not with art nor confederacie, whereby ſome colour thereof may be made; neither are there any ſuch viſions in theſe daies ſhewed.

I. Bodin & L. vairus differ herein.

A bold, diſcreet, and faithfull challenge.

Heretofore God did ſend his viſible angels to men: but now

we heare not of such apparitions, neither are they necessarie. Indéed it pleased God heretofore, by the hand of Moses and his prophets, and speciallie by his sonne Christ and his apostles, to worke great miracles, for the establishing of the faith: but now whatsoeuer is necessarie for our saluation, is conteined in the word of God: our faith is alredie confirmed, and our church established by miracles; so as now to séeke for them, is a point of infidelitie. Which the papists (if you note it) are greatlie touched withall, as in their lieng legends appeareth. But in truth, our miracles are knaueries most commonlie, and speciallie of priests, whereof I could cite a thousand. If you read the storie of Bell and the dragon, you shall find a cousening miracle of some antiquitie. If you will sée newer deuises, read Wierus, Cardanus, Baleus, and speciallie Lauaterns, &c. There haue béene some * walking spirits in these parts so coniured not long since, as afterwards they little delighted to make anie more apparitions.

* At Canturburie by Rich. Lee esquire, & others, anno. 1573. At Rie by maister Gaymor & others, anno. 1577.

Of vaine apparitions, how people haue beene brought to feare bugges, which is partlie reformed by preaching of the gospell, the true effect of Christes miracles.

The xv. Chapter.

But certeinlie, some one knaue in a white shéete hath cousened and abused manie thousands that waie; speciallie when Robin good-fellow kept such a coile in the countrie. But you shall vnderstand, that these bugs speciallie are spied and feared of sicke folke, children, women, and cowards, which through weaknesse of mind and bodie, are shaken with vaine dreames and continuall feare. The Scythians, being a stout and a warlike nation (as diuers writers report) neuer sée anie vaine sights, or spirits. It is a common saieng; A lion feareth no bugs. But in our childhood our mothers maids haue so terrified vs with an ouglie diuell hauing hornes on his head, fier in his mouth, and a taile in his

I. Wier. lib. 3 cap. 8. Theodor. Bizantius. Lauat. de spect. & lemurib.

his breech, eies like a bason, fanges like a dog, clawes like a beare, a skin like a Niger, and a voice roring like a lion, whereby we start and are afraid when we heare one crie Bough: and they haue so fraied vs with bull beggers, spirits, witches, vrchens, elues, hags, fairies, satyrs, pans, faunes, sylens, kit with the canstické, tritons, centaurs, dwarfes, giants, imps, calcars, coniurors, nymphes, changlings, Incubus, Robin good-fellowe, the spoorne, the mare, the man in the oke, the hell waine, the fierdrake, the puckle, Tom thombe, hob gobblin, Tom tumbler, boneles, and such other bugs, that we are afraid of our owne shadowes: in so much as some neuer feare the diuell, but in a darke night; and then a polled shéepe is a perillous beast, and manie times is taken for our fathers soule, speciallie in a churchyard, where a right hardie man heretofore scant durst passe by night, but his haire would stand vpright. For right graue writers report, that spirits most often and speciallie take the shape of women appearing to monks, &c: and of beasts, dogs, swine, horsses, gotes, cats, haires; of fowles, as crowes, night owles, and shréeke owles; but they delight most in the likenes of snakes and dragons. Well, thanks be to God, this wretched and cowardlie infidelitie, since the preaching of the gospell, is in part forgotten: and doubtles, the rest of those illusions will in short time (by Gods grace) be detected and vanish awaie.

Cardan. de var. rerum Peucer. &c.

Lauat. de spect.

Diuers writers report, that in Germanie, since Luthers time, spirits and diuels haue not personallie appeared, as in times past they were wont to doo. This argument is taken in hand of the ancient fathers, to proue the determination and ceasing of oracles. For in times past (saith Athanasius) diuels in vaine shapes did intricate men with their illusions, hiding themselues in waters, stones, woods, &c. But now that the word of GOD hath appeared, those sights, spirits, and mockeries of images are ceased. Truelie, if all such oracles, as that of Apollo, &c (before the comming of Christ) had béene true, and doone according to the report, which hath béene brought through diuers ages, and from farre countries vnto vs, without préestlie fraud or guile, so as the spirits of prophesie, and working of miracles, had béene inserted into an idoll, as hath béene supposed: yet we christians may conceiue, that Christs cōming was not so fruteles and preiudiciall

Car. de var. rerum. I. Wier, de præst. dæmon. &c.

Athanas. de humanitate verbi.

iudiciall in this point vnto vs, as to take awaie his spirit of pro-
phesie and diuination from out of the mouth of his elect people,
and good prophets, giuing no answers of anie thing to come by
them, nor by Vrim nor Thumim, as he was woont, &c. And yet to
leaue the diuell in the mouth of a witch, or an idoll to prophesie
or worke miracles, &c: to the hinderance of his glorious gospell,
to the discountenance of his church, and to the furtherance of in-
fidelitie and false religion, whereas the working of miracles
was the onelie, or at least the most speciall meanes that mooued
men to beléeue in Christ: as appeareth in sundrie places of the
gospell, and speciallie in John, where it is written, that a great
multitude followed him, bicause they sawe his miracles which he
did, &c. Naie, is it not written, that Jesus was approued by God
among the Jewes, with miracles, wonders and signes, &c? And
yet, if we conferre the miracles wrought by Christ, and those that
are imputed to witches; witches miracles shall appeare more
common, and nothing inferior vnto his.

The true end of miracles.

Iohn.2.

Act.2.22.
Iohn.5.

Witches miracles compared to Christs, that God is the creator of all things, of Apollo, and of his names and portraiture.

The xvj. Chapter.

If this witch of Endor had perfor-
med that, which manie conceiue of the
matter, it might haue béene compared
with the raising vp of Lazarus. I praie
you, is not the conuerting of water into
milke, as hard a matter as the turning
of water into wine? And yet, as you
may read in the gospell, that Christ did the
one, as his first miracle; so may you read in M. Mal. and in
Bodin, that witches can easilie doo the other: yea, and that
which is a great deale more, of water they can make butter. But
to auoid all cauils, and least there should appeare more matter in
Christs miracle, than the others, you shall find in M. Mal. that
they can change water into wine; and what is it to attribute to
a

An ironicall collation.

Mal. malef. par. 2. quę. 1. cap. 14.

a creature, the power and worke of the creator, if this be not? Christ saith, *Opera quæ ego facio nemo potest facere*. Creation of substance was never granted to man nor angell; *Ergo* neither to witch nor divell: for God is the onlie giver of life and being, and by him all things are made, visible and invisible.

Acts.17. Tim.6,13. Col.1,16. *Athanas. symbol.*

Finallie, this woman of Endor is in the scripture called Pythonissa: whereby it may appeare that she was but a verie cousener. For Pytho himselfe, whereof Pythonissa is derived, was a counterfet. And the originall storie of Apollo, who was called Pytho, bicause he killed a serpent of that name, is but a poeticall fable. For the poets saie he was the god of musicke, physicke, poetrie, and shooting. In heaven he is called Sol, in earth Liber pater, in hell Apollo. He florisheth alwaies with perpetuall youth, and therefore he is painted without a beard: his picture was kept as an oracle-giver: and the preests that attended thereon at Delphos were couseners, and called Pythonists of Pytho, as papists of Papa; and afterwards all women that used that trade, were named Pythonissæ, as was this woman of Endor. But bicause it concerneth this matter, I will breefelie note the opinions of divers learned men, and certeine other proofes, which I find in the scripture touching the ceasing of miracles, prophesies and oracles.

Apollo Pytho vncased.

¶ The

¶ The eight booke.

That miracles are ceased.

The first Chapter.

Psal.136.4. Psal.72.18. Psal.88.10. Although in times past, it pleased God, extraordinarilie to shew miracles amongest his people, for the strengthening of their faith in the Messias; and againe at his comming to confirme their faith by his wonderfull doings, and his speciall graces and gifts bestowed by him upon the apostles, &c: yet we ordinarilie read in the scriptures, that it is the Lord that worketh great wonders. Yea Dauid saith, that among the dead (as in this case of Samuel) God himselfe sheweth no wonders.

Isai.42. John.3,2. Ibid.7,16. *In annotat. in Iohan.3.* Isai.45. I find also that God will not giue his glorie and power to a creature. Nichodemus being a Pharisie could saie, that no man could do such miracles as Christ did, except God were with him, according to the saieng of the prophet to those gods and idols, which tooke on them the power of God; Do either good or ill if you can, &c. So as the prophet knew and taught thereby, that none but God could worke miracles. Infinite places for this purpose might be brought out of the scripture, which for breuitie I omit and ouerslip.

August.de verbis Dom. secundum Matth.sermone.18. S. Augustine, among other reasons, whereby he prooueth the ceasing of miracles, saith; Now blind flesh doth not open the eies of the blind by the miracle of God, but the eies of our hart are opened by the word of God. Now is not our dead carcase raised any more up by miracle, but our dead bodies be still in the graue,

and

and our soules are raised to life by Christ. Now the eares of the deafe are not opened by miracle, but they which had their eares shut before, haue them now opened to their saluation. The miraculous healing of the sicke, by annointing, spoken of by S. Iames, is obiected by manie, speciallie by the papists, for the maintenance of their sacrament of extreame vnction: which is apishlie and vainelie vsed in the Romish church, as though that miraculous gift had continuance till this daie: wherein you shall see what Caluine speaketh in his institutions. The grace of healing (saith he) spoken of by S. Iames, is vanished awaie, as also the other miracles, which the Lord would haue shewed onelie for a time, that he might make the new preaching of the gospell merueillous for euer. Why (saith he) doo not these (meaning miraclemongers) appoint some Siloah to swim in, whereinto at certeine ordinarie recourses of times sicke folke maie plunge themselues? Why doo they not lie a long vpon the dead, bicause Paule raised vp a dead child by that meanes? Verelie (saith he) Iames in the miracle to annoint, spake for that time, whiles the church still enioied such blessings of God. Item, he saith, that the Lord is present with his in all ages; and so often as need is, he helpeth their sicknesses, no lesse than in old time. But he dooth not so vtter his manifest powers, nor distributeth miracles, as by the hands of the apostles, bicause the gift was but for a time. Caluine euen there concludeth thus; They saie such vertues or miracles remaine, but experience saith naie. And see how they agree among themselues. Danæus saith, that neither witch nor diuell can worke miracles. Giles Alley saith directlie, that witches worke miracles. Caluine saith they are all ceased. All witchmongers saie they continue. But some affirme, that popish miracles are vanished and gone awaie; howbeit witches miracles remaine in full force. So as S. Loy is out of credit for a horsseleach, Maister T. and mother Bungie remaine in estimation for prophets: naie Hobgoblin and Robin goodfellow are contemned among yoong children, and mother Alice and mother Bungie are feared among old fooles. The estimation of these continue, bicause the matter hath not beene called in question: the credit of the other decaieth, bicause the matter hath beene looked into. Whereof I saie no more, but that S. Anthonies blisse will helpe your

Iames.5,14.

I.Caluin. Institut.lib.4. cap.19.sect. 18.

Idem.ibid. sect.19.

Isai.9,7.

Acts.20,10.

Idem, ibid. nempe I.Caluine.

your pig, whensoeuer mother Bungie doth hurt it with hir cursse.
Prou.51. And therefore we are warned by the word of God, in anie wise not to feare their cursses. But let all the witchmongers, and speciallie the miraclemongers in the world answer me to this supposition; Put case that a woman of credit, or else a woman-witch should saie unto them, that she is a true prophet of the Lord, and that he reuealeth those secret mysteries unto hir, whereby she detecteth the lewd acts and imaginations of the wicked, and that by him she worketh miracles, and prophesieth, &c: I thinke they must either yeeld, or confesse that miracles are ceased. But such things (saith Cardane) as seeme miraculous, are cheeflie doone by deceipt, legierdemaine, or confederacie; or else they maie be doone, and yet seeme unpossible, or else things are said to be done, and neuer were nor can be doone.

H. Card. de miracul.

That the gift of prophesie is ceased.

The second Chapter.

That witches, nor the woman of Endor, nor yet hir familiar or diuell can tell what is to come, may plainelie appeare by the words of the prophet, who saith; Shew what things are to come, and we will saie you are gods indeed. According to that which Salomon saith; Who can tell a man what shall happen him under the sunne? Marrie that can I (saith the witch of Endor to Saule.) But I will rather beleeue Paule and Peter, which saie, that prophesie is the gift of God, and no worldlie thing. Then a cousening queane, that taketh upon hir to doo all things, and can doo nothing but beguile men: up steppeth also mother Bungie, and she can tell you where your horsse or your asse is bestowed, or anie thing that you haue lost is become, as Samuell could; and what you haue doone in all your age past, as Christ did to the woman of Sichar at Iacobs well; yea and what your errand is, before you speake, as Elizæus did.

Isai.41.

1.Sam.28.
Rom.12.
1.Cor.12.
1.Pet.1.

Iohn.4.

Peter Martyr saith, that onelie God and man knoweth the heart

heart of man, and therefore, that the diuell must be secluded, alledging these places; *Solus Deus est scrutator cordium*, Onelie God is the searcher of hearts. And, *Nemo scit quæ sunt hominis, nisi spiritus hominis qui est in eo*, None knoweth the things of man, but the spirit of man which is within him. And Salomon saith, *Tu solus nosti cogitationes hominum*, Thou onelie knowest the thoughts of men. And Ieremie saith in the person of God, *Ego Deus scrutans corda & renes*, I am God searching hearts and reines. Also Matthew saith of Christ, *Iesus autem videns cogitationes eorum*, And Jesus séeing their thoughts, who in scripture is called the searcher and knower of the thoughts in the heart: as appeareth in Acts, 1. & 15. Rom. 8. Matth. 9. 12. & 22. Marke. 2. Luke. 6, & 7. & 11. Iohn. 1. 2. 6. & 13. Apoc. 2. & 3. and in other places infinite. *P. Martyr. loc. com. 9. sect. 17.*

The same Peter Martyr also saith, that the diuell maie suspect, but not know our thoughts: for if he should know our thoughts, he should vnderstand our faith; which if he did, he would neuer assalt vs with one temptation. Indéed we read that Samuel could tell where things lost were straied, &c: but we sée that gift also ceased by the comming of Christ, according to the saieng of Paule; At sundrie times, and in diuerse maners God spake in the old times by our fathers the prophets, in these last daies he hath spoken vnto vs by his sonne, &c. And therefore I saie that gift of prophesie, wherewith God in times past endued his people, is also ceased, and counterfeits and cousеners are come in their places, according to this saieng of Peter: There were false prophets among the people, euen as there shalbe false teachers among you, &c. And thinke not that so notable a gift should be taken from the beloued and elect people of God, and committed to mother Bungie, and such like of hir profession. *P. Martyr. in loc. comm.* *Hebr. 1, 8. & 2.* *2. Pet. 2. 1.*

The words of the prophet Zacharie are plaine, touching the ceasing both of the good and bad prophet, to wit: I will cause the prophets and vncleane spirits to depart out of the land, and when anie shall yet prophesie, his parents shall saie to him; Thou shalt not liue, for thou speakest lies in the name of the Lord: and his parents shall thrust him through when he prophesieth, &c. No, no: the foretelling of things to come, is the onelie worke of God, who disposeth all things swéetlie, of whose counsell there hath neuer yet béene anie man. And to know our labours, the times *Zach. 13.* *I. Chrysost. in euang. Iohan. hom. 18.* *Pet. Blest. epist. 49.*

and moments God hath placed in his owne power. Also Phauorinus saith, that if these cold prophets or oraclers tell thée prosperitie, and deceiue thée, thou art made a miser through vaine expectation: if they tell thée of aduersitie, &c: and lie, thou art made a miser through vaine feare. And therefore I saie, we maie as well looke to heare prophesies at the tabernacle, in the bush, of the cherubin, among the clouds, from the angels, within the arke, or out of the flame, &c: as to expect an oracle of a prophet in these daies.

But put the case, that one in our common wealth should step vp and saie he were a prophet (as manie frentike persons doo) who would beléeue him, or not thinke rather that he were a lewd person? Sée the statutes Elizab. 5. whether there be not lawes made against them, condemning their arrogancie and cousenage: sée also the canon lawes to the same effect.

Canon. de malef. & mathemat.

That Oracles are ceased.

The third Chapter.

Thucidid. lib. 2. Cicer. de diuin. lib. 2.

TOuching oracles, which for the most part were idols of siluer, gold, wood, stones, &c: within whose bodies some saie vncleane spirites hid themselues, and gaue answers: as some others saie, that exhalations rising out of the ground, inspire their minds, whereby their priests gaue out oracles; so as spirits and winds rose vp out of that soile, and indued those men with the gift of prophesie of things to come, though in truth they were all deuises to cousen the people, and for the profit of préests, who receiued the idols answers ouer night, and deliuered them backe to the idolaters the next morning: you shall vnderstand, that although it had béene so as it is supposed; yet by the reasons and proofes before rehearsed, they should now cease: and whatsoeuer hath affinitie with such miraculous actions, as witchcraft, coniuration, &c: is knocked on the head, and nailed on the crosse with Christ, who hath broken the power of diuels, and satisfied Gods iustice,

who also hath troden them vnder his féete, & subdued them, &c. At whose comming the prophet Zacharie saith, that the Lord will cut the names of idols out of the land, and they shall be no more remembered; and he will then cause the prophets and vncleane spirits to depart out of the land. It is also written; I will cut off thine inchanters out of thine hand, and thou shalt haue no more soothsaiers. And indéed the gospell of Christ hath so laid open their knauerie, &c: that since the preaching thereof, their combes are cut, and few that are wise regard them. And if euer these prophesies came to take effect, it must be vpon the cōming of Christ, whereat you sée the diuels were troubled and fainted, when they met him, saieng, or rather exclaming vpon him on this wise; *Fili Dei cur venisti nos cruciare ante tempus?* O thou sonne of God, whie commest thou to molest vs (or confound vs) before our time appointed? Which he indéed preuented, and now remaineth he our defender and kéeper from his clawes. So as now you sée here is no roome left for such ghests.

Zach.13,2.

Mich.5,12.

Howbeit, you shall heare the opinion of others, that haue béene as much deceiued as your selues in this matter: and yet are driuen to confesse, that GOD hath constituted his sonne to beat downe the power of diuels, and to satisfie Gods iustice, and to heale our wound receiued by the fall of Adam, according to Gods promise in Genesis.3. The séed of the woman shall tread downe the serpent, or the diuell. Eusebius (in his fift booke *De prædicatione Euangelij*, the title whereof is this, that the power of diuels is taken awaie by the comming of Christ) saith; All answers made by diuels, all soothsaiengs and diuinations of men are gon and banished awaie. Item he citeth Porphyrie in his bookē against christian religion, wherein these words are rehearsed; It is no meruell, though the plague be so hot in this citie: for euer since Jesus hath béene worshipped, we can obteine nothing that good is at the hands of our gods. And of this defection and ceasing of oracles writeth Cicero long before, and that to haue happened also before his time. Howbeit, Chrysostome liuing long since Cicero, saith, that Apollo was forced to grant, that so long as anie relike of a martyr was held to his nose, he could not make anie answer or oracle. So as one may perceiue, that the heathen were wiser in this behalfe than manie christians, who in

Gen.3.

Euseb.lib.5. cap.1.

Idem.Ibid.

Porphyr.in lib. contra christ. relig.

Cic. de diuin. lib.2.

I.Chrysost. de laud. Paul.hom.4.

times past were called *Oppugnatores incantamentorum,* as the English princes are called *Defensores fidei*. Plutarch calleth Bœotia (as we call bablers) by the name of manie words, bicause of the multitude of oracles there, which now (saith he) are like to a spring or fountaine which is dried vp. If anie one remained, I would ride fiue hundred miles to sée it: but in the whole world there is not one to be séene at this houre; popish cousenages excepted.

Porphyr. writeth verses in *Apollos* name, of the death of *Apollo*: cited by *I. Bod. fol. 6.*

But Plutarch saith, that the cause of this defection of oracles, was the diuels death, whose life he held to be determinable and mortall, saieng they died for verie age; and that the diuining priests were blowne vp with a whirlewind, and sonke with an earthquake. Others imputed it to the site or the place of the planets, which when they passed ouer them, carried awaie that art with them, and by reuolution may returne, &c. Eusebius also citeth out of him the storie of Pan, which bicause it is to this purpose, I will insert the same; and since it mentioneth the diuels death, you may beléeue it if you list: for I will not, as being assured that he is reserued aliue to punish the wicked, and such as impute vnto those idols the power of almightie God.

A tale written by manie graue authors, and beleeued by manie wise men of the diuels death. An other storie written by papists, and beleeued of all catholikes, approouing the diuels honestie, conscience, and courtesie.

The fourth Chapter.

PLutarch saith, that his countriman Epotherses told him, that as he passed by sea into Italie, manie passengers being in his bote, in an euening, when they were about the ilands Echinadæ, the wind quite ceased: and the ship driuing with the tide, was brought at last to Paxe. And whilest some slept, and others quaft, and othersome were awake (perhaps in as ill case as the rest) after supper suddenlie a voice was heard calling, Thamus; in such sort as euerie man maruelled. This Thamus was a pilot,

borne

borne in Aegypt, unknowne to manie that were in the ship. Wherefore being twise called, he answered nothing; but the third time he answered: and the other with a lowder voice commanded him, that when he came to Palodes, he should tell them that the great God Pan was departed. Whereat euerie one was astonied (as Epitherses affirmed.) And being in consultation what were best to doo, Thamus concluded, that if the wind were hie, they must passe by with silence; but if the weather were calme, he must utter that which he had heard. But when they came to Palodes, and the wether calme, Thamus looking out toward the land, cried alowd, that the great god Pan was deceased: and immediatlie there followed a lamentable noise of a multitude of people, as it were with great woonder and admiration. And bicause there were manie in the ship, they said the fame thereof was speedilie brought to Rome, and Thamus sent for by Tiberius the Emperour, who gaue such credit thereto, that he diligentlie inquired and asked, who that Pan was. The learned men about him supposed, that Pan was he who was the sonne of Mercurie and Penelope, &c. Eusebius saith, that this chanced in the time of Tiberius the Emperor, when Christ expelled all diuels, &c.

Thamus hauing litle to doo, thought to plaie with his companie, whom he might easilie ouertake with such a iest.

Paulus Marsus, in his notes upon Ouids Fasti, saith, that this voice was heard out of Paxe, that verie night that Christ suffered, in the yeare of Tiberius the ninteenth. Surelie, this was a merrie iest deuised by Thamus, who with some confederate thought to make sport with the passengers, who were some asleepe, and some droonke, and some other at plaie, &c: whiles the first voice was used. And at the second voice, to wit, when he should deliuer his message, he being an old pilot, knew where some noise was usuall, by meanes of some eccho in the sea, and thought he would (to the astonishment of them) accomplish his deuise, if the wether prooued calme. Whereby may appeare, that he would in other cases of tempests, &c: rather attend to more serious busines, than to that ridiculous matter. For whie else should he not doo his errand in rough wether, as well as in calme? Or what need he tell the diuell thereof, when the diuell told it him before, and with much more expedition could haue done the errand himselfe?

A detection of Thamus his knauerie.

*But you shall read in the Legend a fable, an oracle I would

**Legend. aur. in vita sancti Andreae. fol. 39.*

saie, more authentike. For many will say that this was a prophane storie, and not so canonicall as those which are verefied by the popes authoritie: and thus it is written. A woman in hir trauell sent hir sister to Diana, which was the diuell in an idoll (as all those oracles are said to be) and willed hir to make hir praiers, or rather a request, to knowe of hir safe deliuerie: which thing she did. But the diuell answered; Why praiest thou to me? I cannot helpe thée, but go praie to Andrew the apostle, and he may helpe thy sister, &c. Lo, this was not onelie a gentle, but a godlie diuell, pittieng the womans case, who reuealing his owne disabilitie, enabled S. Andrew more. I knowe some protestants will saie, that the diuell, to mainteine idolatrie, &c: referred the maid to S. Andrew. But what answer will the papists make, who thinke it great pietie to praie vnto saints, and so by consequence honest courtesie in the diuell, to send hir to S. Andrew, who wold not faile to serue hir turne, &c.

A gentle and a godlie diuell.

The iudgments of the ancient fathers touching oracles, and their abolishment, and that they be now transferred from Delphos to Rome.

The fift Chapter.

THe opinions of the fathers, that oracles are ceased by the cōming of Christ, you shall find in these places following, to wit: Iustinus *In dialogis aduersus Iudæos*, Athanasius *De humanitate verbi*, Augustine *De ciuitate Dei*, Ensebius *Lib.7.cap.6*, Item *lib.5.cap.* 1.8. Rupertus *In Ioan.lib.* 10.12. Plutarch *De abolitione oraculorum*, Plinie *lib.* 30.*natural.historiæ*. Finallie, Athanasius concludes, that in times past there were oracles in Delphos, Bœotia, Lycia, and other places: but now since Christ is preached to all men, this madnesse is ceased. So as you sée, that whatsoeuer estimation in times past, the ancient fathers conceiued (by héeresaie) of those miraculous matters of idols and oracles, &c: they themselues refuse now, not onelie to beare witnesse of; but also affirme, that euer

Athanas.de human.verbi.fol.55.& 64.

since

since Christs comming their mouthes haue béene stopped.

For the ceasing of the knaueries and cousening deuises of préests, I sée no authoritie of scripture or ancient father, but rather the contrarie; to wit, that there shall be strange illusions shewed by them, euen till the end. And trulie, whosoeuer knoweth and noteth the order and deuises of and in popish pilgrimages, shall sée both the oracles & their conclusions remaining, and as it were transferred from Delphos to Rome, where that adulterous generation continuallie séeketh a signe, though they haue Moses & the prophets, yea euen Christ & his apostles also, &c.

Where and wherein couseners, witches, and preests were woont to giue oracles, and to worke their feats.

The sixt Chapter.

These cousening oracles, or rather oraclers vsed (I saie) to exercise their feats and to doo their miracles most commonly in maids, in beasts, in images, in dens, in cloisters, in darke holes, in trées, in churches or churchyards, &c: where préests, moonks, and friers had laid their plots, and made their confederacies aforehand, to beguile the world, to gaine monie, and to adde credit to their profession. This practise began in the okes of Dodona, in the which was a wood, the trées thereof (they saie) could speake. And this was doone by a knaue in a hollowe trée, that séemed sound vnto the simple people. This wood was in Molossus a part of Greece, called Epyrus, and it was named Dodonas oracles. There were manie oracles in Aegypt; namelie, of Hercules, of Apollo, of Minerua, of Diana, of Mars, of Iupiter, and of the oxe Apys, who was the sonne of Iupiter, but his image was worshipped in the likenesse of an oxe. Latona, who was the mother of Apollo, was an oracle in the citie of Bute. The préests of Apollo, who allwaies counterfaited furie and madnesse, gaue oracles in the temple called Clarius, within the citie of Colophon in Greece. At Thebes in Bœotia, and also in Lœbadia, Trophonius was the chéefe oracle. At Memphis a cow, at Corinth an oxe called Mineus, in Arsinoe a crocodile, in Athens a prophet called Amphiaraus, who

Strabo Geog. lib.16. I.Wier. li.1. de prest.dem. cap.12.

indéed died at Thebes, where they saie the earth opened, & swalowed him vp quicke. At Delphos was the great temple of Apollo, where diuels gaue oracles by maides (as some saie) though indéed it was done by préests. It was built vpon Parnassus hill in Greece. And the defenders of oracles saie, that euen as riuers oftentimes are diuerted to another course; so likewise the spirit, which inspired the chéefe prophets, may for a time be silent, and reuiue againe by reuolution.

Demetrius saith, that the spirits, which attended on oracles, waxed wearie of the peoples curiositie and importunitie, and for shame forsooke the temple. But as * one that of late hath written against prophesies saith; It is no maruell, that when the familiars that speake in trunks were repelled from their harbour for feare of discouerie, the blocks almightie lost their senses. For these are all gone now, and their knauerie is espied; so as they can no longer abuse the world with such bables. But whereas these great doctors suppose, that the cause of their dispatch was the comming of Christ; if they meane that the diuell died, so sone as he was borne, or that then he gaue ouer his occupation: they are deceiued. For the popish church hath made a continuall practise hereof, partlie for their owne priuate profit, lucre, and gaine; and partly to be had in estimation of the world, and in admiration among the simple. But indéed, men that haue learned Christ, and béene conuersant in his word, haue discouered and shaken off the vanitie and abhomination héereof. But if those doctors had liued till this daie, they would haue said and written, that oracles had ceased, or rather béene driuen out of England in the time of K. Henrie the eight, and of Quéene Elizabeth his daughter; who haue done so much in that behalfe, as at this houre they are not onlie all gone, but forgotten here in this English nation, where they swarmed as thicke as they did in Bœotia, or in any other place in the world. But the credit they had, depended not vpon their desart, but vpon the credulitie of others. Now therefore I will conclude and make an end of this matter, with the opinion and saieng of the prophet; Vaine is the answer of idols. For they haue eies and sée not, eares and heare not, mouthes and speake not, &c: and let them shew what is to come, and I will saie they are gods indéed.

*H.Haw.in his defensatiue against prophesies.

In whose daies oracles ceased in England

Zach.10. Isai.44.

¶ *The*

¶ *The ninth Booke.*

The Hebrue word Kasam expounded, and how farre a Christian may coniecture of things to come.

The first Chapter.

KAsam (as Iohn Wierus vpon his owne knowledge affirmeth, and vpon the word of Andræas Masius reporteth) differeth little in signification from the former word *ob*; betokening *Vaticinari*, which is, To prophesie, and is most commonlie taken in euill part; as in Deut. 18. Ierem. 27. &c: howbeit, sometime in good part, as in Esaie 3. verse. 2. To foretell things to come vpon probable coniectures, so as therein we reach no further than becommeth humane capacitie, is not (in mine opinion) vnlawfull, but rather a commendable manifestation of wisedome and iudgment, the good gifts and notable blessings of GOD, for the which we ought to be thankfull; as also to yeeld due honour and praise vnto him, for the noble order which he hath appointed in nature: praieng him to lighten our hearts with the beames of his wisedome, that we may more and more profit in the true knowledge of the workemanship of his hands. But some are so nise, that they condemne generallie all sorts of diuinations, denieng those things that in nature haue manifest causes, and are so framed, as they forshew things to come, and in that shew admonish vs of things after to insue, exhibiting signes of vnknowne and future matters to be iudged vpon, by the order, lawe, and course of nature

I. Wier. lib. de præst. dæmon.

All diuinations are not condemnable.

proposed vnto vs by God.

And some on the other side are so bewitched with follie, as they attribute to creatures that estimation, which rightlie and truelie apperteineth to God the creator of all things; affirming that the publike and priuate destinies of all humane matters, and whatsoeuer a man would knowe of things come or gone, is manifested to vs in the heauens: so as by the starres and planets all things might be knowne. These would also, that nothing should be taken in hand or gone about, without the fauourable aspect of the planets. By which, and other the like deuises they depraue and prophane the ancient and commendable obseruations of our forefathers: as did Colebrasus, who taught, that all mans life was gouerned by the seuen planets; and yet a christian, and condemned for heresie. But let vs so farre foorth imbrace and allow this philosophie and prophesieng, as the word of God giueth vs leaue, and commendeth the same vnto vs.

Colebrasus erronious & impious opinion.

Proofes by the old and new testament, that certaine obseruations of the weather are lawfull.

The second Chapter.

Psalm.13. Ierem.54. Gen.1. Ezech.1. Gen.9.

When God by his word and wisedome had made the heauens, and placed the starres in the firmament, he said; Let them be for signes, and for seasons, and for daies, and yeares. When he created the rainebowe in the clouds, he said it should be for a signe and token vnto vs. Which we find true, not onelie of the floud past, but also of shewers to come. And therefore according to Iesus Sirachs aduise, let vs behold it, and praise him that made it. The prophet Dauid saith; The heauens declare the glorie of God, and the [redacted] sheweth his handie worke: daie vnto daie vttereth the same, and night vnto night teacheth knowledge. It is also written that by the commandement of the holie one the starres are placed, and continue in their order, & faile not in their watch. It should appeare, that Christ himselfe did not altogither neglect the course & order of the heauens, in that he said; When you sée a cloud

Ecclus.43. Ps.19. & 50. firmamẽt

Ecclus.43. Baruch.3.

Luk.12,24.

cloud rise out of the west, streight waie you saie a shewer commeth: and so it is. And when you sée the southwind blowe; you saie it will be hot, and so it commeth to passe. Againe, when it is euening, you saie faire weather, for the skie is red: and in the morning you saie, to daie shalbe a tempest, for the skie is red and lowring. Wherein as he noteth that these things doo trulie come to passe, according to ancient obseruation, and to the rule astronomicall: so doth he also by other words following admonish vs, that in attending too much to those obseruations, we neglect not speciallie to follow our christian vocation. Matt. 16. 2, 3.

The physician is commended vnto vs, and allowed in the scriptures: but so to put trust in him, as to neglect & distrust God, is seuerelie forbidden and reprooued. Surelie it is most necessarie for vs to know and obserue diuerse rules astrologicall; otherwise we could not with opportunitie dispatch our ordinarie affaires. And yet Lactantius condemneth and recounteth it among the number of witchcrafts: from whose censure Caluine doth not much varie. The poore husbandman perceiueth that the increase of the moone maketh plants and liuing creatures frutefull: so as in the full moone they are in best strength, decaieng in the wane, and in the coniunction doo vtterlie wither and vade. Which when by obseruation, vse and practise they haue once learned, they distribute their businesse accordinglie; as their times and seasons to sowe, to plant, to proine, to let their cattell bloud, to cut, &c.

Lactant. contra astrologos.

Peucer. de astrol. pag. 383.

That certeine obseruations are indifferent, certeine ridiculous, and certeine impious, whence that cunning is deriued of Apollo, and of Aruspices.

The third Chapter.

I Know not whether to disallow or discommend the curious obseruation vsed by our elders, who coniectured vpon natiuities: so as, if Saturne and Mercurie were opposite in anie brute signe, a man then borne should be dumbe or stammer much; whereas it is dailie séene, that children naturallie imitate their parents conditions

The ridiculous art of natiuitie-casting.

conditions in that behalfe. Also they haue noted, that one borne in the spring of the moone, shalbe healthie; in that time of the wane, when the moone is vtterlie decaied, the child then borne cannot liue; and in the coniunction, it cannot long continue.

Iulius Maternus his most impious opinion.

But I am sure the opinion of Iulius Maternus is most impious, who writeth, that he which is borne when Saturne is in Leone, shall liue long, and after his death shall go to heauen presentlie. And so is this of Albumazar, who saith, that whosoeuer praieth to God, when the moone is in Capite draconis, shalbe heard, and obteine his praier. Furthermore, to plaie the cold prophet, as to recount it good or bad lucke, when salt or wine falleth on the table, or is shed, &c: or to prognosticate that ghests approch to your house, vpon the chattering of pies or haggisters, wherof there can be yéelded no probable reason, is altogither vanitie and superstition: as hereafter shalbe more largelie shewed. But to make simple people beléeue, that a man or woman can foretell good or euill fortune, is méere witchcraft or cousenage. For God is the onlie searcher of the heart, and deliuereth not his counsell to so lewd reprobates. I know diuerse writers affirme, that witches foretell things, as prompted by a reall diuell; and that he againe learneth it out of the prophesies written in the scriptures, and by other nimble sleights, wherein he passeth anie other creature earthlie; and that the same diuell, or some of his fellowes runnes or flies as farre as Rochester, to mother Bungie; or to Canturburie to M. T; or to Delphos, to Apollo; or to Aesculapius, in Pargamo; or to some other idoll or witch, and there by waie of oracle answers all questions, through his vnderstanding of the prophesies conteined in the old testament, especiallie in Daniel and Esaie: whereby the diuell knew of the translation of the monarchie from Babylon to Græcia, &c. But either they haue learned this of some oracle or witch; or else I know not where the diuell they find it. Marrie certeine it is, that herein they shew themselues to be witches and fond diuinors: for they find no such thing written in Gods word.

Bodinus. Danæus. Erastus. Hemingius. Mal.malef. Thom.Aquinas,&c.

Of the idoll called Apollo, I haue somewhat alreadie spoken in the former title of Ob or Pytho: and some occasion I shall haue to speake thereof hereafter: and therfore at this time it shall suffice to tell you, that the credit gained therevnto, was by the craft

and

and cunning of the priests, which tended thereupon; who with their counterfeit miracles so bewitched the people, as they thought such vertue to haue béene conteined in the bodies of those idols, as God hath not promised to anie of his angels, or elect people. For it is said, that if Apollo were in a chase, he would sweat: if he had remorse to the afflicted, and could not help them, he would shed teares, which I beléeue might haue béene wiped awaie with that handkerchiefe, that wiped and dried the Rood of graces face, being in like perplexities. Euen as another sort of witching priests called Aruspices, prophesied victorie to Alexander, bicause an eagle lighted on his head: which eagle might (I beléeue) be cooped or caged with Mahomets doue, that picked peason out of his eare.

Apollos passions.

The predictions of soothsaiers and lewd priests, the prognostications of astronomers and physicians allowable, diuine prophesies holie and good.

The fourth Chapter.

THe cousening tricks of oracling priests and monkes, are and haue béene speciallie most abhominable. The superstitious obseruations of sensles augurors and soothsaiers (contrarie to philosophie, and without authoritie of scripture) are verie vngodlie and ridiculous. Howbeit, I reiect not the prognostications of astronomers, nor the coniectures or forewarnings of physicians, nor yet the interpretations of philosophers; although in respect of the diuine prophesies conteined in holie scriptures, they are not to be weighed or regarded. For the end of these and the other is not onlie farre differing; but whereas these conteine onlie the word and will of God, with the other are mingled most horrible lies and cousenages. For though there be many of them learned and godlie, yet lurke there in corners of the same profession, a great number of counterfets and couseners. I.Bodin putteth this difference betwéene diuine prophets and inchantors; to wit,

What prophesies allowable.

I.Bod. lib. de dem. lib1. cap.4.

to with, the one saith alwaies true, the others words (procéeding from the diuell) are alwaies false; or for one truth they tell a hundred lies. And then why maie not euerie witch be thought as cunning as Apollo? And why not euerie counterfet cousener as good a witch as mother Bungie? For it is ods, but they will hit the truth once in a hundred diuinations as well as the best.

The diuersitie of true prophets, of Vrim, and of the propheticall vse of the twelue precious stones conteined therein, of the diuine voice called Eccho.

The fift Chapter.

IT should appeare, that euen of holie prophets there were diuerse sorts. For Dauid and Salomon, although in their psalmes and parables are conteined most excellent mysteries, and notable allegories: yet they were not indued with that degrée of prophesie, that Elie and Elisha were, &c. For as often as it is said, that God spake to Dauid or Salomon, it is meant to be done by the prophets. For Nathan or Gad were the messengers and prophets to reueale Gods will to Dauid. And Ahiam the Silonite was sent from God to Salomon. Item, the spirit of prophesie, which Elias had, was doubled vpon Elisha. Also some prophets prophesied all their liues, some had but one vision, and some had more, according to Gods pleasure; yea some prophesied vnto the people of such things as came not to passe, and that was where Gods wrath was pacified by repentance. But these prophets were alwaies reputed among the people to be wise and godlie; whereas the heathen prophets were euermore knowne and said to be mad and foolish: as it is written both of the prophets of Sibylla, and also of Apollo; and at this daie also in the Indies, &c.

Diuerse degrees of prophesie.

1.Reg.2.

But that anie of these extraordinarie gifts remaine at this daie, Bodin, nor anie witchmonger in the world shall neuer be able to prooue: though he in his booke of diuelish madnesse would make men beléeue it. For these were miraculouslie mainteined

I.Bodin.

by

by God among the Jewes, who were instructed by them of all such things as should come to passe; or else informed by Vrim: so as the préests by the brightnes of the twelue pretious stones conteined therein, could prognosticate or expound anie thing. Which brightnes and vertue ceased (as Iosephus reporteth) two hundred yeares before he was borne. So as since that time, no answers were yelded thereby of Gods will and pleasure. Neuertheles, the Hebrues write, that there hath béene euer since that time, a diuine voice heard among them, which in Latine is called *Filia vocis*, in Gréeke ἠχώ, in English The daughter of spéech.

Ioseph. de antiquit.

Iosue filius Leui. lib. Pirkeaboth.

Of prophesies conditionall: whereof the prophesies in the old testament doo intreate, and by whom they were published; witchmongers aunswers to the obiections against witches supernaturall actions.

The sixt Chapter.

Christ and his apostles prophesied of the calamities and afflictions, which shall gréeue and disturbe the church of God in this life: also of the last daie, and of the signes and tokens that shall be shewed before that daie: and finallie of all things, which are requisite for vs to foreknowe. Howbeit, such is the mercie of God, that all prophesies, threatnings, plagues, and punishments are annexed to conditions of repentance: as on the other side, corporall blessings are tied vnder the condition of the crosse and castigation. So as by them the mysteries of our saluation being discouered vnto vs, we are not to séeke new signes and miracles; but to attend to the doctrine of the apostles, who preached Christ exhibited and crucified for our sinnes, his resurrection, ascension, and thereby the redemption of as manie as beléeue, &c.

Prophesies conditionall.

The prophesies in the old testament treat of the continuance, the gouernement, and the difference of estates: of the distinction of the foure monarchies, of their order, decaie, and instauration; of

The subiect of the prophesies of the old testament.

of the changes and ruines of the kingdomes of Iuda, Israel, Aegypt, Persia, Græcia, &c: and speciallie of the comming of our Sauiour Jesus Christ; and how he should be borne of a virgine, and where, of his tribe, passion, resurrection, &c. These prophesies were published by Gods speciall and peculiar prophets, endued with his particular and excellent gifts, according to his promise; I will raise them vp a prophet out of the midst of their brethren, I will put my words in his mouth, &c. Which though it were speciallie spoken of Christ, yet was it also spoken of those particular prophets, which were placed among them by God to declare his will; which were also figures of Christ the prophet himselfe. Now, if prophesie be an extraordinarie gift of God, and a thing peculiar to himselfe, as without whose speciall assistance no creature can be a prophet, or shew what is to come; whie should we beleeue, that those lewd persons can performe by diuinations and miracles that which is not in humane but in diuine power to accomplish?

Howbeit, when I denie that witches can ride in the aire, and the miraculous circumstance thereof: by and by it is obiected
2.Reg.2.13. vnto me, that Enoch and Elie were rapt into heauen bodilie; and that Abacucke was carried in the aire, to feed Daniel; and so falselie oppose a diuels or a witches power against the vertue of the Holy-ghost. If I deride the poets opinions, saieng, that witches cannot *Cælo deducere lunam,* fetch the moone from heauen, &c: they tell me that at Ioshuas battell the sunne staied, and at the passion of Christ there was palpable darknes. If I denie their cunning in the exposition of dreames, aduising them to remember Ieremies counsell, not to followe or credit the expositors of dreames; they hit me in the teeth with Daniel and Ioseph: for that the one of them expounded Pharao the Persian kings, the o-
Eccles.9,5. ther Nabuchadnez-zar the Aegyptian kings dreame. If I saie with Salomon, that the dead knowe nothing, and that the dead knowe vs not, neither are remoueable out of Abrahams bo-
1.Sam.28. some, &c: they produce the storie of Samuel: wherein, I saie, they set the power of a creature as high as the creator. If I saie, that these witches cannot transubstantiate themselues, nor others into beasts, &c. they cite the storie of Nabuchadnez-zar; as though indeed he were made a materiall beast, and that also by witchcraft;

craft; and strengthen that their assertion with the fables of Circe and Vlysses his companions, &c.

What were the miracles expressed in the old testament, and what are they in the new testament: and that we are not now to looke for anie more miracles.

The seuenth Chapter.

THe miracles expressed in the old testament were manie, but the end of them all was one, though they were diuers and differing in shew: as where the sacrifices of Moses, Elias, and Salomon, being abundantlie wet were burnt with fier from heauen, &c. The varietie of tongs at the building of Babylon, Isaachs birth of Sarah being by nature past children, the passage through the red sea, Daniels foretelling of the foure monarchies, in the fourth whereof he apparantlie foresheweth the comming of the Lord. All these, and manie other, which are expressed in the old testament, were mercifull instructions and notable miracles to strengthen the faith of Gods people in their Messias. If you had gone to Delphos, Apollo would haue made you beleeue with his amphibologicall answers, that he could haue foretold you all these things. Gen.11, 6. Gen.21. Dan.11.

The miracles wrought by Christ were the raising vp of the dead (which manie would impute to the woman of Endor, and also to our witches and coniurors) the restoring of the lame to lims, the blind to sight, the dumbe to speach, and finallie the healing of all diseases; which manie beleeue our witches can doo; yea, and as they themselues will take it vpon them. As for casting out of diuels (which was another kind of miracles vsuall with Christ) witches and coniurors are said to be as good thereat as euer he was: and yet, if you will beleeue Christs words, it cannot be so. For he saith; Euerie kingdome diuided against it selfe, shall be brought to naught, &c. If sathan cast out sathan, he is diuided, &c: and his kingdome shall not endure, &c. A summe of Christs miracles. Matt.12.25.

Peters

Peters chaines fell off in prison, so did Richard Gallisies fetters at Windsor: marrie the prison doores opened not to Richard, as they did to Peter. Helias by speciall grace obtained raine, our witches can make it raine, when they list, &c. But sithens Christ did these miracles, and manie more, and all to confirme his truth, and strengthen our faith, and finallie for the conuersion of the people (as appeareth in Iohn. 6. 7, and 12: in so much as he vehementlie reproued such, as vpon the sight of them would not
Luk.10,13. beléeue, saieng; Wo be to thée Chorazin, wo be to thée Bethsaida. If the miracles had béene doone in Tyre and Sidon, which haue béene doone in you, they had a great while ago repented, &c. Let vs settle and acquiet our faith in Christ, and beléeuing all his wonderous works, let vs reiect these old wiues fables, as lieng vanities: whereof you may find in the golden legend, M. Mal. and speciallie in Bodin miraculous stuffe, enough to checke all the miracles expressed in the old and new testament; which are of more credit with manie bewitched people, than the true miracles of Christ himselfe. Insomuch as they stand in more awe of the manacies of a witch, than of all the threatnings and cursses pronounced by God, and expressed in his word. And thus much touching the word *Kasam.*

¶ *The tenth Booke.*

The interpretation of this Hebrue word Onen, of the vanitie of dreames, and diuinations therevpon.

The first Chapter.

ONEN differeth not much from *Kasam*, but that it is extended to the interpretation of dreames. And as for dreames, whatsoeuer credit is attributed vnto them, procéedeth of follie: and they are fooles that trust in them, for whie they haue deceiued many. In which respect the Prophet giueth vs good warning, not to followe nor hearken to the expositors of dreames, for they come through the multitude of busines. And therefore those witches, that make men beléeue they can prophesie vpon dreames, as knowing the interpretation of them, and either for monie or glorie abuse men & women therby, are méere coseners, and worthie of great punishment: as are such witchmongers, as beléeuing them, attribute vnto them such diuine power as onelie belongeth to God: as appéereth in Ieremie the Prophet.

Ecclus.24.

Ierem.27. Eccle.5.

Ierem.23. 25.26.27. Read the words.

Of diuine, naturall, and casuall dreames, with their differing causes and effects.

The second Chapter.

Macrobius recounteth fiue differences of images, or rather imaginations exhibited vnto them that sleepe, which for the most part doo signifie somewhat in admonition. There be also many subdiuisions made hereof, which I thinke needlesse to reherse. In Iasper Peucer they are to be seene, with the causes and occasions of dreames. There were wont to be deliuered from God himselfe or his angels, certeine dreames and visions vnto the prophets and holie fathers: according to the saieng of Ioel; I will powre my spirit vpon all flesh, your yong men shall dreame dreames, and your old men shall see visions. These kind of dreames (I say) were the admonishments and forewarnings of God to his people: as that of Ioseph, to abide with Marie his wife, after she was conceiued by the Holie-ghost, as also to conueie our Sauiour Christ into Aegypt, &c: the interpretation whereof are the peculiar gifts of God, which Ioseph the patriarch, and Daniel the prophet had most speciallie.

Peucer in diuinat. ex somnijs.

Ioel. 2.

Matth. 1. 20.

Matth. 2, 13.

Gen. 39. & 40. & 41. Dani. 2.

As for physicall coniectures vpon dreames, the scriptures improue them not: for by them the physicians manie times doo vnderstand the state of their patients bodies. For some of them come by meanes of choler, flegme, melancholie, or bloud; and some by loue, surfet, hunger, thirst, &c. Gallen and Boetius were said to deale with diuels, bicause they told so iustlie their patients dreames, or rather by their dreames their speciall diseases. Howbeit, physicall dreames are naturall, and the cause of them dwelleth in the nature of man. For they are the inward actions of the mind in the spirits of the braine, whilest the bodie is occupied with sleepe: for as touching the mind it selfe, it neuer sleepeth. These dreames varie, according to the difference of humors and vapors. There are also casuall dreames, which (as Salomon saith) come

Eccles. 5.

come through the multitude of businesse. For as a looking glasse sheweth the image or figure thereunto opposite: so in dreames, the phantasie & imagination informes the understanding of such things as haunt the outward sense. Whereupon the poet saith:

Somnia ne cures, nam mens humana quod optat,
Dum vigilat sperans, per somnum cernit id ipsum:

Regard no dreames, for why the mind
Of that in sleepe a view dooth take,
Which it dooth wish and hope to find,
At such time as it is awake.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

The opinion of diuers old writers touching dreames, and how they varie in noting the causes thereof.

The third Chapter.

A dissonancie in opinions about dreames.

SYnesius, Themistius, Democritus, and others grounding themselues upon examples that chance hath sometimes verified, persuade men, that nothing is dreamed in vaine: affirming that the heuenlie influencies doo bring foorth diuers formes in corporall matters; and of the same influencies, visions and dreames are printed in the fantasticall power, which is instrumentall, with a celestiall disposition méete to bring foorth some effect, especiallie in sléepe, when the mind (being frée from bodilie cares) may more liberallie receiue the heauenlie influencies, wherby many things are knowne to them sleeping in dreames, which they that wake cannot sée. Plato attributeth them to the formes and ingendred knowledges of the soule; Auicen to the last intelligence that moueth the moone, through the light that lighteneth the fantasie in sléepe; Aristotle to the phantasticall sense; Auerroës to the imaginatiue; Albert to the influence of superior bodies.

Against interpretors of dreames, of the ordinarie cause of dreames, Hemingius his opinion of diabolicall dreames, the interpretation of dreames ceased.

The fourth Chapter.

There are bookes carried about concerning this matter, vnder the name of Abraham, who (as Philo *In lib. gigantum* saith) was the first inuentor of the expositi- on of dreames: and so likewise of Salo- mon and Daniel. But Cicero *In lib. de diuinatione* confuteth the vanitie and follie of them that giue credit to dreames. And as for the interpretors of dreames, as they knowe not before the dreame, nor yet after, any certeintie; yet when any thing af- terwards happeneth, then they applie the dreame to that which hath chanced.

Certeinlie men neuer lightlie faile to dreame by night, of that which they meditate by daie: and by daie they sée diuers and sun- drie things, and conceiue them seuerallie in their minds. Then those mixed conceits being laid vp in the closset of the memorie, striue togither; which, bicause the phantasie cannot discerne nor discusse, some certeine thing gathered of manie conceits is bred and contriued in one togither. And therefore in mine opinion, it is time vainelie emploied, to studie about the interpretation of dreames. He that list to sée the follie and vanitie thereof, maie read a vaine treatise, set out by Thomas Hill Londoner, 1568.

The pleasant art of the interpretation of dreames.

Lastlie, there are diabolicall dreames, which Nicholaus He- mingius divideth into thrée sortes. The first is, when the diuell im- mediatlie of himselfe (he meaneth corporallie) offereth anie matter of dreame. Secondlie, when the diuell sheweth reuelati- ons to them that haue made request vnto him therefore. Third- lie, when magicians by art bring to passe, that other men dreame what they will. Assuredlie these, and so all the rest (as they maie be vsed) are verie magicall and diuelish dreames. For although we maie receiue comfort of mind by those, which are called diuine

N. Hemin. in admonitio- nib. de super- stitionib. ma- gicis vitãdis.

dreames,

dreames, and health of bodie through physicall dreames: yet if we take vpon vs to vse the office of God in the reuelation or rather the interpretation of them; or if we attribute vnto them miraculous effects (now when we sée the gifts of prophesie, and of interpretation of dreames, and also the operation of miracles are ceased, which were speciall and peculiar gifts of God, to confirme the truth of the word, and to establish his people in the faith of the Messias, who is now exhibited vnto vs both in the testament, and also in the bloud of our Sauiour Jesus Christ) we are bewitched, and both abuse and offend the maiestie of God, and also seduce, delude and cousen all such as by our persuasion, and their owne light beléefe, giue vs credit.

The end & vse of prophesie, interpretatiõ of dreames, operation of miracles, &c.

That neither witches, nor anie other, can either by words or hearbs, thrust into the mind of a sleeping man, what cogitations or dreames they list; and whence magicall dreames come.

The fift Chapter.

I Grant there maie be hearbs and stones found and knowne to the physicians, which maie procure dreames; and other hearbs and stones, &c: to make one bewraie all the secrets of his mind, when his bodie sléepeth, or at least wise to procure spéech in sléepe. But that witches or magicians haue power by words, herbs, or imprecations to thrust into the mind or conscience of man, what it shall please them, by vertue of their charmes, hearbs, stones, or familiars, &c: according to the opinion of Hemingius, I denie: though therewithall I confesse, that the diuell both by daie and also by night, trauelleth to seduce man, and to lead him from God; yea and that no waie more than this, where he placeth himselfe as God in the minds of them that are so credulous, to attribute vnto him, or vnto witches, that which is onlie in the office, nature, and power of God to accomplish.

Seeke for such stuffe in my booke of Hartumim.

Doth not Daniel the prophet saie, euen in this case; It is the

Dan. 2.

Lord onelie that knoweth such secrets, as in the exposition of dreames is required? And doth not Ioseph repeat those verie words to Pharaos officers, who consulted with him therein? Examples of diuine dreames you maie find a great number in the scripture, such (I meane) as it pleased God to reueale his pleasure by. Of physicall dreames we maie both read in authors, and sée in our owne experience dailie, or rather nightly. Such dreams also as are casuall, they are likewise vsuall, and come (as hath béene said) through the multitude of affaires and businesse. Those which in these daies are called magicall or diabolicall dreames, maie rather be called melancholicall. For out of that blacke vapor in sléepe, through dreames, appeareth (as Aristotle saith) some horrible thing; and as it were the image of an ouglie diuell: sometimes also other terrible visions, imaginations, counsels, and practises. As where we read of a certeine man, that dreamed there appeared one vnto him that required him to throwe himselfe into a déepe pit, and that he should reape great benefit thereby at Gods hands. So as the miserable wretch giuing credit thereunto, performed the matter, and killed himselfe. Now I confesse, that the interpretation or execution of that dreame was indéed diabolicall: but the dreame was casuall, deriued from the heauie and blacke humor of melancholie.

Gen.11,8. Gen.37,& 11. Isai.11. Dan.2.

Aristot. de somnio.

How men haue beene bewitched, cousened or abused by dreames to dig and search for monie.

The sixt Chapter.

How manie haue béene bewitched with dreames, and thereby made to consume themselues with digging and searching for monie, &c: whereof they, or some other haue drempt? I my selfe could manifest, as hauing knowne how wise men haue béene that waie abused by verie simple persons, euen where no dreame hath béene met withall, but waking dreames. And this hath béene vsed heretofore, as one of the finest cousening feates; in so much as

Such would be imbarked in the ship of fooles.

as there is a verie formall art thereof deuised, with manie excellent superstitions and ceremonies thereunto belonging, which I will set downe as breeflie as maie be. Albeit that here in England, this prouerbe hath beene current; to wit, Dreames proue contrarie: according to the answer of the priests boy to his maister, who told his said boy that he drempt he kissed his taile: Yea maister (saith he) but dreames proue contrarie, you must kisse mine. An english prouerbe.

The art and order to be vsed in digging for monie, reuealed by dreames, how to procure pleasant dreames, of morning and midnight dreames.

The seuenth Chapter.

There must be made vpon a hazell wand three crosses, and certeine words both blasphemous and impious must be said ouer it, and hereunto must be added certeine characters, & barbarous names. And whilest the treasure is a digging, there must be read the psalmes, *De profundis, Missa, Misereatur nostri, Requiem, Pater noster, Aue Maria, Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos à malo, Amen. A porta inferi credo videre bona, &c. Expectate Dominum, Requiem æternam.* And then a certeine praier. And if the time of digging be neglected, the diuell will carie all the treasure awaie. See other more absolute coniurations for this purpose, in the word Iidoni following. Note this superstitious dotage.

You shall find in Iohannes Baptista Neapolitanus, diuerse receipts by hearbes and potions, to procure pleasant or fearefull dreames; and perfumes also to that effect: who affirmeth, that dreames in the dead of the night are commonlie preposterous and monstrous; and in the morning when the grosse humors be spent, there happen more pleasant and certeine dreames, the bloud being more pure than at other times: the reason whereof is there expressed. *I. Bap. Neap. in natural. mag. lib. 2. cap. 26. fol. 83. & 84.*

Sundrie receipts and ointments, made and vsed for the transportation of witches, and other miraculous effects: an instance therof reported and credited by some that are learned.

The eight Chapter.

IT shall not be amisse here in this place to repeate an ointment greatlie to this purpose, rehearsed by the foresaid Iohn Bapt. Neap. wherein although he maie be ouertaken and cousened by an old witch, and made not onelie to beléeue, but also to report a false tale; yet bicause it greatlie ouerthroweth the opinion of M.Mal. Bodin, and such other, as write so absolutelie in maintenance of witches transportations, I will set downe his words in this behalfe. The receipt is as followeth.

Confections or receipts for the miraculous transportation of witches.

R. The fat of yong children, and séeth it with water in a brasen vessell, reseruing the thickest of that which remaineth boiled in the bottome, which they laie vp and kéepe, untill occasion serueth to vse it. They put herevnto *Eleoselinum, Aconitum, Frondes populeas*, and Soote.

Another receipt to the same purpose.

R. *Sium, acarum vulgare, pentaphyllon*, the bloud of a flitter-mouse, *solanum somniferum, & oleum*. They stampe all these togither, and then they rubbe all parts of their bodies excéedinglie, till they looke red, and be verie hot, so as the pores may be opened, and their flesh soluble and loose. They ioine herewithall either fat, or oile in stéed thereof, that the force of the ointment maie the rather pearse inwardly, and so be more effectuall. By this means (saith he) in a moone light night they séeme to be carried in the aire, to feasting, singing, dansing, kissing, culling, and other acts of venerie, with such youthes as they loue and desire most: for the force (saith he) of their imagination is so vehement, that almost all that part of the braine, wherein the memorie consisteth, is full of such conceipts. And whereas they are naturallie prone

to beléeue anie thing; so do they receiue such impressions and stedfast imaginations into their minds, as euen their spirits are altered thereby; not thinking vpon anie thing else, either by daie or by night. And this helpeth them forward in their imaginations, that their vsuall food is none other commonlie but béets, rootes, nuts, beanes, peaze, &c.

Now (saith he) when I considered throughlie hereof, remaining doubtfull of the matter, there fell into my hands a witch, who of hir owne accord did promise me to fetch me an errand out of hand from farre countries, and willed all them, whome I had brought to witnesse the matter, to depart out of the chamber. And when she had vndressed hir selfe, and froted hir bodie with certeine ointments (which action we beheld through a chinke or little hole of the doore) she fell downe thorough the force of those soporiferous or sléepie ointments into a most sound and heauie sléepe: so as we did breake open the doore, and did beate hir excéedinglie; but the force of hir sléepe was such, as it tooke awaie from hir the sense of féeling: and we departed for a time. Now when hir strength and powers were wearie and decaied, shée awooke of hir owne accord, and began to speake manie vaine and doting words, affirming that she had passed ouer both seas and mountaines; deliuering to vs manie vntrue and false reports: we earnestlie denied them, she impudentlie affirmed them. This (saith he) will not so come to passe with euerie one, but onlie with old women that are melancholike, whose nature is extreame cold, and their euaporation small; and they both perceiue and remember what they sée in that case and taking of theirs.

Vetulæ, quas à strigis similitudine, striges vocant, quæ q; noctu puerulorum sanguinem in cunis cubantium exsorbent.

A confutation of the former follies, as well concerning ointments, dreames, &c. as also of the assemblie of witches, and of their consultations and bankets at sundrie places, and all in dreames.

The ninth Chapter.

But if it be true that S. Augustine saith, and manie other writers, that witches nightwalkings are but phantasies and dreames: then all the reportes of their bargaine, transporting, and méetings

tings with Diana, Minerua, &c: are but fables; and then do they lie that mainteine those actions to be doone in déed and veritie, which in truth are doone no waie. It were maruell on the one side (if those things happened in dreames, which neuerthelesse the witches affirme to be otherwise) that when those witches awake, they neither consider nor remember that they were in a dreame. It were maruell that their ointments, by the physicians opinions hauing no force at all to that effect, as they confesse which are inquisitors, should haue such operation. It were maruell that their ointments cannot be found anie where, sauing onelie in the inquisitors bookes. It were maruell, that when a stranger is annointed therewith, they haue sometimes, and yet not alwaies, the like operation as with witches; which all the inquisitors confesse.

Barthol. Spineus, q. de strigib.c.31.

But to this last, frier Bartholomæus saith, that the witches themselues, before they annoint themselues, do heare in the night time a great noise of minstrels, which flie ouer them, with the ladie of the fairies, and then they addresse themselues to their iournie. But then I maruell againe, that no bodie else heareth nor séeth this trope of minstrels, especiallie riding in a moone light night. It is maruell, that they that thinke this to be but in a dreame, can be persuaded that all the rest is anie other than dreames. It is maruell that in dreames, witches of old acquaintance méet so iust togither, and conclude vpon murthers, and receiue ointments, roots, powders, &c: (as witchmongers report they doo, and as they make the witches confesse) and yet lie at home fast asléepe. It is maruell that such preparation is made for them (as Sprenger, Bartholomew, and Bodin report) as well in noble mens houses, as in alehouses; and that they come in dreames, and eate vp their meate: and the alewife speciallie is not wearied with them for non paiment of their score, or false paiment; to wit, with imaginarie monie, which they saie is not substantiall, and that they talke not afterwards about the reckoning, and so discouer the matter. And it is most maruell of all, that the hostesse, &c: dooth not sit among them, and take part of their good chéere. For so it is, that if any part of these their méetings and league be true, it is as true and as certeinlie prooued and confessed, that at some alehouse, or sometime at some Gentlemans

Bar. Spin. qu. de strigib.c. 30.

New matter & worthie to be maruelled at.

tlemans house, there is continuall preparation made monethlie for this assemblie: as appéereth in S. Germans storie. *Legend. aur. in vita S. Germani.*

That most part of prophesies in the old testament were reuealed in dreames, that we are not now to looke for such reuelations, of some who haue drempt of that which hath come to passe, that dreames prooue contrarie, Nabuchadnez-zars rule to knowe a true expositor of dreames.

The tenth Chapter.

IT is held and mainteined by diuers, and gathered out of the 12. of Numbers, that all which was written or spoken by the prophets, among the children of Israel (Moses excepted) was propounded to them by dreames. And indéed it is manifest, that manie things, which are thought by the vnlearned to haue béene [redacted] realie finished, haue béene onlie performed by dreams and visions. As where Salomon required of God the gift of wisdome: that was (I say) in a dreame; and also where he receiued promise of the continuance of the kingdome of Israel in his line. So was Esais vision in the 6. of his prophesie: as also that of Ezechiel the 12. Finallie, where Ieremie was commanded to hide his girdle in the clift of a rocke at the riuer Euphrates in Babylon; and that after certeine daies, it did there putrifie, it must néeds be in a dreame; for Ieremie was neuer (or at least wise not then) at Babylon. We that are christians must not now slumber and dreame, but watch and praie, and meditate vpon our saluation in Christ both daie and night. And if we expect reuelations in our dreames, now, when Christ is come, we shall deceiue our selues: for in him are fulfilled all dreames and prophesies. Howbeit, Bodin holdeth that dreames and visions continue till this daie, in as miraculous maner as euer they did.

1.Re.3,5.15. 1.Reg.9. Isai.6. Ezech.12. Ierem.13. *I. Bodin. lib. de dæmon. 1. cap. 5.*

If you read Artemidorus, you shall read manie stories of such as drempt of things that afterwards cam to passe. But he might haue cited a thousand for one that fell out contrarie: for as for such

such dreamers among the Iews themselues, as had not extraordinarie visions miraculouslie exhibited vnto them by God, they were counted couseners, as may appéere by these words of the prophet Zacharie; Surelie the idols haue spoken vanitie, and the
Zach.10,2. sothsaiers haue séene a lie, and the dreamers haue told a vaine
Eccles.5,6. thing. According to Salomons saieng; In the multitude of
Ierem.23. dreames and vanities are manie words. It appéereth in Ieremie 23. that the false prophets, whilest they illuded the people with lies, counterfetting the true prophets, vsed to crie out; Dreames, dreames; We haue dreamed a dreame, &c. Finallie, Nabuchadnez-zar teacheth all men to knowe a true expositor of dreames; to wit, such a one as hath his reuelation from
Daniel.2. GOD. For he can (as Daniel did) repeate your dreame before you discouer it: which thing if anie expounder of dreames can do at this daie, I will beléeue him.

¶ *The*

The eleuenth booke.

The Hebrue word Nahas expounded, of the art of augurie, who inuented it, how slouenlie a science it is: the multitude of sacrifices and sacrificers of the heathen, and the causes therof.

The first Chapter.

NAhas, is To obserue the flieng of birds, & comprehendeth all such other obseruations, where men do ghesse vpon vncerteine toies. It is found in Deut. 18. and in 2. Chron. 33. and else-where. Of this art of augurie Tyresias the king of the Thebans is said to be the first inuentor: but Tages first published the discipline thereof, being but a little boie; as Cicero reporteth out of the bookes of the Hetruscans themselues. Some points of this art are more high and profound than some others, and yet are they more homelie and slouenlie than the rest; as namelie, the diuination vpon the entrailes of beasts, which the Gentiles in their sacrifices speciallie obserued. Insomuch as Marcus Varro, séeing the absurditie thereof, said that these gods were not onlie idle, but verie slouens, that vsed so to hide their secrets and counsels in the guts and bowels of beasts.

The slouenlie art of augurie.

How vainlie, absurdlie, and superstitiouslie the heathen vsed this kind of diuination in their sacrifices, is manifested by their actions & ceremonies in that behalfe practised, as well in times past, as at this houre. The Aegyptians had *666*. seuerall sorts and kinds of sacrifices; the Romans had almost as manie; the Græcians

cians had not so few as they; the Persians and the Medes were not behind them; the Indies and other nations haue at this instant their sacrifices full of varietie, and more full of barbarous impietie. For in sundrie places, these offer sacrifices to the diuell, hoping thereby to moue him to lenitie: yea, these commonlie sacrifice such of their enimies, as they haue taken in warre: as we read that the Gentiles in ancient time did offer sacrifice, to appease the wrath and indignation of their feigned gods.

Of the Iewes sacrifice to Moloch, a discourse thereupon, and of Purgatorie.

The second Chapter.

2.Re.23,10 2.Chr.33. Ierem.7.

THe Iewes vsed one kind of diabolicall sacrifice, neuer taught them by Moses, namelie, to offer their children to Moloch, making their sonnes and their daughters to runne through the fire; supposing such grace and efficacie to haue béene in that action, as other witches affirme to be in charmes and words. And therfore among

Deut.18,10 Leui.18,21. Id.cap.20.2.

other points of witchcraft, this is speciallie and namelie forbidden by Moses. We read of no more miracles wrought hereby, than by any other kind of witchcraft in the old or new testament expressed. It was no ceremonie appointed by God, no figure of Christ: perhaps it might be a sacrament or rather a figure of purgatorie, the which place was not remembred by Moses. Neither was there anie sacrifice appointed by the lawe for the reléefe of the Israelites soules that there should be tormented. Which without all doubt should not haue béene omitted, if any such place of purgatorie had béene then, as the Pope hath latelie deuised for his priuate and speciall lucre. This sacrificing to Moloch (as some affirme) was vsuall among the Gentiles, from whence the Iewes brought it into Israel: and there (of likeliehood) the Antichists learned the abhomination in that behalfe.

An inuincible argument against purgatorie.

The

The Canibals crueltie, of popish sacrifices exceeding in tyrannie the Iewes or Gentiles.

The third Chapter.

THe inciuilitie and cruell sacrifices of popish preests do yet exceed both the Iew and the Gentile: for these take vpon them to sacrifice Christ himselfe. And to make their tyrannie the more apparent, they are not contented to haue killed him once, but dailie and hourelie torment him with new deaths; yea they are not ashamed to sweare, that with their carnall hands they teare his humane substance, breaking it into small gobbets; and with their externall teeth chew his flesh and bones, contrarie to diuine or humane nature; and contrarie to the prophesie, which saith; There shall not a bone of him be broken. Finallie, in the end of their sacrifice (as they say) they eate him vp rawe, and swallow downe into their guts euerie member and parcell of him: and last of all, that they conueie him into the place where they bestowe the residue of all that which they haue deuoured that daie. And this same barbarous impietie exceedeth the crueltie of all others: for all the Gentiles consumed their sacrifices with fier, which they thought to be holie.

Against the papists abhominable and blasphemous sacrifice of the masse.

Psal.34,20.

The superstition of the heathen about the element of fier, and how it grew in such reuerence among them, of their corruptions, and that they had some inkling of the godlie fathers dooings in that behalfe.

The fourth Chapter.

AS touching the element of fier, & the superstition thereof about those businesses, you shall vnderstand, that manie superstitious people and nations haue receiued, reuerenced, & reserued fier, as the most holy thing among their sacrifices: insomuch (I saie) as they haue worshipped it among

[redacted] among their gods, calling it Orimasda (to wit) holie fier, and diuine light. The Greekes called it ἑστίαν, the Romans *Vesta*, which is, The fier of the Lord. Surelie they had heard of the fier that came downe from heauen, and consumed the oblations of the fathers; and they vnderstood it to be God himselfe. For there came to the heathen, the bare names of things, from the doctrine of the godlie fathers and patriarchs, and those so obscured with fables, and corrupted with lies, so ouerwhelmed with superstitions, and disguised with ceremonies, that it is hard to iudge from whence they came. Some cause thereof (I suppose) was partlie the translations of gouernements, whereby one nation learned follie of another; and partlie blind deuotion, without knowledge of Gods word: but speciallie the want of grace, which they sought not for, according to Gods commandement and will. And that the Gentiles had some inkling of the godlie fathers doings, may diuerslie appeare. Do not the Muscouits and * Indian prophets at this daie, like apes, imitate Esaie? Bicause he went naked certeine yeares, they forsooth counterfet madnes, and drinke potions for that purpose; thinking that whatsoeuer they saie in their madnes, will certeinelie come to passe. But hereof is more largelie discoursed before in the word *Kasam*.

*The Gymnosophists of India their apish imitation of Esaie.

Of the Romane sacrifices: of the estimation they had of auguric, of the lawe of the twelue tables.

The fift Chapter.

THe Romans, euen after they were growne to great ciuilitie, and enioied a most flourishing state and commonwealth, would sometimes sacrifice themselues, sometimes their children, sometimes their friends, &c: consuming the same with fier, which they thought holie. Such estimation (I saie) was attributed to this art of diuination vpon the entrails of beasts, &c: at Rome, as the cheefe princes themselues exercised the same; namelie,

Romulus,

Romulus, Fabius Maximus, &c: in so much as there was a decree made there, by the whole senate, that six of the chéefe magistrats sonnes should from time to time be put forth, to learne the mysterie of these arts of augurie and diuination, at Hetruria, where the cunning and knowledge thereof most abounded. When they came home well informed and instructed in this art, their estimation and dignitie was such, as they were accounted, reputed, and taken to be the interpretors of the gods, or rather betwéene the gods and them. No high préest, nor anie other great officer was elected, but these did either absolutelie nominate them, or else did exhibit the names of two, whereof the senate must choose the one.

In their ancient lawes were written these words: *Prodigia & portenta ad Hetruscos aruspices (si senatus iusserit) deferunto, Hetruriæq; principes disciplinam discunto. Quibus diuis decreuerunt, procuranto, ijsdem fulgura & ostenta pianto, auspicia seruanto, auguri parento:* the effect of which words is this; Let all prodigious and portentous matters be carried to the sothsaiers of Hetruria, at the will and commandement of the senat; and let the yoong princes be sent to Hetruria, there to learne that discipline, or to be instructed in that art and knowledge. Let there be alwaies some solicitor, to learne with what gods they haue decréed or determined their matters, and let sacrifices be made vnto them in times of lightening, or at anie strange or supernaturall shew. Let all such coniecturing tokens be obserued; whatsoeuer the sothsaier commandeth, let it be religiouslie obeied. The lawe of the twelue tables.

Colleges of augurors, their office, their number, the signification of augurie, that the practisers of that art were couseners, their profession, their places of exercise, their apparrell, their superstition.

The sixt Chapter.

Romulus erected thrée colleges or centuries of those kinds of sothsaiers, which onelie (and none other) should haue authoritie to expound the minds and admonishments of the gods. Afterwards that

number was augmented to fiue, and after that to nine: for they must néeds be od. In the end, they increased so fast, that they were feine to make a decrée for staie from the further procéeding in those erections: like to our statute of *Mortmaine*. Howbeit, Silla (contrarie to all orders and constitutions before made) increased that number to foure and twentie.

Magna charta. Hen. 3.36.7. Ed. 1. 15. Ri. 2.5.

And though *Augurium* be most properlie that diuination, which is gathered by birds; yet bicause this word *Nahas* comprehendeth all other kinds of diuination, as *Extispicium, aruspicium, &c:* which is as well the ghessing vpon the entrailes of beasts, as diuers other waies: omitting physiognomie and palmestrie, and such like, for the tediousnes and follie thereof; I will speake a little of such arts, as were aboue measure regarded of our elders: neither mind I to discouer the whole circumstance, but to refute the vanitie thereof, and speciallie of the professors of them, which are and alwaies haue béene cousening arts, and in them conteined both speciall and seuerall kinds of witchcrafts. For the maisters of these faculties haue euer taken vpon them to occupie the place and name of God; blasphemouslie ascribing vnto themselues his omnipotent power, to foretell, &c: whereas, in truth, they could or can doo nothing, but make a shew of that which is not.

A manifest discouerie of augurors cousenage.

One matter, to bewraie their cousening, is; that they could neuer worke nor foreshew anie thing to the poore or inferior sort of people: for portentous shewes (saie they) alwaies concerned great estates. Such matters as touched the baser sort, were inferior causes; which the superstition of the people themselues would not neglect to learne. Howbeit, the professors of this art descended not so lowe, as to communicate with them: for they were préests (which in all ages and nations haue béene iollie fellowes) whose office was, to tell what should come to passe, either touching good lucke, or bad fortune; to expound the minds, admonitions, warnings and threatnings of the gods, to foreshew calamities, &c: which might be (by their sacrifices and common contrition) remooued and qualified. And before their entrance into that action, they had manie obseruations, which they executed verie superstitiouslie; pretending that euerie bird and beast, &c, should be sent from the gods as foreshewes of somewhat. And there-

therefore first they vsed to choose a cleare daie, and faire wether to doo their busines in: for the which their place was certeinelie assigned, as well in Rome as in Hetruria, wherein they obserued euerie quarter of the element, which waie to looke, and which way to stand, &c. Their apparell was verie preestlike, of fashion altered from all others, speciallie at the time of their praiers, wherein they might not omit a word nor a syllable: in respect whereof one read the seruice, and all the residue repeated it after him, in the maner of a procession.

The times and seasons to exercise augurie, the maner and order thereof, of the ceremonies therevnto belonging.

The seuenth Chapter.

NO lesse regard was there had of the times of their practise in that ministerie: for they must beginne at midnight, and end at noone, not travelling therein in the decaie of the day, but in the increase of the same; neither in the sixt or seuenth houre of the daie, nor yet after the moneth of August; bicause then yong birds flie about, and are diseased, and vnperfect, mounting their fethers, and flieng out of the countrie: so as no certeine ghesse is to be made of the gods purposes by them at those seasons. But in their due times they standing with a bowed wand in their hand, their face toward the east, &c: in the top of an high tower, the weather being cleare, watch for birds, noting from whence they came, and whether they flie, and in what sort they wag their wings, &c.

Note the superstitious ceremonies of augurors.

Vpon what signes and tokens augurors did prognosticate, obseruations touching the inward and outward parts of beasts, with notes of beasts behauiour in the slaughterhouse.

The eight Chapter.

These kind of witches, whom we haue now in hand, did also prognosticate good or bad lucke, according to the soundnes or imperfection of the entrailes of beasts; or according to the superfluities or infirmities of nature; or according to the abundance of humors vnnecessarie, appearing in the inward parts and bowels of the beasts sacrificed. For as touching the outward parts, it was alwaies prouided and foreséene, that they should be without blemish. And yet there were manie tokens and notes to be taken of the externall actions of those beasts, at the time of sacrifice: as if they would not quietlie be brought to the place of execution, but must be forceablie haled; or if they brake lose; or if by hap, cunning, or strength they withstood the first blowe; or if after the butchers blowe, they leaped vp, rored, stood fast; or being fallen, kicked, or would not quietlie die, or bled not well; or if anie ill newes had béene heard, or anie ill sight séene at the time of slaughter or sacrifice: which were all significations of ill lucke and vnhappie successe. On the other side, if the slaughterman performed his office well, so as the beast had béene well chosen, not infected, but whole and sound, and in the end faire killed; all had béene safe: for then the gods smiled.

Obseruations in the art augurificall.

A confutation of augurie, Plato his reuerend opinion thereof, of contrarie euents, and false predictions.

The ninth Chapter.

But what credit is to be attributed to such toies and chances, which grow not of nature, but are gathered by the superstition of the interpretors? As for birds, who is so ignorant that conceiueth not, that one

one flieth one waie, another another waie, about their priuat necessities? And yet are the other diuinations more vaine and foolish. Howbeit, Plato thinketh a commonwealth cannot stand without this art, and numbereth it among the liberall sciences. These fellowes promised Pompeie, Cassius, and Cæsar, that none of them should die before they were old, and that in their owne houses, and in great honor; and yet they all died cleane contrarilie. Howbeit doubtles, the heathen in this point were not so much to be blamed, as the sacrificing papists: for they were directed herevnto without the knowledge of Gods promises; neither knew they the end why such ceremonies and sacrifices were instituted; but onelie vnderstood by an vncerteine and slender report, that God was wont to send good or ill successe to the children of Israell, and to the old patriarchs and fathers, vpon his acceptance or disallowance of their sacrifices and oblations. But men in all ages haue béene so desirous to know the effect of their purposes, the sequele of things to come, and to sée the end of their feare and hope; that a séelie witch, which hath learned anie thing in the art of cousenage, may make a great manie iollie fooles.

Plato in Phędro, in Timeo, in lib. de Republ.

Wherein the papists are more blame worthie than the heathen.

The cousening art of sortilege or lotarie, practised especiallie by Aegyptian vagabonds, of allowed lots, of Pythagoras his lot, &c.

The tenth Chapter.

The counterfeit Aegyptians, which were indéed cousening vagabonds, practising the art called *Sortilegium*, had no small credit among the multitude: howbeit, their diuinations were as was their fast and loose, and as the witches cures and hurtes, & as the soothsaiers answers, and as the coniurors raisings vp of spirits, and as Apollos or the Rood of graces oracles, and as the ingglers knacks of legierdemaine, and as the papists exorcismes, and as the witches charmes, and as the counterfeit visions, and as the couseners knaueries. Herevpon it was said; *Non inueniatur*

Sortilege or lotshare.

niatur inter vos menahas, that is, *Sortilegus*, which were like to these Aegyptian couseners. As for other lots, they were vsed, and that lawfullie; as appeareth by Ionas and others that were holie men, and as may be séene among all commonwelths, for the deciding of diuerse controuersies, &c: wherein thy nieghbour is not misvsed, nor God anie waie offended. But in truth I thinke, bicause of the cousenage that so easilie may be vsed herein, God forbad it in the commonwealth of the Iewes, though in the good vse thereof it was allowed in matters of great weight; as appeareth both in the old and new testament; and that as well in doubtfull cases and distributions, as in elections and inheritances, and pacification of variances. I omit to speake anie thing of the lots comprised in verses, concerning the lucke ensuing, either of Virgil, Homer, or anie other, wherein fortune is gathered by the sudden turning vnto them: bicause it is a childish and ridiculous toie, and like vnto childrens plaie at *Primus secundus*, or the game called The philosophers table: but herein I will referre you to the bable it selfe, or else to Bodin, or to some such sober writer thereupon; of whome there is no want.

Leuit.16. Num.33. & 36. Iosu.14. 1.Chron.24 & 26. Prouer.18. Ionas.1. Acts.1.

There is a lot also called Pythagoras lot, which (some saie) Aristotle beléeued: and that is, where the characters of letters haue certeine proper numbers; whereby they diuine (through the proper names of men) so as the numbers of each letters being gathered in a summe, and put togither, giue victorie to them whose summe is the greater; whether the question be of warre, life, matrimonie, victorie, &c: euen as the vnequall number of vowels in proper names portendeth lacke of sight, halting, &c: which the godfathers and godmothers might easilie preuent, if the case stood so.

Of Pythagoras lot.

Of the Cabalisticall art, consisting of traditions and vnwritten verities learned without booke, and of the diuision thereof.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Here is place also for the Cabalisticall art, consisting of vnwritten verities, which the Iewes doo beléeue and brag that God himselfe gaue to Moses in the mount Sinai; and afterwards was taught

onelie with liuelie voice, by degrées of succession, without writing, vntill the time of Esdras: euen as the scholers of Archippus did vse wit and memorie in stéed of bookes. They diuide this in twaine; the one expoundeth with philosophicall reason the secrets of the lawe and the bible, wherein (they saie) that Salomon was verie cunning; bicause it is written in the Hebrew stories, that he disputed from the Cedar of Libanus, euen to the Hisop, and also of birds, beasts, &c. The other is as it were a symbolicall diuinitie of the highest contemplation, of the diuine and angelike vertues, of holie names and signes; wherein the letters, numbers, figures, things and armes, the prickes ouer the letters, the lines, the points, and the accents doo all signifie verie profound things and great secrets. By these arts the Atheists suppose Moses wrote all his miracles, and that hereby they haue power ouer angels and diuels, as also to doo miracles: yea and that hereby all the miracles that either anie of the prophets, or Christ himselfe wrought, were accomplished.

The art Cabalisticall diuided.

But C. Agrippa hauing searched to the bottome of this art, saith it is nothing but superstition and follie. Otherwise you maie be sure Christ would not haue hidden it from his church. For this cause the Iewes were so skilfull in the names of God. But there is none other name in heauen or earth, in which we might be saued, but Iesus: neither is that meant by his bare name, but by his vertue and goodnes towards vs. These Cabalists doo further brag, that they are able hereby, not onelie to find out and know the vnspeakeable mysteries of God; but also the secrets which are aboue scripture; whereby also they take vpon them to prophesie, and to worke miracles: yea hereby they can make what they list to be scripture; as Valeria Proba did picke certeine verses out of Virgil alluding them to Christ. And therefore these their reuolutions are nothing but allegoricall games, which idle men busied in letters, points, and numbers (which the Hebrew toong easilie suffereth) deuise, to delude and cousen the simple and ignorant. And this they call Alphabetarie or Arythmanticall diuinitie, which Christ shewed to his apostles onelie, and which Paule saith he speaketh but among perfect men; and being high mysteries are not to be committed vnto writing, and so made popular. There is no man that readeth anie thing of

C. Agrippa lib. de vanit. scient.

The blasphemie of the Cabalists.

this Cabalisticall art, but must néeds think vpon the popes cunning practises in this behalfe, who hath *In scrinio pectoris*, not onelie the exposition of all lawes, both diuine and humane, but also authoritie to adde therevnto, or to drawe backe therefrom at his pleasure: and this may he lawfullie doo euen with the scriptures, either by addition or substraction, after his owne pontificall liking. As for example: he hath added the Apocrypha (wherevnto he might as well haue ioined S. Augustines works, or the course of the ciuill lawe, &c:) Againe, he hath diminished from the decalog or ten commandements, not one or two words, but a whole precept, namelie the second, which it hath pleased him to dash out with his pen: and trulie he might as well by the same authoritie haue rased out of the testament S. Markes gospell.

In concil. Triden.

When, how, and in what sort sacrifices were first ordained, and how they were prophaned, and how the pope corrupteth the sacraments of Christ.

The twelfe Chapter.

Gen.2.17. AT the first God manifested to our father Adam, by the prohibition of the apple, that he would haue man liue vnder a lawe, in obedience and submission; and not to wander like a beast without order or discipline. And after man had
Gen.3.6. transgressed, and deserued thereby Gods heauie displeasure; yet his mercie preuai-
Gen.3.15. led; and taking compassion vpon man, he promised the Messias, who should be borne of a woman, and breake the serpents head: declaring by euident testimonies, that his pleasure was that man should be restored to fauour and grace, through Christ: and binding the minds of men to this promise, and to be fixed vpon their Messias, established figures and ceremonies wherewith to nourish their faith, and confirmed the same with miracles, prohibiting and excluding all mans deuises in that behalfe. And
Leuit. 12.3. &c. vpon his promise renewed, he inioined (I say) and erected a new forme of worship, whereby he would haue his promises constantlie beheld, faithfullie beléeued, and reuerentlie regarded. He or-

deined

deined six sorts of diuine sacrifices; thrée propitiatorie, not as meriting remission of sinnes, but as figures of Christs propitiation: the other thrée were of thanksgiuing. These sacrifices were full of ceremonies, they were powdered with consecrated salt, and kindled with fier, which was preserued in the tabernacle of the Lord: which fier (some thinke) was sent downe from heauen. GOD himselfe commanded these rites and ceremonies to our forefathers, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, &c: promising therein both the amplification of their families, and also their Messias. But in tract of time (I saie) wantonnesse, negligence, and contempt, through the instigation of the diuell, abolished this institution of GOD: so as in the end, God himselfe was forgotten among them, and they became pagans & heathens, deuising their owne waies, untill euerie countrie had deuised and erected both new sacrifices, and also new gods particular unto themselues. Whose example the pope followeth, in prophaning of Christs sacraments, disguising them with his deuises and superstitious ceremonies; contriuing and comprehending therein the follie of all nations: the which bicause little children doo now perceiue and scorne, I will passe ouer; and returne to the Gentiles, whome I cannot excuse of cousenage, superstition, nor yet of vanitie in this behalfe. For if God suffered false prophets among the children of Israell, being Gods peculiar people, and hypocrits in the church of Christ; no maruell if there were such people amongst the heathen, which neither professed nor knew him.

A gird at the pope for his sawcinesse in Gods matters.

Of the obiects wherevpon the augurors vsed to prognosticate, with certeine cautions and notes.

The xiij. Chapter.

THe Gentiles, which treat of this matter, repeat an innumerable multitude of obiects, wherevpon they prognosticate good or bad lucke. And a great matter is made of néezing, wherein the number of néezings & the time therof is greatlie noted; the tingling in the finger, the elbowe, the toe, the knée, &c: are singular

gular notes also to be obserued in this art; though speciallie héer-in are marked the flieng of fowles, and méeting of beasts; with this generall caution, that the obiect or matter whereon men diuine, must be sudden and unlooked for: which regard, children and some old fooles haue to the gathering primrose, true loues, and foure leaued grasse; Item the person vnto whome such an obiect offereth it selfe vnawares; Item the intention of the diuinor, whereby the obiect which is met, is referred to augurie; Item the houre in which the obiect is without foreknowledge vpon the sudden met withall: and so foorth.

Plin. lib. natural. hist. 10. cap. 6. Plinie reporteth that griphes flie allwaies to the place of slaughter, two or thrée daies before the battell is fought; which was séene and tried at the battell of Troie: and in respect thereof, the griph was allowed to be the chéefe bird of augurie. *Arist. in augurijs.* But among the innumerable number of the portentous beasts, fowles, serpents, and other creatures, the tode is the most excellent obiect, whose ouglie deformitie signifieth swéete and amiable fortune: in respect whereof some superstitious witches preserue todes for their familiars. And some one of good credit (whome I could name) hauing conuented the witches themselues, hath starued diuerse of their diuels, which they kept in boxes in the likenesse of todes.

Plutarch doteth by his leaue, for all his learning. Plutarch Chironæus saith, that the place and site of the signes that we receiue by augurie, are speciallie to be noted: for if we receiue them on the left side, good lucke; if on the right side, ill lucke insueth: bicause terrene and mortall things are opposite & contrarie to diuine and heauenlie things; for that which the gods deliuer with the right hand, falleth to our left side; and so contrariwise.

The diuision of augurie, persons admittable into the colleges of augurie, of their superstition.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Aug. Niphus de auguriis, lib. 1. THe latter diuinors in these mysteries, haue diuided their sothsaiengs into twelue superstitions: as Augustinus Niphus termeth them. The first is prosperitie; the second, ill lucke, as when one goeth out

out of his house, and séeth an vnluckie beast lieng on the right side of his waie; the third is destinie; the fourth is fortune; the fift is ill hap, as when an infortunate beast féedeth on the right side of your waie; the sixt is vtilitie; the seuenth is hurt; the eight is called a cautell, as when a beast followeth one, and staieth at any side, not passing beyond him, which is a signe of good lucke; the ninth is infelicitie, and that is contrarie to the eight, as when the beast passeth before one; the tenth is perfection; the eleuenth is imperfection; the twelfe is conclusiin. Thus farre he.

Among the Romans none could be receiued into the college of augurors that had a bile, or had béene bitten with a dog, &c: and at the times of their exercise, euen at noone daies, they lighted candels. From whence the papists conueie vnto their church, those points of infidelitie. Finallie, their obseruations were so infinite and ridiculous, that there flew not a sparkle out of the fier, but it betokened somewhat.

Who were not admittable into the college of augurors among the Romans.

Of the common peoples fond and superstitious collections and obseruations.

The xv. Chapter.

AMongst vs there be manie women, and effeminat men (marie papists alwaies, as by their superstition may appéere) that make great diuinations vpon the shedding of salt, wine, &c: and for the obseruation of daies, and houres vse as great witchcraft as in anie thing. For if one chance to take a fall from a horsse, either in a slipperie or stumbling waie, he will note the daie and houre, and count that time vnluckie for a iournie. Otherwise, he that receiueth a mischance, wil consider whether he met not a cat, or a hare, when he went first out of his doores in the morning; or stumbled not at the threshhold at his going out; or put not on his shirt the wrong side outwards; or his left sho on his right foote, which Augustus Cæsar reputed for the worst lucke that might befall. But aboue all other nations (as Martinus de Arles witnesseth)

O vaine follie aud foolish vanitie!

Martin. de Arles in tract. de superst. contra malefictа. *Appian. de bello ciuili.*

nesseth) the Spaniards, are most superstitious herein; & of Spaine, the people of the prouince of Lusitania is the most fond. For one will saie; I had a dreame to night, or a crowe croked vpon my house, or an owle flew by me and screeched (which augurie Lucius Silla tooke of his death) or a cocke crew contrarie to his houre. Another saith; The moone is at the prime; another, that the sun rose in a cloud and looked pale, or a starre shot and shined in the aire, or a strange cat came into the house, or a hen fell from the top of the house.

Augurificall toies.

Many will go to bed againe, if they neeze before their shooes be on their feet; some will hold fast their left thombe in their right hand when they hickot; or else will hold their chinne with their right hand whiles a gospell is soong. It is thought verie ill lucke of some, that a child, or anie other liuing creature, should passe betweene two friends as they walke togither; for they say it portendeth a diuision of freendship. Among the papists themselues, if any hunters, as they were a hunting, chanced to meet a frier or a preest; they thought it so ill lucke, as they would couple vp their hounds, and go home, being in despaire of any further sport that daie. Marrie if they had vsed venerie with a begger, they should win all the monie they plaied for that daie at dice. The like follie is to be imputed vnto them, that obserue (as true or probable) old verses, wherein can be no reasonable cause of such effects; which are brought to passe onlie by Gods power, and at his pleasure. Of this sort be these that follow:

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Vincenti festo si sol radiet memor esto,

Remember on S. Vincents daie,
If that the sunne his beames displaie.

Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni,

By Ab. Fleming.

If Paule th'apostles daie be cleare,
It dooth foreshew a luckie yeare.

Si sol splendescat Maria purificante,
Maior erit glacies post festum quàm fuit ante,

If

If Maries purifieng daie,
Be cleare and bright with sunnie raie,
Then frost and cold shalbe much more,
After the feast than was before.

By Ab.Fleming.

Serò rubens cœlum cras indicat esse serenum,
Si manè rubescit, ventus vel pluuia crescit.

The skie being red at euening,
Foreshewes a faire and cleare morning;
But if the morning riseth red,
Of wind or raine we shalbe sped.

By Ab.Fleming.

Some sticke a néedle or a buckle into a certeine trée, néere to the cathedrall church of S. Christopher, or of some other saint; hoping thereby to be deliuered that yeare from the headach. Item maids forsooth hang some of their haire before the image of S. Vrbane, bicause they would haue the rest of their haire grow long and be yellow. Item, women with child runne to church, and tie their girdles or sho latchets about a bell, and strike vpon the same thrise, thinking that the sound thereof hasteth their good deliuerie. But sithence these things beginne to touch the vanities and superstitions of incantations, I will referre you thither, where you shall sée of that stuffe abundance; beginning at the word Habar.

Seeke more hereof in the word Habar. li. 12. ca. 1

How old writers varie about the matter, the maner, and the meanes, whereby things augurificall are mooued.

The xvj. Chapter.

THeophrastus and Themistius affirme, that whatsoeuer happeneth vnto man suddenlie and by chance, commeth from the prouidence of God. So as Themistius gathereth, that men in that respect

prophesie, when they speake what commeth in their braine, vpon the sudden; though not knowing or vnderstanding what they saie. And that séeing God hath a care for vs, it agréeth with reason (as Theophrastus saith) that he shew vs by some meane whatsoeuer shall happen. For with Pythagoras he concludeth, that all foreshewes and auguries are the voices and words of God, by the which he foretelleth man the good or euill that shall béetide.

Auerroes.12. metaphysic.

Trismegistus affirmeth, that all augurificall things are mooued by diuels; Porphyrie saith by gods, or rather good angels: according to the opinion of Plotinus and Iamblichus. Some other affirme they are mooued by the moone wandering through the twelue signes of the Zodiake: bicause the moone hath dominion in all sudden matters. The Aegyptian astronomers hold, that the moone ordereth not those portentous matters, but *stella errans*, a wandering starre, &c.

How ridiculous an art augurie is, how Cato mocked it, Aristotles reason against it, fond collections of augurors, who allowed, and who disallowed it.

The xvij. Chapter.

Verelie all these obseruations being neither grounded on Gods word, nor physicall or philosophicall reason, are vanities, superstitions, lies, and méere witchcraft; as whereby the world hath long time béene, and is still abused and cousened. It is written; *Non est vestrum scire tempora & momenta, &c:* It is not for you to knowe the times and seasons, which the father hath put in his owne power. The most godlie men and the wisest philosophers haue giuen no credit herevnto. S. Augustine saith; *Qui his diuinationibus credit, sciat se fidem christianam & baptismum praeuaricasse, & paganum Deiq; inimicum esse.* One told Cato, that a rat had carried awaie and eaten his hose, which the partie said was a woonderfull signe. Naie (said Cato) I thinke not so; but if the hose had eaten the rat, that had béene a woonderfull token indéed. When

The fond art of augurie conuinced.

Acts.1,7.

Nonius

Nonius told Cicero that they should haue good successe in battell, bicause seuen eagles were taken in Pompeies campe, he answered thus; No doubt it will be euen so, if that we chance to fight with pies. In the like case also he answered Labienus, who prophesied like successe by such diuinations, saieng, that through the hope of such toies, Pompeie lost all his pauillions not long before.

What wiseman would thinke, that God would commit his counsell to a dawe, an owle, a swine, or a tode; or that he would hide his secret purposes in the doong and bowels of beasts? Aristotle thus reasoneth; Augurie or diuinations are neither the causes nor effects of things to come; *Ergo*, they doo not thereby foretell things trulie, but by chance. As if I dreame that my freend will come to my house, and he commeth indeed: yet neither dreame nor imagination is more the cause of my freends comming, than the chattering of a pie. *Arist. de somno.*

When Hanibal ouerthrew Marcus Marcellus, the beast sacrificed wanted a peece of his hart; therefore forsooth Marius, when he sacrificed at Vtica, and the beast lacked his liuer, he must needs haue the like successe. These are their collections, and as vaine, as if they said that the building of Tenderden steeple was the cause of Goodwine sands, or the decaie of Sandwich hauen. S. Augustine saith, that these obseruations are most superstitious. But we read in the fourth psalme, a sentence which might dissuade anie christian from this follie and impietie; O ye sonnes of men, how long will you turne my glorie into shame, louing vanitie, and seeking lies? The like is read in manie other places of scripture. *August. lib. de doct. chri. 2. cap. 2.* Psal. 4, 2.

Of such as allow this follie, I can commend Plinie best, who saith, that the operation of these auguries is as we take them. For if we take them in good part, they are signes of good lucke; if we take them in ill part, ill lucke followeth; if we neglect them, and wey them not, they doo neither good nor harme. Thomas of Aquine reasoneth in this wise; The starres, whose course is certeine, haue greater affinitie and communitie with mans actions, than auguries; and yet our doings are neither directed nor proceed from the starres. Which thing also Ptolome witnesseth, saieng; *Sapiens dominabitur astris*, A wiseman ouerruleth the starres. *Plin. lib. natural. hist. 28. cap. 2.* *Tho. Aquin. lib. de fortib.*

Fond

Fond distinctions of the heathen writers, concerning augurie.

The 18. Chapter.

The heathen made a distinction betwéene diuine, naturall, and casuall auguries. Diuine auguries were such, as men were made beléeue were done miraculouslie, as when dogs spake; as at the expulsion of Tarquinius out of his kingdome; or when trées spake, as before the death of Cæsar; or when horsses spake, as did a horsse, whose name was Zanthus. Manie learned christians confesse, that such things as may indéed haue diuine cause, may be called diuine auguries; or rather forewarnings of God, and tokens either of his blessings or discontentation: as the starre was a token of a safe passage to the magicians that sought Christ; so was the cockcrowing an augurie to Peter for his conuersion. And manie such other diuinations or auguries (if it be lawfull so to terme them) are in the scriptures to be found.

C. Epidius. Homer. Iliad. 19.

Of naturall and casuall augurie, the one allowed, and the other disallowed.

The 19. Chapter.

Naturall augurie is a physicall or philosophicall obseruation; bicause humane and naturall reason may be yéelded for such euents: as if one heare the cocke crow manie times together, a man may ghesse that raine will followe shortlie; as by the crieng of rooks, and by their extraordinarie vsing of their wings in their flight, bicause through a naturall instinct, prouoked by the impression of the heauenlie bodies, they are moued to know the times,

times, according to the disposition of the weather, as it is necessarie for their natures. And therefore Ieremie saith; *Miluus in cœlo cognouit tempus suum*. The physician may argue a strength towards in his patient, when he heareth him néeze twise, which is a naturall cause to iudge by, and coniecture vpon. But sure it is méere casuall, and also verie foolish and incredible, that by two néezings, a man should be sure of good lucke or successe in his businesse; or by méeting of a tode, a man should escape a danger, or atchieue an enterprise, &c.

A confutation of casuall augurie which is meere witchcraft, and vpon what vncertaintie those diuinations are grounded.

The xx. Chapter.

What imagination worketh in man or woman, many leaues would not comprehend; for as the qualities thereof are strange, and almost incredible, so would the discourse thereof be long and tedious, wherof I had occasion to speake elsewhere. But the power of our imagination extendeth not to beasts, nor reacheth to birds, and therefore perteineth not hereunto. Neither can the chance for the right or left side be good or bad lucke in it selfe. Why should any occurent or augurie be good? Bicause it commeth out of that part of the heauens, where the good or beneficiall stars are placed? By that reason, all things should be good and happie that liue on that side; but we sée the contrarie experience, and as commonlie as that.

The like absurditie and error is in them that credit those diuinations; bicause the starres, ouer the ninth house haue dominion at the time of augurie. If it should betoken good lucke, ioy or gladnesse, to heare a noise in the house, when the moone is in Aries: and contrariwise, if it be a signe of ill lucke, sorowe, or gréefe for a beast to come into the house, the moone being in the same signe: here might be found a fowle error and contrarietie. (The vanitie of casuall augurie.)

And forsomuch as both may happen at once, the rule must néeds be false and ridiculous. And if there were any certeine rules or notes to be gathered in these diuinations; the abuse therein is such, as the word of God must néeds be verefied therein; to wit,
Isai.44,25. I will destroie the tokens of sothsaiers, and make them that coniecture, fooles.

That figure-casters are witches, the vncerteintie of their art, and of their contradictions, Cornelius Agrippas sentence against iudiciall astrologie.

The xxj. Chapter.

THese casters of figures may bée numbred among the cousening witches, whose practise is aboue their reach, their purpose to gaine, their knowledge stolne from poets, their art vncerteine & full of vanitie, more plainly derided in the scriptures, than any other follie. And therevpon many other trifling vanities are rooted and grounded; as physiognomie, palmestrie, interpreting of dreames, monsters, auguries, &c: the professors whereof confesse this to be the necessarie key to open the knowledge of all their secrets. For these fellowes erect a figure of the heauens, by the exposition whereof (togither with the coniectures of similitudes and signes) they séeke to find out the meaning of the significators, attributing to them the ends of all things, contrarie to truth, reason, and diuinitie: their rules being so inconstant, that few writers agrée in the verie principles therof. For the Rabbins, the old and new writers, and the verie best philosophers dissent in the chéefe grounds thereof, differing in the proprietie of the houses, whereout they wring the foretelling of things to come, contending euen about the number of spheres, being not yet resolued how to erect the beginnings and endes of the houses: for Ptolomie maketh them after one sort, Campanus after another, &c.

The vaine and trifling trickes of figure-casters.

And as Alpetragus thinketh, that there be in the heauens diuerse

diuerse mouings as yet to men vnknowne, so doo others affirme (not without probabilitie) that there maie be starres and bodies, to whome these mouings maie accord, which cannot be séene, either through their excéeding highnes, or that hitherto are not tried with anie obseruation of the art. The true motion of Mars is not yet perceiued, neither is it possible to find out the true entring of the sunne into the equinoctiall points. It is not denied, that the astronomers themselues haue receiued their light, and their verie art from poets, without whose fables the twelue signes, and the northerlie and southerlie figures had neuer ascended into heauen. And yet (as C.Agrippa saith) astrologers doo liue, cousen men, and gaine by these fables; whiles the poets, which are the inuentors of them, doo liue in beggerie. *Iohan. Montiregius in epistola ad Blanchimē: & Gulielmus de sancto Clodoald. Rabbi Leui. C. Agrip. in lib. de vanit. scient.*

The verie skilfullest mathematicians confesse, that it is vnpossible to find out anie certeine thing concerning the knowledge of iudgements, as well for the innumerable causes which worke togither with the heauens, being all togither, and one with the other to be considered: as also bicause influencies doo not constraine but incline. For manie ordinarie and extraordinarie occasions doo interrupt them; as education, custome, place, honestie, birth, bloud, sicknesse, health, strength, weakenes, meate, drinke, libertie of mind, learning, &c. And they that haue written the rules of iudgement, and agrée néerest therein, being of equall authoritie and learning, publish so contrarie opinions vpon one thing, that it is vnpossible for an astrologian to pronounce a certeintie vpon so variable opinions; & otherwise, vpon so vncerteine reports no man is able to iudge herein. So as (according to Ptolomie) the foreknowledge of things to come by the starres, dependeth as well vpon the affections of the mind, as vpon the obseruation of the planets, procéeding rather from chance than art, as whereby they deceiue others, and are deceiued themselues also. *Archelaus. Cassander. Eudoxus, &c.*

The subtiltie of astrologers to mainteine the credit of their art, why they remaine in credit, certeine impieties conteined in astrologers assertions.

The xxij. Chapter.

Astrologers prognostications are like the answers of oracles.

If you marke the cunning ones, you shall sée them speake darkelie of things to come, deuising by artificiall subtiltie, doubtfull prognostications, easilie to be applied to euerie thing, time, prince, and nation: and if anie thing come to passe according to their diuinations, they fortifie their old prognostications with new reasons. Neuertheles, in the multitude and varietie of starres, yea euen in the verie middest of them, they find out some places in a good aspect, and some in an ill; and take occasion herevpon to saie what they list, promising vnto some men honor, long life, wealth, victorie, children, marriage, fréends, offices; & finallie euerlasting felicitie. But if with anie they be discontent, they saie the starres be not fauourable to them, and threaten them with hanging, drowning, beggerie, sickenes, misfortune, &c. And if one of these prognostications fall out right, then they triumph aboue measure. If the prognosticators be found to forge and lie alwaies (without such fortune as the blind man had in killing the crow) they will excuse the matter, saieng, that *Sapiens dominatur astris*; wheras (according to Agrippas words) neither the wiseman ruleth the starres, nor the starres the wiseman, but God ruleth them both. Corn. Tacitus saith, that they are a people disloiall to princes, deceiuing them that beléeue them. And Varro saith, that the vanitie of all superstitions floweth out of the bosome of astrologie. And if our life & fortune depend not on the starres, then it is to be granted, that the astrologers séeke where nothing is to be found. But we are so fond, mistrustfull & credulous, that we feare more the fables of Robin good fellow; astrologers, & witches, & beléeue more the things that are not, than the things that are. And the more vnpossible a thing is, the more we stand in feare thereof; and the lesse likelie to be true, the more

we

we beléeue it. And if we were not such, I thinke with Cornelius Agrippa, that these diuinors, astrologers, coniurors, and cousenors would die for hunger.

And our foolish light beléefe, forgetting things past, neglecting things present, and verie hastie to know things to come, doth so comfort and mainteine these cousenors; that whereas in other men, for making one lie, the faith of him that speaketh is so much mistrusted, that all the residue being true is not regarded. Contrariwise, in these cousenages among our diuinors, one truth spoken by hap giueth such credit to all their lies, that euer after we beléeue whatsoeuer they saie; how incredible, impossible or false soeuer it be. Sir Thomas Moore saith, they know not who are in their owne chambers, neither who maketh themselues cuckoldes that take vpon them all this cunning, knowledge, and great foresight. But to enlarge their credit, or rather to manifest their impudencie, they saie the gift of prophesie, the force of religion, the secrets of conscience, the power of diuels, the vertue of miracles, the efficacie of praiers, the state of the life to come, &c: doth onlie depend vpon the starres, and is giuen and knowne by them alone. For they saie, that when the signe of Gemini is ascended, and Saturne and Mercurie be ioined in Aquarie, in the ninth house of the heauens, there is a prophet borne: and therefore that Christ had so manie vertues, bicause he had in that place Saturne and Gemini. Yea these Astrologers doo not sticke to saie, that the starres distribute all sortes of religions: wherein Iupiter is the especiall patrone, who being ioined with Saturne, maketh the religion of the Iewes; with Mercurie, of the Christians; with the Moone, of Antichristianitie. Yea they affirme that the faith of euerie man maie be knowne to them as well as to God. And that Christ himselfe did vse the election of houres in his miracles; so as the Iewes could not hurt him whilest he went to Ierusalem, and therefore that he said to his disciples that forbad him to go; Are there not twelue houres in the daie?

S. Thomas Moores frumpe at iudiciall astrologers.

Astrologicall blasphemies.

Ioh. 11. 8. & 9.

Who haue power to driue awaie diuels with their onelie presence, who shall receiue of God whatsoeuer they aske in praier, who shall obteine euerlasting life by meanes of constellations, as natiuitie-casters affirme.

The xxiij. Chapter.

They saie also, that he which hath Mars happilie placed in the ninth house of the heauens, shall haue power to driue awaie diuels with his onelie presence from them that be possessed. And he that shall praie to God, when he findeth the Moone and Iupiter ioined with the dragons head in the middest of the heauens, shall obteine whatsoeuer he asketh: and that Iupiter and Saturne doo giue blessednes of the life to come. But if anie in his natiuitie shall haue Saturne happilie placed in Leone, his soule shall haue euerlasting life. And hereunto subscribe Peter de Appona, Roger Bacon, Guido Bonatus, Arnold de villa noua, and the Cardinall of Alia. Furthermore, the prouidence of God is denied, and the miracles of Christ are diminished, when these powers of the heauens and their influencies are in such sort aduanced. Moses, Esaie, Iob and Ieremie seeme to dislike and reiect it: and at Rome in times past it was banished, and by Iustinian condemned vnder paine of death. Finallie, Seneca derideth these sothsaieng witches in this sort; Amongst the Cleones (saith he) there was a custome, that the χαλαζοφύλακες (which were gazers in the aier, watching when a storme of haile should fall) when they sawe by anie cloud that the shower was imminent and at hand; the vse was (I saie) bicause of the hurt which it might doo to their vines, &c: diligentlie to warne the people thereof; who vsed not to prouide clokes or anie such defense against it, but prouided sacrifices; the rich, cockes and white lambes; the poore would spoile themselues by cutting their thombes; as though (saith he) that little bloud could ascend vp to the cloudes, and doo anie good there for their releefe in this matter.

The follie of our genethliaks, or natiuiticasters.

Senec. lib. de quæst. natural. 4.

matter.

And here by the waie, I will impart unto you a Venetian superstition, of great antiquitie, and at this daie (for ought I can read to the contrarie) in use. It is written, that euerie yéere ordinarilie upon ascension daie, the Duke of Venice, accompanied with the States, goeth with great solemnitie unto the sea, and after certeine ceremonies ended, casteth thereinto a gold ring of great value and estimation for a pacificatorie oblation: wherewithall their predecessors supposed that the wrath of the sea was asswaged. By this action, as a late writer saith, they doo *Desponsare sibi mare*, that is, espouse the sea unto themselues, &c.

Hilarius Pirkmair in arte apodemica.

Ioannes Garropius in Venet. & Hyperb.

Let us therefore, according to the prophets aduise, aske raine of the Lord in the houres of the latter time, and he shall send white cloudes, and giue us raine &c: for surelie, the idols (as the same prophet saith) haue spoken vanitie, the soothsaiers haue séene a lie, and the dreamers haue told a vaine thing. They comfort in vaine, and therefore they went awaie like shéepe, &c. If anie shéepebiter or witchmonger will follow them, they shall go alone for me.

Zach. 10. 1. verse. 2.

¶ The

The twelfe Booke.

The Hebrue word Habar expounded, where also the supposed secret force of charmes and inchantments is shewed, and the efficacie of words is diuerse waies declared.

The first Chapter.

This Hebrue word Habar, being in Greeke *Epathin*, and in Latine *Incantare*, is in English, To inchant, or (if you had rather haue it so) to bewitch. In these inchantments, certeine wordes, verses, or charmes, &c: are secretlie vttered, wherein there is thought to be miraculous efficacie. There is great varietie hereof: but whether it be by charmes, voices, images, characters, stones, plants, metals, herbes, &c: there must herewithall a speciall forme of words be alwaies vsed, either diuine, diabolicall, insensible, or papisticall, whereupon all the vertue of the worke is supposed to depend. This word is speciallie vsed in the 58. psalme, which place though it be taken vp for mine aduersaries strongest argument against me; yet me thinkes it maketh so with me, as they can neuer be able to answer it. For there it plainelie appeareth, that the adder heareth not the voice of the charmer, charme he neuer so cunninglie: contrarie to the poets fabling,

Psal.58.

Psal.58.4.5.

Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.

Virgil. in Damone.

The

The coldish snake in medowes greene,
With charmes is burst in peeces cleene. *By Ab.Fleming.*

But hereof more shall be said hereafter in due place.

I grant that words sometimes haue singular vertue and efficacie, either in persuasion or disuasion, as also diuerse other waies; so as thereby some are conuerted from the waie of perdition, to the estate of saluation: and so contrariwise, according to the saieng of Salomon; Death and life are in the instrument of the tong: but euen therein God worketh all in all, as well in framing the heart of the one, as in directing the tong of the other: as appeareth in manie places of the holie scriptures. Prouer. 18. Chron.30. Psal.10. Psal.51. Psal.139. Ierem.32. Isai.6. Isai.50. Exod.7.8.9. Prou.16.

What is forbidden in scriptures concerning witchcraft, of the operation of words, the superstition of the Cabalists and papists, who createth substances, to imitate God in some cases is presumption, words of sanctification.

The second Chapter.

That which is forbidden in the scriptures touching inchantment or witchcraft, is not the wonderfull working with words. For where words haue had miraculous operation, there hath béene alwaies the speciall prouidence, power and grace of God vttered to the strengthening of the faith of Gods people, and to the furtherance of the gospell: as when the apostle with a word slue Ananias and Saphira. Acts.5. But the prophanation of Gods name, the seducing, abusing, and cousening of the people, and mans presumption is hereby prohibited, as whereby manie take vpon them after the recitall of such names, as God in the scripture séemeth to appropriate to himselfe, to foreshew things to come, to worke miracles, to detect fellonies, &c: as the Cabalists in times past tooke vpon them, by the ten names of God, and his angels, expressed

in

in the scriptures, to worke woonders: and as the papists at this daie by the like names, by crosses, by gospels hanged about their necks, by masses, by exorcismes, by holie water, and a thousand consecrated or rather execrated things, promise vnto themselues and others, both health of bodie and soule.

But as herein we are not to imitate the papists, so in such things, as are the peculiar actions of God, we ought not to take vpon vs to counterfet, or resemble him, which with his word created all things. For we, neither all the coniurors, Cabalists, papists, soothsaiers, inchanters, witches, nor charmers in the world, neither anie other humane or yet diabolicall cunning can adde anie such strength to Gods workmanship, as to make anie thing anew, or else to exchange one thing into another. New qualities may be added by humane art, but no new substance can be made or created by man. And séeing that art faileth herein, doubtles neither the illusions of diuels, nor the cunning of witches, can bring anie such thing truelie to passe. For by the sound of the words nothing commeth, nothing goeth, otherwise than God in nature hath ordeined to be done by ordinarie spéech, or else by his speciall ordinance. Indéed words of sanctification are necessarie and commendable, according to S. Paules rule; Let your meat be sanctified with the word of God, and by praier. But sanctification dooth not here signifie either change of substance of the meate, or the adding of anie new strength therevnto: but it is sanctified, in that it is receiued with thanksgiuing and praier; that our bodies may be refreshed, and our soule thereby made the apter to glorifie God.

Ionas.1.

Words of sanctification, and wherein they consist.

What effect and offense witches charmes bring, how vnapt witches are, and how vnlikelie to worke those things which they are thought to doo, what would followe if those things were true which are laid to their charge.

The third Chapter.

THe words and other the illusions of witches, charmers, and coniurors, though they be not such in operation and effect, as they are commonlie taken to be: yet they are offensiue to the maiestie

and name of God, obscuring the truth of diuinitie, & also of philosophie. For if God only giue life & being to all creatures, who can put any such vertue or liuelie féeling into a body of gold, siluer, bread, or wax, as is imagined? If either préests, diuels, or witches could so doo, the diuine power shuld be checked & outfaced by magicall cunning, & Gods creatures made seruile to a witches pleasure. What is not to be brought to passe by these incantations, if that be true which is attributed to witches? & yet they are women that neuer went to schoole in their liues, nor had any teachers: and therefore without art or learning; poore, and therefore not able to make any prouision of metals or stones, &c: whereby to bring to passe strange matters, by naturall magicke; old and stiffe, and therefore not nimble handed to deceiue your eie with legierdemaine; heauie, and commonlie lame, and therefore vnapt to flie in the aire, or to danse with the fairies; sad, melancholike, sullen, and miserable, and therefore it should be vnto them (*Inuita Minerua*) to banket or danse with Minerua; or yet with Herodias, as the common opinion of all writers héerein is. On the other side, we sée they are so malicious and spitefull, that if they by themselues, or by their diuels, could trouble the elements, we should neuer haue faire weather. If they could kill men, children, or cattell, they would spare none; but would destroy and kill whole countries and housholds. If they could transfer corne (as is affirmed) from their neighbors field into their owne, none of them would be poore, none other should be rich. If they could transforme themselues and others (as it is most constantlie affirmed) oh what a number of apes and owles should there be of vs! If Incubus could beget Merlins among vs, we should haue a iollie manie of cold prophets.

An ample description of women commonlie called witches.

Why

Why God forbad the practise of witchcraft, the absurditie of the lawe of the twelue tables, wherevpon their estimation in miraculous actions is grounded, of their woonderous works.

The fourth Chapter.

A common and vniuersall error.

Though it be apparent, that the Holie-ghost forbiddeth this art, bicause of the abuse of the name of God, and the cousenage comprehended therein: yet I confesse, the customes and lawes almost of all nations doo declare, that all these miraculous works before by me cited, and many other things more woonderfull, were attributed to the power of witches. The which lawes, with the executions and iudicials therevpon, and the witches confessions, haue beguiled almost the whole world. What absurdities concerning witchcraft, are written in the law of the twelue tables, which was the highest and most ancient law of the Romans? Wherevpon the strongest argument of witches omnipotent power is framed; as that the wisedome of such lawgiuers could not be abused. Whereof (me thinks) might be made a more strong argument on our side; to wit, If the cheefe and principall lawes of the world be in this case ridiculous, vaine, false, incredible, yea and contrarie to Gods lawe; the residue of the lawes and arguments to that effect, are to be suspected. If that argument should hold, it might proue all the popish lawes against protestants, & the heathenish princes lawes against christians, to be good and in force: for it is like they would not haue made them, except they had béene good. Were it not (thinke you) a strange proclamation, that no man (vpon paine of death) should pull the moone out of heauen? And yet verie many of the most learned witchmongers make their arguments vpon weaker grounds; as namelie in this forme and maner; We find in poets, that witches wrought such and such miracles; *Ergo* they can accomplish and doo this or that wonder. The words of the lawe are these;

I.Bodinus. Danæus. Hyperius. Heming. Bar.Spineus. Mal.Malef.

Qui

Qui fruges incantasset pœnas dato, Néue alienam segetem pellexeris excantando, neq; incantando, Ne agrum defruganto: the sense wherof in English is this; Let him be executed that bewitcheth corne, Transferre not other mens corne into thy ground by inchantment, Take héede thou inchant not at all neither make thy neighbors field barren: he that dooth these things shall die, &c.

An instance of one arreigned vpon the lawe of the twelue tables, whereby the said lawe is prooued ridiculous, of two witches that could doo woonders.

The fift Chapter.

Although among vs, we thinke them bewitched that war suddenlie poore, and not them that growe hastilie rich; yet at Rome you shall vnderstand, that (as Plinie reporteth) vpon these articles one C. Furius Cressus was conuented before Spurius Albinus; for that he being but a little while frée, and deliuered from bondage, occupieng onelie tillage; grew rich on the sudden, as hauing good crops: so as it was suspected that he transferred his neighbors corne into his fields. None intercession, no delaie, none excuse, no deniall would serue, neither in iest nor derision, nor yet through sober or honest meanes: but he was assigned a peremptorie daie, to answer for life. And therefore fearing the sentence of condemnation, which was to be giuen there, by the voice and verdict of thrée men (as we héere are tried by twelue) made his appearance at the daie assigned, and brought with him his ploughs and harrowes, spades and shouels, and other instruments of husbandrie, his oxen, horsses, and working bullocks, his seruants, and also his daughter, which was a sturdie wench and a good huswife, and also (as Piso reporteth) well trimmed vp in apparell, and said to the whole bench in this wise; Lo héere my lords I make mine appearance, according to my promise and your pleasures, presenting vnto you my charmes and witchcrafts, which haue so inriched me. As for the labour, sweat, watching,

A notable purgation of C. F. C. conuented for a witch.

ching,

ching, care, and diligence, which I haue vsed in this behalfe, I cannot shew you them at this time. And by this meanes he was dismissed by the consent of that court, who otherwise (as it was thought) should hardly haue escaped the sentence of condemnation, and punishment of death.

Malmalef. par. 2. quę. 1. cap. 5.

It is constantlie affirmed in M.Mal. that Stafus vsed alwaies to hide himselfe in a monshoall, and had a disciple called Hoppo, who made Stadlin a maister witch, and could all when they list inuisiblie transferre the third part of their neighbours doong, hay, corne, &c: into their owne ground, make haile, tempests, and floods, with thunder and lightning; and kill children, cattell, &c: reueale things hidden, and many other tricks, when and where they list. But these two shifted not so well with the inquisitors, as the other with the Romane and heathen iudges. Howbeit, Stafus was too hard for them all: for none of all the lawiers nor inquisitors could bring him to appéere before them, if it be true that witchmongers write in these matters.

Lawes prouided for the punishment of such witches as worke miracles, whereof some are mentioned, and of certeine popish lawes published against them.

The sixt Chapter.

Punishmẽt of impossibilities.

There are other lawes of other nations made to this incredible effect: as *Lex Salicarum* prouideth punishment for them that flie in the aire from place to place, and méete at their nightlie assemblies, and braue bankets, carrieng with them plate, and such stuffe, &c: euen as we should make a lawe to hang him that should take a church in his hand at Douer, and throwe it to Callice. And bicause in this case also popish lawes shall be séene to be as foolish and lewd as any other whatsoeuer, and speciallie as tyrannous as that which is most cruell: you shall heare what trim new lawes the church of Rome hath latelie deuised. These are therefore the words of pope Innocent the eight to the inquisitors

of

of Almanie, and of pope Iulius the second, sent to the inquisitors of Bergomen. It is come to our eares, that manie lewd persons, of both kinds, as well male as female, vsing the companie of the diuels Incubus and Succubus, with incantations, charmes, coniurations, &c: doo destroie, &c: the births of women with child, the yoong of all cattell, the corne of the feeld, the grapes of the vines, the frute of the trees: Item, men, women, and all kind of cattell and beasts of the feeld: and with their said inchantments, &c: doo vtterlie extinguish, suffocate, and spoile all vineyards, orchards, medowes, pastures, grasse, greene corne, and ripe corne, and all other podware: yea men and women themselues are by their imprecations so afflicted with externall and inward paines and diseases, that men cannot beget, nor women bring foorth anie children, nor yet accomplish the dutie of wedlocke, denieng the faith which they in baptisme professed, to the destruction of their owne soules, &c. Our pleasure therefore is, that all impediments that maie hinder the inquisitors office, be vtterlie remoued from among the people, least this blot of heresie proceed to poison and defile them that be yet innocent. And therefore we doo ordeine, by vertue of the apostolicall authoritie, that our inquisitors of high Almanie, maie execute the office of inquisition by all tortures and afflictions, in all places, and vpon all persons, what and wheresoeuer, as well in euerie place and diocesse, as vpon anie person; and that as freelie, as though they were named, expressed, or cited in this our commission.

A wise lawe of pope Innocent and Iulie, were it not that they wanted wit when they made it.

Poetical authorities commonlie alleaged by witchmongers, for the proofe of witches miraculous actions, and for confirmation of their supernaturall power.

The seuenth Chapter.

Here haue I place and oportunitie, to discouer the whole art of witchcraft; euen all their charmes, periapts, characters, amulets, praiers, blessings, curssings, hurtings, helpings, knaueries, cousenages, &c. But first I will shew what authorities are produced to defend and mainteine the same, and that in serious sort, by

by Bodin, Spinæus, Hemingius, Vairus, Danæus, Hyperius: M. Mal. and the rest.

Virg.eclog.8. *Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere lunam,*
Carminibus Circe socios mutauit Vlyßis,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis:

Inchantments plucke out of the skie,
The moone, though she be plaste on hie:
Dame Circes with hir charmes so fine,
Vlysses mates did turne to swine:
The snake with charmes is burst in twaine,
In medowes, where she dooth remaine.

Againe out of the same poet they cite further matter.

Virg.eclog.8. *Has herbas, atq; hæc Ponto mihi lecta venena,*
Ipsa dedit Mæris: nascuntur plurima Ponto.
His ego sæpè lupam fieri, & se condere syluis,
Mærim sæpe animas imis exire sepulchris,
Atq; satas aliò vidi traducere messes.

These herbs did Meris giue to me,
And poisons pluckt at Pontus,
For there they growe and multiplie,
And doo not so amongst vs.
With these she made hir selfe become,
A wolfe, and hid hir in the wood,
She fetcht vp soules out of their toome,
Remoouing corne from where it stood.

Furthermore out of Ouid they alledge these folowing.

Ouid.fast. 6. *Nocte volant, puerósq; petunt nutricis egentes,*
Et vitiant cunis corpora capta suis:
Carpere dicuntur lactentia viscera rostris,
Et plenum potu sanguine gutur habent:

To children they doo flie by night,
And catch them while their nurses sleepe,

And

And spoile their little bodies quite,
And home they beare them in their beake.

Againe out of Virgill in forme following.

Hinc mihi Massylæ gentis monstrata sacerdos, *Virg. Aene.4*
Hesperidum templi custos, epulásq; draconi
Quæ dabat, & sacros seruabat in arbore ramos,
Spargens humida mella, soporiferúmq; papauer.
Hæc se carminibus promittit soluere mentes,
Quas velit, ast alijs duras immittere curas,
Sistere aquam fluuijs, & vertere sidera retrò,
Nocturnósq; ciet manes, mugire videbis
Sub pedibus terram, & descendere montibus ornos:

From thence a virgine preest is come, *Tho. Phaiers translation of the former words of Virg.*
from out Massyla land,
Sometimes the temple there she kept,
and from hir heauenlie hand
The dragon meate did take: she kept
also the frute diuine,
With herbes and liquors sweete that still
to sleepe did men incline.
The minds of men (she saith) from loue
with charmes she can vnbind,
In whom she list: but others can
she cast to cares vnkind.
The running streames doo stand, and from
their course the starres doo wreath,
And soules she coniure can: thou shalt
see sister vnderneath
The ground with roring gape, and trees
and mountaines turne vpright, &c.

Moreouer out of Ouid they alledge as followeth.

Cùm volui ripis ipsis mirantibus amnes *Ouid. metamor.7.*
In fontes rediere suos, concússaq; sisto,

Stantia concutio, cantu freta nubila pello,
Nubiláq; induco, ventos abigóq; vocóq;,
Vipereas rumpo verbis & carmine fauces,
Viuáque saxa, sua conuulsáque robora terra,
Et syluas moueo, iubeóque tremescere montes,
Et mugire solum, manésque exire sepulchris,
Téque luna traho, &c:

The riuers I can make retire,
Into the fountaines whence they flo,
(Whereat the banks themselues admire)
I can make standing waters go,
With charmes I driue both sea and clowd,
I make it calme and blowe alowd.
The vipers iawes, the rockie stone,
With words and charmes I breake in twaine
The force of earth congeald in one,
I mooue and shake both woods and plaine;
I make the soules of men arise,
I pull the moone out of the skies.

Also out of the same poet.

Ouid. de Medea.

Verbáque ter dixit placidos facientia somnos,
Quæ mare turbatum, quæ flumina concita sistant:

And thrise she spake the words that causd
Sweete sleepe and quiet rest,
She staid the raging of the sea,
And mightie flouds supprest.

Ouid. de Medea, epistola. 4.

Et miserum tenues in iecur vrget acus,

She sticketh also needels fine
In liuers, whereby men doo pine.

Also out of other poets.

3. Amor. Eclog. 6.

Carmine læsa Ceres, sterilem vanescit in herbam,
Deficiunt læsi carmine fontis aquæ,
Ilicibus glandes, cantatáque vitibus vua

Decidit,

Decidit,& nullo poma mouente fluunt:

With charmes the corne is spoiled so,
As that it vades to barren gras,
With charmes the springs are dried lowe,
That none can see where water was,
The grapes from vines, the mast from okes,
And beats downe frute with charming strokes.

Quæ sidera excantata voce Thessala
Lunámque cælo diripit: *Horac.epod.5*

She plucks downe moone and starres from skie,
With chaunting voice of Thessalie.

Hanc ego de cælo ducentem sidera vidi,
Fluminis ac rapidi carmine vertit iter, *Tibul.de fascinatrice, lib.1.Eleg.2.*
Hæc cantu finditque solum, manésque sepulchris
Elicit,& tepido deuorat ossa rogo:
Cùm lubet hæc tristi depellit lumina cælo,
Cùm lubet æstiuo conuocat orbe niues:

She plucks each star out of his throne,
And turneth backe the raging waues,
With charmes she makes the earth to cone,
And raiseth soules out of their graues:
She burnes mens bones as with a fire,
And pulleth downe the lights from heauen,
And makes it snowe at hir desire
Euen in the midst of summer season.

Mens hausti nulla sanie polluta veneni,
Incantata perit: *Lucan.lib.de bello ciuili.6*

A man inchanted runneth mad,
That neuer anie poison had.

Cessauere vices rerum, dilatáque longa *Idem.Ibid.*
Hæsit nocte dies, legi non paruit æther,
Torpuit & præceps audito carmine mundus:

The course of nature ceased quite,

The aire obeied not his lawe,
The daie delaid by length of night,
Which made both daie and night to yawe;
And all was through that charming geare,
Which causd the world to quake for feare.

Idem. Ibid.

Carmine Thessalidum dura in præcordia fluxit,
Non fatis adductus amor, flammisque seueri
Illicitis arsere ignes:

With Thessall charmes, and not by fate
Hot loue is forced for to flowe,
Euen where before hath beene debate,
They cause affection for to growe.

Idem. Ibid.

Gens inuisa dijs maculandi callida cœli,
Quos genuit terra, mali qui sidera mundi
Iuráque fixarum possunt peruertere rerum:
Nam nunc stare polos, & flumina mittere norunt,
Aethera sub terras adigunt, montésque reuellunt:

These witches hatefull vnto God,
And cunning to defile the aire,
Which can disorder with a nod
The course of nature euerie where,
Doo cause the wandring starres to staie,
And driue the winds beelow the ground,
They send the streames another waie,
And throwe downe hilles where they abound.

C. Manilius astronom. suæ. lib. 1.

——————— linguis dixere volucrum,
Consultare fibras, & rumpere vocibus angues,
Solicitare vmbras, ipsúmque Acheronta mouere,
In noctémque dies, in lucem vertere noctes,
Omnia conando docilis solertia vincit:

They talked with the toongs of birds,
Consulting with the salt sea coasts,
They burst the snakes with witching words,

Sollici-

Solliciting the ſpirituall ghoſts,
They turne the night into the daie,
And alſo driue the light awaie:
And what iſt that cannot be made
By them that doo applie this trade?

Poetrie and poperie compared in inchantments, popiſh witchmongers haue more aduantage herein than proteſtants.

The eight Chapter.

YOu ſee in theſe verſes, the poets (whether in earneſt or in ieſt I know not) aſcribe vnto witches & to their charmes, more than is to be found in humane or diabolicall power. I doubt not but the moſt part of the readers hereof will admit them to be fabulous; although the moſt learned of mine aduerſaries (for lacke of ſcripture) are faine to produce theſe poetries for proofes, and for lacke of iudgement I am ſure doo thinke, that Actæons transformation was true. And why not? As well as the metamorphoſis or tranſubſtantiation of Vlyſſes his companions into ſwine: which S. Auguſtine, and ſo manie great clarkes credit and report.

Ouid. Metamorph. lib.3. fab.2.

Ouid. Metamorph.14. fab.5,6.

Neuertheleſſe, popiſh writers (I confeſſe) haue aduantage herein of our proteſtants: for (beſides theſe poeticall proofes) they haue (for aduantage) the word and authoritie of the pope himſelfe, and others of that holie crue; whoſe charmes, coniurations, bleſſings, curſſings, &c: I meane in part (for a taſt) to ſet downe; giuing you to vnderſtand, that poets are not altogither ſo impudent as papiſts herein, neither ſeeme they ſo ignorant, prophane, or impious. And therefore I will ſhew you how lowd alſo they lie, and what they on the other ſide aſcribe to their charmes and coniurations; and togither will ſet downe with them all maner of witches charmes, as conuenientlie as I maie.

The authors tranſition to his purpoſed ſcope.

Popish periapts, amulets and charmes, agnus Dei, a wastcote of proofe, a charme for the falling euill, a writing brought to S. Leo from heauen by an angell, the vertues of S.Sauiors epistle, a charme against theeues, a writing found in Christs wounds, of the crosse, &c.

The ninth Chapter.

These vertues vnder these verses (written by pope Vrbane the fift to the emperour of the Græcians) are conteined in a periapt or tablet, to be continuallie worne about one, called Agnus Dei, which is a little cake, hauing the picture of a lambe carrieng of a flag on the one side; and Christs head on the other side, and is hollow: so as the gospell of S. Iohn, written in fine paper, is placed in the concauitie thereof: and it is thus compounded or made, euen as they themselues report.

Balsamus & munda cera, cum chrismatis vnda
Conficiunt agnum, quod munus do tibi magnum,
Fonte velut natum, per mystica sanctificatum:
Fulgura desursum depellit, & omne malignum,
Peccatum frangit, vt Christi sanguis, & angit,
Prægnans seruatur, simul & partus liberatur,
Dona refert dignis, virtutem destruit ignis,
Portatus mundè de fluctibus eripit vnda:

Englished by Abraham Fleming. Looke in the Bee-hiue of the Romish church. Lib.4.cap.1. fol.243.

Balme, virgine wax, and holie water,
an Agnus Dei make:
A gift than which none can be greater,
I send thee for to take.
From founteine cleere the same hath issue,
in secret sanctifide:
Gainst lightning it hath soueraigne vertue,
and thunder crackes beside.

Ech

Ech hainous ſinne it weares and waſteth,
euen as Chriſts precious blood,
And women, whiles their trauell laſteth,
it ſaues, it is ſo good.
It doth beſtow great gifts and graces,
on ſuch as well deſerue:
And borne about in noiſome places,
from perill doth preſerue.
The force of fire, whoſe heat deſtroieth,
it breaks and bringeth downe:
And he or ſhe that this enioieth,
no water ſhall them drowne.

¶ A charme against ſhot, or a waſtcote of proofe.

Before the comming vp of theſe Agnus Deis, a holie garment called a waſtcote for neceſſitie was much vſed of our forefathers, as a holy relike, &c: as giuen by the pope, or ſome ſuch archconiuror, who promiſed thereby all manner of immunitie to the wearer thereof; in ſomuch as he could not be hurt with anie ſhot or other violence. And otherwiſe, that woman that would weare it, ſhould haue quicke deliuerance: the compoſition thereof was in this order following.

On Chriſtmas daie at night, a thréed muſt be ſponne of flax, by a little virgine girle, in the name of the diuell: and it muſt be by hir wouen, and alſo wrought with the néedle. In the breſt or forepart thereof muſt be made with néedle worke two heads; on the head at the right ſide muſt be a hat, and a long beard; the left head muſt haue on a crowne, and it muſt be ſo horrible, that it maie reſemble Belzebub, and on each ſide of the waſtcote muſt be made a croſſe. The maner of making a waſtecote of proofe.

¶ Againſt the falling euill.

Moreouer, this inſuing is another counterfet charme of theirs, whereby the falling euill is preſentlie remedied.

Gaſpar fert myrrham, thus Melchior, Balthaſar aurum,
Hæc tria qui ſecum portabit nomina regum,

Soluitur à morbo Christi pietate caduco.

Gasper with his myrh beganne
these presents to vnfold,
Then Melchior brought in frankincense,
and Balthasar brought in gold.
Now he that of these holie kings
the names about shall beare,
The falling yll by grace of Christ
shall neuer need to feare.

This is as true a copie of the holie writing, that was brought downe from heauen by an angell to S. Leo pope of Rome; & he did bid him take it to king Charles, when he went to the battell at Ronceuall. And the angell said, that what man or woman beareth this writing about them with good deuotion, and saith euerie daie thrée Pater nosters, thrée Aues, and one Creede, shall not that daie be ouercome of his enimies, either bodilie or ghostlie; neither shalbe robbed or slaine of théeues, pestilence, thunder, or lightening; neither shall be hurt with fier or water, nor combred with spirits, neither shall haue displeasure of lords or ladies: he shall not be condemned with false witnesse, nor taken with fairies, or anie maner of axes, nor yet with the falling euill. Also, if a woman be in trauell, laie this writing vpō hir bellie, she shall haue easie deliuerance, and the child right shape and christendome, and the mother purification of holy church, and all through vertue of these holie names of Jesus Christ following:

These effects are too good to be true in such a patched peece of poperie.

✠ Iesus ✠ Christus ✠ Messias ✠ Soter ✠ Emmanuel ✠ Sabbaoth ✠ Adonai ✠ Vnigenitus ✠ Maiestas ✠ Paracletus ✠ Saluator noster ✠ Agiros iskiros ✠ Agios ✠ Adanatos ✠ Gasper ✠ Melchior ✠ & Balthasar ✠ Matthæus ✠ Marcus ✠ Lucas ✠ Iohannes.

The epistle of S. Sauior, which pope Leo sent to king Charles, saieng, that whosoeuer carrieth the same about him, or in what daie so euer he shall read it, or shall sée it, he shall not be killed with anie iron toole, nor be burned with fier, nor be drowned with water, neither anie euill man or other creature maie hurt him. The crosse of Christ is a wonderfull defense ✠ the crosse of

of Christ be alwaies with me ✠ the crosse is it which I doo alwaies worship ✠ the crosse of Christ is true health ✠ the crosse of Christ dooth lose the bands of death ✠ the crosse of Christ is the truth and the waie ✠ I take my iournie vpon the crosse of the Lord ✠ the crosse of Christ beateth downe euerie euill ✠ the crosse of Christ giueth all good things ✠ the crosse of Christ taketh awaie paines euerlasting ✠ the crosse of Christ saue me ✠ O crosse of Christ be vpon me, before me, and behind me ✠ bicause the ancient enimie cannot abide the sight of thée ✠ the crosse of Christ saue me, kéepe me, gouerne me, and direct me ✠ Thomas bearing this note of thy diuine maiestie ✠ Alpha ✠ Omega ✠ first ✠ and last ✠ middest ✠ and end ✠ beginning ✠ and first begotten ✠ wisedome ✠ vertue ✠.

¶ A popish periapt or charme, which must neuer be said, but carried about one, against theeues.

I Doo go, and I doo come vnto you with the loue of God, with the humilitie of Christ, with the holines of our blessed ladie, with the faith of Abraham, with the iustice of Isaac, with the vertue of Dauid, with the might of Peter, with the constancie of Paule, with the word of God, with the authoritie of Gregorie, with the praier of Clement, with the floud of Iordan, *p p p c g e g a q q e st p t 1·k a b g l k 2 a x t g t b a m g 2 4 2 1 q p x c g k q a 9 9 p o q q r.* Oh onelie Father ✠ oh onlie lord ✠ And Iesus ✠ passing through the middest of them ✠ went ✠ In the name of the Father ✠ and of the Sonne ✠ and of the Holie-ghost ✠.

This were a good preseruatiue for a trauelling papist.

¶ Another amulet.

IOseph of Arimathea did find this writing vpon the wounds of the side of Iesus Christ, written with Gods finger, when the bodie was taken away frō the crosse. Whosoeuer shall carrie this writing about him, shall not die anie euill death, if he beléeue in Christ, and in all perplexities he shall soone be deliuered, neither let him feare any danger at all. Fons ✠ alpha & omega ✠ figa ✠ figalis ✠ Sabbaoth ✠ Emmanuel ✠ Adonai ✠ o ✠ Neray ✠ Elay ✠ Ihe ✠ Rentone ✠ Neger ✠ Sahe ✠ Pangeton ✠ Commen ✠ a ✠ g ✠ l ✠ a ✠ Mattheus ✠ Marcus ✠ Lucas ✠ Iohannes ✠ ✠ ✠ *titulus triumphalis* ✠ *Iesus Nasarenus*

renus rex Iudæorum ✠ ecce dominicæ crucis signum ✠ fugite partes aduersæ, vicit leo de tribu Iudæ, radix, Dauid, aleluijah, Kyrie eleeson, Christe eleeson, pater noster, aue Maria, & ne nos, & veniat super nos salutare tuum: Oremus, &c.

I find in a Primer intituled The houres of our Ladie, after the vse of the church of Yorke, printed anno 1516. a charme with this titling in red letters; To all them that afore this image of pitie deuoutlie shall saie * fiue *Pater nosters*, fiue *Aues*, and one *Credo*, pitiouslie beholding these armes of Christs passion, are granted thirtie two thousand seuen hundred fiftie fiue yeares of pardon. It is to be thought that this pardon was granted in the time of pope Boniface the ninth; for Platina saith that the pardons were sold so cheape, that the apostolicall authoritie grew into contempt.

If the party faile in the number, he may go whistle for a pardon.

¶ A papisticall charme.

Signum sanctæ crucis defendat me à malis præsentibus, præteritis, & futuris, interioribus & exterioribus: that is, The signe of the crosse defend me from euils present, past, and to come, inward and outward.

¶ A charme found in the canon of the masse.

Also this charme is found in the canon of the masse, *Hæc sacrosancta commixtio corporis & sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi fiat mihi, omnibúsque sumentibus, salus mentis & corporis, & ad vitam promerendam, & capessendam, præparatio salutaris*: that is, Let this holie mixture of the bodie and bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, be vnto me, and vnto all receiuers thereof, health of mind and bodie, and to the deseruing and receiuing of life an healthfull preparatiue.

¶ Other papisticall charmes.

Aqua benedicta, sit mihi salus & vita:

Let holie water be, both health and life to me.

By Ab. Fleming.

Adque nomen Martini omnis hæreticus fugiat pallidus,

When Martins name is soong or said,
Let heretikes flie as men dismaid.

But the papists haue a harder charme than that; to wit, Fier and fagot, Fier and fagot.

¶ A charme of the holie crosse.

Nulla salus est in domo,
Nisi cruce munit homo
Superliminaria.
Neque sentit gladium,
Nec amisit filium,
Quisquis egit talia.

No health within the house dooth dwell,
Except a man doo crosse him well,
at euerie doore or frame,
He neuer feeleth the swords point,
Nor of his sonne shall loose a ioint,
that dooth performe the same.

Furthermore as followeth.

Ista suos fortiores
Semper facit, & victores,
Morbos sanat & languores,
Reprimit dæmonia.
Dat captiuis libertatem,
Vitæ confert nouitatem,
Ad antiquam dignitatem,
Crux reduxit omnia.
O Crux lignum triumphale,
Mundi vera salus vale,
Inter ligna nullum tale,
Fronde, flore, germine.
Medicina Christiana,
Salua sanos, ægros sana,
Quod non valet vis humana,
Fit in tuo nomine, &c.

Sancta crux æquiparatur salutifero Christo. O blasphemiam inenarrabilem!

It

Englished by Abraham Fleming. Looke in the Bee-hiue of the Romish church.lib. 4.cap.3. fol.251,252.

It makes hir souldiers excellent,
and crowneth them with victorie,
Restores the lame and impotent,
and healeth euerie maladie.
The diuels of hell it conquereth,
releaseth from imprisonment,
Newnesse of life it offereth,
it hath all at commandement.
O crosse of wood incomparable,
to all the world most holsome:
No wood is halfe so honourable,
in branch, in bud, or blossome.
O medcine which Christ did ordaine,
the sound saue euerie hower,
The sicke and sore make whole againe,
by vertue of thy power.
And that which mans vnablenesse,
hath neuer comprehended,
Grant by thy name of holinesse,
it may be fullie ended,&c.

¶ A charme taken out of the Primer.

This charme following is taken out of the Primer aforesaid. *Omnipotens* ✠ *Dominus* ✠ *Christus* ✠ *Messias* ✠ with 34. names more, & as many crosses, & then proceeds in this wise; *Ista nomina me protegant ab omni aduersitate, plaga, & infirmitate corporis & animæ, plenè liberent, & assistent in auxilium ista nomina regum, Gasper, &c: & 12. apostoli (videlicet) Petrus, &c: & 4. euangelistæ (videlicet) Matthæus, &c: mihi assistent in omnibus necessitatibus meis, ac me defendant & liberent ab omnibus periculis & corporis & animæ, & omnibus malis præteritis, præsentibus, & futuris, &c.*

How

How to make holie water, and the vertues therof, S. Rufins charme, of the wearing and bearing of the name of Iesus, that the sacrament of confession and the eucharist is of as much efficacie as other charmes, & magnified by L. Vairus.

The tenth Chapter.

If I did well, I should shew you the confection of all their stuffe, and how they prepare it; but it would be too long. And therefore you shall onlie haue in this place a few notes for the composition of certeine receipts, which in stead of an Apothecarie if you deliuer to any morrowmasse preest, he will make them as well as the pope himselfe. Marie now they war euerie parlement deerer and deerer; although therewithall, they vtter many stale drugs of their owne.

If you looke in the popish pontificall, you shall see how they make their holie water; to wit, in this sort: I coniure thee thou creature of water, in the name of the father, and of the sonne, & of the Holie-ghost, that thou driue the diuell out of euerie corner and hole of this church, and altar; so as he remaine not within our precincts that are iust and righteous. And water thus vsed (as Durandus saith) hath power of his owne nature to driue away diuels. If you will learne to make any more of this popish stuffe, you may go to the verie masse booke, and find manie good receipts: marrie if you search Durandus, &c; you shall find abundance.

In ecclesiæ dedicatione.

In rationali diuinorum officiorum.

I know that all these charmes, and all these palterie confections (though they were farre more impious and foolish) will be mainteined and defended by massemongers, euen as the residue will be by witchmongers: and therefore I will in this place insert a charme, the authoritie wherof is equall with the rest, desiring to haue their opinions herein. I find in a booke called *Pomærium sermonum quadragesimalium*, that S. Francis seeing Rufinus

Pom. serm. 32.

prouoked

prouoked of the diuell to thinke himselfe damned, charged Rufinus to saie this charme, when he next met with the diuell; *Aperi os, & ibi imponam stercus,* which is as much to saie in English as, Open thy mouth and I will put in a plumme: a verie ruffinlie charme.

a turd.

L. Vairus lib. de fascin. 3. cap. 10.
Idem, ibid.

Leonard Vairus writeth, *De veris, pijs, ac sanctis amuletis fascinum atq; omnia veneficia destruentibus;* wherein he speciallie commendeth the name of Jesus to be worne. But the sacrament of confession he extolleth aboue all things, saieng, that whereas Christ with his power did but throwe diuels out of mens bodies, the preest driueth the diuell out of mans soule by confession. For (saith he) these words of the preest, when he saith, *Ego te absoluo,* are as effectuall to driue awaie the princes of darknes, through the mightie power of that saieng, as was the voice of God to driue awaie the darknes of the world, when at the beginning he said, *Fiat lux.* He commendeth also, as holesome things to driue awaie diuels, the sacrament of the eucharist, and solitarines, and silence. Finallie he saith, that if there be added herevnto an Agnus Dei, and the same be worne about ones necke by one void of sinne, nothing is wanting that is good and holesome for this purpose. But he concludeth, that you must weare and make dints in your forhead, with crossing your selfe when you put on your shooes, and at euerie other action, &c: and that is also a present remedie to driue awaie diuels, for they cannot abide it.

Idem, ibid.

Of the noble balme vsed by Moses, apishlie counterfeited in the church of Rome.

The eleuenth Chapter.

The noble balme that Moses made, hauing indeed manie excellent vertues, besides the pleasant and comfortable sauour thereof; wherewithall Moses in his politike lawes enioined kings, queenes, and princes to be annointed in their true and lawfull elections and coronations, vntill the euerlasting king had put on man

man vpon him, is apishlie counterfeited in the Romish church, with diuerse terrible coniurations, thrée breathings, crossewise, (able to make a quezie stomach spue) nine mumblings, and thrée curtsies, saieng thereunto, *Aue sanctum oleum, ter aue sanctum balsamum.* And so the diuell is thrust out, and the Holie-ghost let into his place. But as for Moses his balme, it is not now to be found either in Rome or elsewhere that I can learne. And according to this papisticall order, witches, and other superstitious people follow on, with charmes and coniurations made in forme; which manie bad physicians also practise, when their learning faileth, as maie appeare by example in the sequele.

The opinion of Ferrarius touching charmes, periapts, appensions, amulets, &c. Of Homericall medicines, of constant opinion, and the effects thereof.

The twelfe Chapter.

ARgerius Ferrarius, a physician in these daies of great account, doth saie, that forsomuch as by no diet nor physicke anie disease can be so taken awaie or extinguished, but that certeine dregs and relikes will remaine: therefore physicians vse physicall alligations, appensions, periapts, amulets, charmes, characters, &c, which he supposeth maie doo good; but harme he is sure they can doo none: urging that it is necessarie and expedient for a physician to leaue nothing vndone that may be deuised for his patients recouerie; and that by such meanes manie great cures are done. He citeth a great number of experiments out of Alexander Trallianus, Aetius, Octauianus, Marcellus, Philodotus, Archigines, Philostratus, Plinie, and Dioscorides; and would make men beléeue that Galen (who in truth despised and derided all those vanities) recanted in his latter daies his former opinion, and all his inuectiues tending against these magicall cures: writing also a booke intituled *De Homerica medicatione*, which no man could euer sée, but one Alexander Trallianus, who saith he saw it: and

Arg. Fer. lib. de medendi methodo. 2. cap. 11.

De Homerica medicatione.

and further affirmeth, that it is an honest mans part to cure the sicke, by hooke or by crooke, or by anie meanes whatsoeuer. Yea he saith that Galen (who indéed wrote and taught that *Incantamenta sunt mulierculatum figmenta,* and be the onlie clokes of bad physicians) affirmeth, that there is vertue and great force in incantations. As for example (saith Trallian) Galen, being now reconciled to this opinion, holdeth and writeth, that the bones which sticke in ones throte, are auoided and cast out with the violence of charmes and inchanting words; yea and that thereby the stone, the chollicke, the falling sicknes, and all feuers, gowts, fluxes, fistulas, issues of bloud, and finallie whatsoeuer cure (euen beyond the skill of himselfe or anie other foolish physician) is cured and perfectlie healed by words of inchantment. Marie M. Ferrarius (although he allowed and practised this kind of physicke) yet he protesteth that he thinketh it none otherwise effectuall, than by the waie of constant opinion: so as he affirmeth that neither the character, nor the charme, nor the witch, nor the diuell accomplish the cure; as (saith he) the experiment of the toothach will manifestlie declare, wherein the cure is wrought by the confidence or diffidence as well of the patient, as of the agent; according to the poets saieng:

This would be examined, to see if Galen be not slandered.

Nos habitat non tartara, sed nec sidera cæli,
Spiritus in nobis qui viget illa facit.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Not hellish furies dwell in vs,
Nor starres with influence heauenlie;
The spirit that liues and rules in vs,
Doth euerie thing ingenioustie,

This (saith he) commeth to the vnlearned, through the opinion which they conceiue of the characters and holie words: but the learned that know the force of the mind and imagination, worke miracles by meanes thereof; so as the vnlearned must haue externall helps, to doo that which the learned can doo with a word onelie. He saith that this is called *Homerica medicatio,* bicause Homer discouered the bloud of the word suppressed, and the infections healed by or in mysteries.

Of

Of the effects of amulets, the drift of Argerius Ferrarius in the commendation of charmes, &c: foure sorts of Homericall medicines, & the choice thereof; of imagination.

The xiij. Chapter.

As touching mine opinion of these amulets, characters, and such other bables, I haue sufficientlie vttered it elsewhere: and I will bewraie the vanitie of these superstitious trifles more largelie hereafter. And therefore at this time I onelie saie, that those amulets, which are to be hanged or carried about one, if they consist of hearbs, rootes, stones, or some other metall, they maie haue diuerse medicinable operations; and by the vertue giuen to them by God in their creation, maie worke strange effects and cures: and to impute this vertue to anie other matter is witchcraft. And whereas A. Ferrarius commendeth certeine amulets, that haue no shew of physicall operation; as a naile taken from a crosse, holie water, and the verie signe of the crosse, with such like popish stuffe: I thinke he laboureth thereby rather to draw men to poperie, than to teach or persuade them in the truth of physicke or philosophie. And I thinke thus the rather, for that he himselfe séeth the fraud hereof; confessing that where these magicall physicians applie thrée séeds of thrée leaued grasse to a tertian ague, and foure to a quartane, that the number is not materiall.

But of these Homericall medicines he saith there are foure sorts, whereof amulets, characters, & charmes are thrée: howbeit he commendeth and preferreth the fourth aboue the rest; and that he saith consisteth in illusions, which he more properlie calleth stratagems. Of which sort of conclusions he alledgeth for example, how Philodotus did put a cap of lead vpon ones head, who imagined he was headlesse, whereby the partie was deliuered from his disease or conceipt. Item another cured a woman that imagined, that a serpent or snake did continuallie gnaw and

Foure sorts of Homericall medicines, and which is the principall.

teare hir entrailes; and that was done onelie by giuing hir a vomit, and by foisting into the matter vomited a little serpent or snake, like vnto that which she imagined was in hir bellie.

The force of fixed fansie, opinion, or strong conceipt.

Item, another imagined that he alwaies burned in the fier, vnder whose bed a fier was priuilie conueied, which being raked out before his face, his fansie was satisfied, and his heate allaied. Herevnto perteineth, that the hickot is cured with sudden feare or strange newes: yea by that meanes agues and manie other strange and extreame diseases haue béene healed. And some that haue lien so sicke and sore of the gowt, that they could not remoue a ioint, through sudden feare of fier, or ruine of houses, haue forgotten their infirmities and gréefes, and haue runne awaie. But in my tract vpon melancholie, and the effects of imagination, and in the discourse of naturall magicke, you shall sée these matters largelie touched.

Choice of Charmes against the falling euill, the biting of a mad dog, the stinging of a scorpion, the tooth-ach, for a woman in trauell, for the Kings euill, to get a thorne out of any member, or a bone out of ones throte, charmes to be said fasting, or at the gathering of hearbs, for sore eies, to open locks, against spirits, for the bots in a horsse, and speciallie for the Duke of Albas horsse, for sowre wines, &c.

The xiiij. Chapter.

There be innumerable charmes of coniurers, bad physicians, lewd surgians, melancholike witches, and cooseners, for all diseases and gréefes; speciallie for such as bad physicians and surgions knowe not how to cure, and in truth are good stuffe to shadow their ignorance, whereof I will repeate some.

For the falling euill.

Take the sicke man by the hand, and whisper these wordes softlie in his eare, I coniure thée by the sunne and moone,

and

and by the gospell of this daie deliuered by God to Hubert, Giles, Cornelius, and Iohn, that thou rise and fall no more. ✲ Otherwise: Drinke in the night at a spring water out of a skull of one that hath béene slaine. ✲ Otherwise: Eate a pig killed with a knife that slew a man. ✲ Otherwise as followeth.

Ananizapta ferit mortem, dum lædere quærit,
Est mala mors capta, dum dicitur Ananizapta,
Ananizapta Dei nunc miserere mei.

Ananizapta smiteth death,
whiles harme intendeth he,
This word Ananizapta say,
and death shall captiue be,
Ananizapta ô of God,
haue mercie now on me.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

¶ Against the biting of a mad dog.

Put a siluer ring on the finger, within the which these words are grauen ✠ *Habay* ✠ *habar* ✠ *hebar* ✠ & saie to the person bitten with a mad dog, I am thy sauiour, lose not thy life: and then pricke him in the nose thrise, that at each time he bléed. ✲ Otherwise: Take pilles made of the skull of one that is hanged. ✲ Otherwise: Write vpon a péece of bread, *Irioni, khiriora, esser, khuder, feres*; and let it be eaten by the partie bitten. ✲ Otherwise: *O rex gloriæ Iesu Christe, veni cum pace: In nomine patris max, in nomine filij max, in nomine spiritus sancti prax: Gasper, Melchior, Balthasar* ✠ *prax* ✠ *max* ✠ *Deus I max* ✠

I. Bodinus. lib. de dæmon 3. cap. 5.

But in troth this is verie dangerous; insomuch as if it be not spéedilie and cunninglie preuented, either death or frensie insueth, through infection of the humor left in the wound bitten by a mad dog: which bicause bad surgions cannot cure, they haue therfore vsed foolish cousening charmes. But Dodonæus in his herball saith, that the hearbe Alysson cureth it: which experiment, I doubt not, will prooue more true than all the charms in the world. But where he saith, that the same hanged at a mans gate or entrie, preserueth him and his cattell from inchantment, or bewitching, he is ouertaken with follie.

¶ Against the biting of a scorpion.

SAie to an asse secretlie, and as it were whispering in his eare; I am bitten with a Scorpion.

¶ Against the toothach.

SCarifie the gums in the greefe, with the tooth of one that hath beene slaine. ✻ Otherwise: *Galbes galbat, galdes galdat.* ✻ Otherwise: *A ab hur hus,* &c. ✻ Otherwise: At saccaring of masse hold your teeth togither, and say* *Os non comminuetis ex eo.* ✻ Otherwise: *Strigiles falcésq; dentatæ, dentium dolorem persanate*; O horsse-combs and sickles that haue so many teeth, come heale me now of my toothach.

*That is, You shall not breake or diminish a bone of him.

¶ A charme to release a woman in trauell.

THrowe ouer the top of the house, where a woman in trauell lieth, a stone, or any other thing that hath killed three liuing creatures; namelie, a man, a wild bore, and a she beare.

¶ To heale the Kings or Queenes euill, or any other sorenesse in the throte.

REmedies to cure the Kings or Queenes euill, is first to touch the place with the hand of one that died an vntimelie death. ✻ Otherwise: Let a virgine fasting laie hir hand on the sore, and saie; Apollo denieth that the heate of the plague can increase, where a naked virgine quencheth it: and spet three times vpon it.

¶ A charme read in the Romish church, vpon saint Blazes daie, that will fetch a thorne out of anie place of ones bodie, a bone out of the throte, &c: Lect. 3.

FOr the fetching of a thorne out of any place of ones bodie, or a bone out of the throte, you shall read a charme in the Romish church vpon S. Blazes daie; to wit, Call vpon God, and remember S. Blaze. This S. Blaze could also heale all wild beasts that were sicke or lame, with laieng on of his hands: as appeareth in the lesson red on his daie, where you shall see the matter at large.

¶ A

¶ A charme for the headach.

Tie a halter about your head, wherewith one hath béene hanged.

¶ A charme to be said each morning by a witch fasting, or at least before she go abroad.

The fier bites, the fier bites, the fier bites; Hogs turd ouer it, hogs turd ouer it, hogs turd ouer it; The father with thée, the sonne with me, the holie-ghost betwéene vs both to be: ter. Then spit ouer one shoulder, and then ouer the other, and then thrée times right forward.

¶ Another charme that witches vse at the gathering of their medicinable hearbs.

Haile be thou holie hearbe
growing on the ground,
All in the mount * Caluarie
first wert thou found,
Thou art good for manie a sore,
and healest manie a wound,
In the name of sweete Iesus
I take thee from the ground.

*Though neither the hearbe nor the witch neuer came there.

¶ An old womans charme, wherewith she did much good in the countrie, and grew famous thereby.

An old woman that healed all diseases of cattell (for the which she neuer tooke any reward but a penie and a loafe) being seriouslie examined by what words she brought these things to passe, confessed that after she had touched the sicke creature, she alwaies departed immediatlie; saieng:

My loafe in my lap,
my penie in my pursse;
Thou art neuer the better,
and I am neuer the wursse.

Another like charme.

A Gentlewoman hauing sore eies, made hir mone to one, that promised hir helpe, if she would follow his aduise: which was onelie to weare about hir necke a scroll sealed vp, whereinto she might not looke. And she conceiuing hope of cure thereby, receiued it vnder the condition, and left hir weeping and teares, wherewith she was wont to bewaile the miserable darkenesse, which she doubted to indure: whereby in short time hir eies were well amended. But alas! she lost soone after that pretious iewell, and thereby returned to hir wonted weeping, and by consequence to hir sore eies. Howbeit, hir iewell or scroll being found againe, was looked into by hir deere friends, and this onelie posie was conteined therein:

Note the force of constant opinion, or fixed fancy.

The diuell pull out both thine eies,
And * etish in the holes likewise.

*Spell the word backward, and you shall soone see this slouenlie charme or appension.

Whereby partlie you may see what constant opinion can doo, according to the saieng of Plato; If a mans fansie or mind giue him assurance that a hurtfull thing shall doo him good, it may doo so, &c.

A charme to open locks.

Theeuish charmes.

AS the hearbes called Aethiopides will open all locks (if all be true that inchanters saie) with the help of certeine words: so be there charmes also and periapts, which without any hearbs can doo as much: as for example. Take a peece of wax crossed in baptisme, and doo but print certeine floures therein, and tie them in the hinder skirt of your shirt; and when you would vndoo the locke, blow thrise therin, saieng; *Arato hoc partiko hoc maratarykin.* I open this doore in thy name that I am forced to breake, as thou brakest hell gates, *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti, Amen.*

¶ A charme to driue awaie spirits that haunt anie house.

This is called and counted the Paracelsian charme.

HAng in euerie of the foure corners of your house this sentence written vpon virgine parchment; [a] *Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum:* [b] *Mosen habent & prophetas:* [c] *Exurgat Deus & dissipentur*

[a] Psal.150. [b] Luk.16. [c] Psa.64.

pentur inimici eius.

¶ A prettie charme or conclusion for one possessed.

The possessed bodie must go vpon his or hir knées to the church, how farre so euer it be off from their lodging; and so must créepe without going out of the waie, being the common high waie, in that sort, how fowle and durtie soeuer the same be; or whatsoeuer lie in the waie, not shunning anie thing whatsoeuer, vntill he come to the church, where he must heare * masse deuoutlie, and then followeth recouerie.

* Memorandum that hearing of masse be in no case omitted, quoth Nota.

¶ Another for the same purpose.

There must be commended to some poore begger the saieng of fiue *Pater nosters*, and fiue *Aues*; the first to be said in the name of the partie possessed, or bewitched: for that Christ was led into the garden; secondlie, for that Christ did sweat both water and bloud; thirdlie, for that Christ was condemned; fourthlie, for that he was crucified guiltlesse; and fiftlie, for that he suffered to take awaie our sinnes. Then must the sicke bodie heare masse eight daies together, standing in the place where the gospell is said, and must mingle holie water with his meate and his drinke, and holie salt also must be a portion of the mixture.

¶ Another to the same effect.

The sicke man must fast thrée daies, and then he with his parents must come to church, vpon an embering fridaie, and must heare the masse for that daie appointed, and so likewise the saturdaie and sundaie following. And the préest must read vpon the sicke mans head, that gospell which is read in September, and in grape haruest, after the feast of holie crosse *In diebus quatuor temporum*, in ember daies: then let him write it, and carrie it about his necke, and he shall be cured.

Iohannes Anglicus ex Constantino, Gualtero, Bernardo, Gilberto, &c

¶ Another charme or witchcraft for the same.

This office or conuration following was first authorised and printed at Rome, and afterwards at Auenion, Anno. 1515. And least that the diuell should lie hid in some secret part of the

bodie, euerie part thereof is named; *Obsecro te Iesu Christe, &c:* that is: I beséech thée O Lord Jesus Christ, that thou pull out of euerie member of this man all infirmities, from his head, from his haire, from his braine, from his forhead, from his eies, from his nose, from his eares, from his mouth, from his tong, from his téeth, from his iawes, from his throte, from his necke, from his backe, from his brest, from his paps, from his heart, from his stomach, from his sides, from his flesh, from his bloud, from his bones, from his legs, from his féete, from his fingers, from the soles of his féete, from his marrowe, from his sinewes, from his skin, and from euerie ioint of his members, &c.

Doubtles Jesus Christ could haue no starting hole, but was hereby euerie waie preuented and pursued; so as he was forced to do the cure: for it appeareth hereby, that it had béene insufficient for him to haue said; Depart out of this man thou uncleane spirit, and that when he so said he did not performe it. I do not thinke that there will be found among all the heathens superstitious fables, or among the witches, coniurors, couseners, poets, knaues, fooles, &c: that euer wrote, so impudent and impious a lie or charme as is read in *Barnardine de bustis*; where, to cure a sicke man, Christs bodie, to wit: a wafer cake, was outwardlie applied to his side, and entred into his heart, in the sight of all the standers by. Now, if graue authors report such lies, what credit in these cases shall we attribute unto the old wiues tales, that Sprenger, Institor, Bodine, and others write? Euen as much as to Ouids Metamorphosis, Aesops fables, Moores Vtopia, and diuerse other fansies; which haue as much truth in them, as a blind man hath sight in his eie.

Barnard. de bustis in Rosar. serm. serm. 15.

¶ A charme for the bots in a horsse.

YOu must both saie and do thus upon the diseased horsse thrée daies together, before the sunne rising: *In nomine pa ✠ tris & fi ✠ lij & spiritus ✠ sancti; Exorcizo te vermem per Deum pa ✠ trem, & fi ✠ lium & spiritum ✠ sanctum:* that is, In the name of God the Father, the Sonne, & the Holy-ghost, I coniure thée O worme by God the Father, the Sonne, & the Holy-ghost; that thou neither eat nor drinke the flesh bloud or bones of this horsse; and that thou hereby maist be made as patient as Iob, and as good as S. Iohn Baptist,

Baptist, when he baptised Christ in Iordan, *In nomine pa✠tris & fi✠lij & spiritus✠sancti.* And then saie thrée *Pater nosters*, and thrée *Aues*, in the right eare of the horsse, to the glorie of the holie trinitie. *Do✠minus fili✠us spiri✠tus Mari✠a.*

There are also diuers bookes imprinted, as it should appeare with the authoritie of the church of Rome, wherein are conteined manie medicinall praiers, not onelie against all diseases of horsses, but also for euerie inpediment and fault in a horsse: in so much as if a shoo fall off in the middest of his iournie, there is a praier to warrant your horsses hoofe, so as it shall not breake, how far so euer he be from the Smithes forge. The smiths will canne them small thankes for this praier.

Item, the Duke of Alba his horsse was consecrated, or canonized, in the lowe countries, at the solemne masse; wherein the popes bull, and also his charme was published (which I will hereafter recite) he in the meane time sitting as Vice-roy with his consecrated standard in his hand, till masse was done.

¶A charme against vineager.

That wine war not eager, write on the vessell, *Gustate & videte, quoniam suauis est Dominus.* O notable blasphemie.

The inchanting of serpents and snakes, obiections aunswered concerning the same; fond reasons whie charmes take effect therin, Mahomets pigeon, miracles wrought by an Asse at Memphis in Aegypt, popish charmes against serpents, of miracle workers, the tameing of snakes, Bodins lie of snakes.

The xv. Chapter.

Concerning the charming of serpents and snakes, mine aduersaries (as I haue said) thinke they haue great aduantage by the words of Dauid in the fiftie eight psalme; and by Ieremie, chapter eight, expounding the one prophet by Virgil, the other by Ouid. For the words of Dauid are these; Their poison is like the Psal.58. poison of a serpent, and like a deafe adder, that stoppeth his eare,

eare, and heareth not the voice of the charmer, charme he neuer so cunninglie. The words of Virgil are these, *Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.* As he might saie, Dauid thou liest; for the cold natured snake is by the charmes of the inchanters broken all to péeces in the field where he lieth. Then commeth Ouid, and he taketh his countriemans part, saieng in the name and person of a witch; *Vipereas rumpo verbis & carmine fauces*; that is, I with my words and charmes can breake in sunder the vipers iawes. Marrie Ieremie on the other side encountereth this poeticall witch, and he not onelie defendeth, but expoundeth his fellowe prophets words, and that not in his owne name, but in the name of almightie God; saieng, I will send serpents and cockatrices among you, which cannot be charmed.

Virg.eclog.8.

Ouid.metamor.7.

Ierem.8.17.

Now let anie indifferent man (christian or heathen) iudge, whether the words and minds of the prophets do not directlie oppugne these poets words (I will not saie minds:) for that I am sure they did therein but iest and trifle, according to the common fabling of lieng poets. And certeinlie, I can encounter them two with other two poets; namelie Propertius and Horace, the one merrilie deriding, the other serioustie impugning their fantasticall poetries, concerning the power and omnipotencie of witches. For where Virgil, Ouid, &c: write that witches with their charmes fetch downe the moone and starres from heauen, &c; Propertius mocketh them in these words following:

At vos deductæ quibus est fallacia Lunæ,
Et labor in magicis sacra piare focis,
En agedum dominæ mentem conuertite nostræ,
Et facite illa meo palleat ore magis,
Tunc ego crediderim vobis & sidera & amnes
Posse Circeis ducere carminibus:

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

But you that haue the subtill slight,
Of fetching downe the moone from skies;
And with inchanting fier bright,
Attempt to purge your sacrifies:
Lo now, go to, turne (if you can)
Our madams mind and sturdie hart,

And

And make hir face more pale and wan,
Than mine: which if by magicke art
You doo, then will I soone beleeue,
That by your witching charmes you can
From skies aloft the starres remeeue,
And riuers turne from whence they ran.

And that you may sée more certeinlie, that these poets did but iest and deride the credulous and timerous sort of people, I thought good to shew you what Ouid saith against himselfe, and such as haue written so incrediblie and ridiculouslie of witches omnipotencie:

Nec mediæ magicis finduntur cantibus angues,
Nec redit in fontes vnda supina suos:

Snakes in the middle are not riuen
with charmes of witches cunning,
Nor waters to their fountaines driuen
by force of backward running.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

As for Horace his verses I omit them, bicause I haue cited them in another place. And concerning this matter Cardanus saith, that at euerie eclipse they were woont to thinke, that witches pulled downe the sunne and moone from heauen. And doubtles, hence came the opinion of that matter, which spred so farre, and continued so long in the common peoples mouthes, that in the end learned men grew to beléeue it, and to affirme it in writing.

Card.lib.15. de var.rer. cap.80.

But here it will be obiected, that bicause it is said (in the places by me alledged) that snakes or vipers cannot be charmed; *Ergo* other things may: To answer this argument, I would aske the witchmonger this question, to wit; Whether it be expedient, that to satisfie his follie, the Holie-ghost must of necessitie make mention of euerie particular thing that he imagineth may be bewitched? I would also aske of him, what priuilege a snake hath more than other creatures, that he onelie may not, and all other creatures may be bewitched? I hope they will not saie, that either their faith or infidelitie is the cause thereof; neither doo I admit the answer of such diuines as saie, that he cannot be bewitched:

An obiection answered.

for

for that he seduced Eue; by meanes whereof God himselfe cursed him; and thereby he is so priuileged, as that no witches charme can take hold of him. But more shall be said hereof in the sequele.

Dan.in dialog.cap.3.

Danæus saith, that witches charmes take soonest hold vpon snakes and adders; bicause of their conference and familiaritie with the diuell, whereby the rather mankind through them was seduced. Let vs seeke then an answer for this cauill; although in truth it needeth not: for the phrase of speach is absolute, & importes not a speciall qualitie proper to the nature of a viper anie more, than when I saie; A connie cannot flie: you should gather & conclude therevpon, that I ment that all other beasts could flie. But you shall vnderstand, that the cause why these vipers can rather withstand the voice & practise of inchanters and sorcerers, than other creatures, is: for that they being in bodie and nature venomous, cannot so soone or properlie receiue their destruction by venome, wherby the witches in other creatures bring their mischeefous practises more easilie to passe, according to Virgils saieng:

Virg.geo.4.
Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Corrupitque lacus, infecit pabula tabo,

She did infect with poison strong
Both ponds and pastures all along.

And therevpon the prophet alludeth vnto their corrupt and inflexible nature, with that comparison: and not (as Tremelius is faine to shift it) with stopping one eare with his taile, and laieng the other close to the ground; bicause he would not heare the charmers voice. For the snake hath neither such reason; nor the words such effect: otherwise the snake must know our thoughts. It is also to be considered, how vntame by nature these vipers (for the most part) are; in so much as they be not by mans industrie or cunning to be made familiar, or traind to doo anie thing, whereby admiration maie be procured: as Bomelio Feates his dog could doo; or Mahomets pigeon, which would resort vnto him, being in the middest of his campe, and picke a pease out of his eare; in such sort that manie of the people thought that the Holie-ghost came and told him a tale in his eare: the same pigeon also brought him a scroll, wherein was written, *Rex esto*, and laid the same in his necke. And bicause I haue spoken of the doci-

Feates his dog, and Mahomets pigeon.

cilitie

litie of a dog and a pigeon, though I could cite an infinite number of like tales, I will be bold to trouble you but with one more.

At Memphis in Aegypt, among other iuggling knacks, which were there vsuallie shewed, there was one that tooke such paines with an asse, that he had taught him all these qualities following. And for gaine he caused a stage to be made, and an assemblie of people to meete; which being done, in the maner of a plaie, he came in with his asse, and said; The Sultane hath great need of asses to helpe to carrie stones and other stuffe, towards his great building which he hath in hand. The asse immediatlie fell downe to the ground, and by all signes shewed himselfe to be sicke, and at length to giue vp the ghost: so as the iuggler begged of the assemblie monie towards his losse. And hauing gotten all that he could, he said; Now my maisters, you shall see mine asse is yet aliue, and dooth but counterfet; bicause he would haue some monie to buie him prouender, knowing that I was poore, and in some need of releefe. Hereupon he would needs laie a wager, that his asse was aliue, who to euerie mans seeming was starke dead. And when one had laid monie with him thereabout, he commanded the asse to rise, but he laie still as though he were dead: then did he beate him with a cudgell, but that would not serue the turne, vntill he addressed this speech to the asse, saieng (as before) in open audience; The Sultane hath commanded, that all the people shall ride out to morrow, and see the triumph, and that the faire ladies will then ride vpon the fairest asses, and will giue notable prouender vnto them, and euerie asse shall drinke of the sweete water of Nilus: and then lo the asse did presentlie start vp, and aduance himselfe exceedinglie. Lo (quoth his maister) now I haue wonne: but in troth the Maior hath borrowed mine asse, for the vse of the old ilfauoured witch his wife: and thereupon immediatlie he hoong downe his eares, and halted downe right; as though he had beene starke lame. Then said his maister; I perceiue you loue yoong prettie wenches: at which words he looked vp, as it were with ioifull cheere. And then his maister did bid him go choose one that should ride vpon him; and he ran to a verie handsome woman, and touched hir with his head: &c. A snake will neuer be brought to such familiaritie, &c. Bodin saith, that this was a man in the likenesse of an asse: but I maie rather

A storie declaring the great docilitie of an asse.

I. Bod. lib. de dæm. 2. cap. 6.

rather thinke that he is an asse in the likenesse of a man. Well, to returne to our serpents, I will tell you a storie concerning the charming of them, and the euent of the same.

Mal. malef. part, 2. qu. 2. cap 9. Iohn. Bodin.

In the citie of Salisborogh there was an inchanter, that before all the people tooke vpon him to coniure all the serpents and snakes within one mile compasse into a great pit or dike, and there to kill them. When all the serpents were gathered togither, as he stood vpon the brinke of the pit, there came at the last a great and a horrible serpent, which would not be gotten downe with all the force of his incantations: so as (all the rest being dead) he flew vpon the inchanter, and clasped him in the middest, and drew him downe into the said dike, and there killed him. You must thinke that this was a diuell in a serpents likenesse, which for the loue he bare to the poore snakes, killed the sorcerer; to teach all other witches to beware of the like wicked practise. And surelie, if this be not true, there be a great number of lies conteined in M. Mal. and in I. Bodin. And if this be well weighed, and conceiued, it beateth downe to the ground all those witchmongers arguments, that contend to wring witching miracles out of this place. For they disagrée notablie, some denieng and some affirming that serpents maie be bewitched. Neuerthelesse, bicause in euerie point you shall sée how poperie agréeth with paganisme, I will recite certeine charmes against vipers, allowed for the most part in and by the church of Rome: as followeth.

Exorcismes or coniuratiōs against serpents.

I coniure thée O serpent in this houre, by the fiue holie woonds of our Lord, that thou remoue not out of this place, but here staie, as certeinelie as God was borne of a pure virgine. ✻ Otherwise: I coniure thée serpent *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti:* I command thée serpent by our ladie S. Marie, that thou obeie me, as wax obeieth the fier, and as fier obeieth water; that thou neither hurt me, nor anie other christian, as certeinelie as God was borne of an immaculate virgine, in which respect I take thée vp, *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti: Ely lash eiter, ely lash eiter, ely lash eiter.* ✻ Otherwise: O vermine, thou must come as God came vnto the Iewes. ✻ Otherwise: L. Vairus saith, that *Serpens quernis frondibus contacta*, that a serpent touched with oke leaues dieth, and staieth euen in the beginning of his going, if a feather of the bird Ibis be cast or throwne vpon him: and that

L. Vair. lib. de fascinat. 1. cap. 4.

a viper smitten or hot with a reed is astonied, and touched with a beechen branch is presentlie numme and stiffe.

Here is to be remembred, that manie vse to boast that they are of S. Paules race and kinred, shewing vpon their bodies the prints of serpents: which (as the papists affirme) was incident to all them of S. Paules stocke. Marie they saie herewithall, that all his kinsfolks can handle serpents, or anie poison without danger. Others likewise haue (as they brag) a Katharine wheele vpon their bodies, and they saie they are kin to S. Katharine, and that they can carrie burning coles in their bare hands, and dip their said hands in hot skalding liquor, and also go into hot ouens. Whereof though the last be but a bare iest, and to be donne by anie that will proue (as a bad fellow in London had vsed to doo, making no tariance at all therein:) yet there is a show made of the other, as though it were certeine and vndoubted; by annointing the hands with the iuice of mallowes, mercurie, urine, &c: which for a little time are defensatiues against these scalding liquors, and scortching fiers.

Vsurpers of kinred with blessed Paule and S Katharine.

But they that take vpon them to worke these mysteries and miracles, doo indeed (after rehearsall of these and such like words and charmes) take vp euen in their bare hands, those snakes and vipers, and sometimes put them about their necks, without receiuing anie hurt thereby, to the terror and astonishment of the beholders, which naturallie both feare and abhorre all serpents. But these charmers (vpon my word) dare not trust to their charmes, but vse such an inchantment, as euerie man maie lawfullie vse, and in the lawfull vse thereof maie bring to passe that they shalbe in securitie, and take no harme, how much soeuer they handle them: marie with a woollen rag they pull out their teeth before hand, as some men saie; but as truth is, they wearie them, and that is of certeintie. And surelie this is a kind of witchcraft, which I terme priuate confederacie. Bodin saith, that all the snakes in one countrie were by charmes and verses driuen into another region: perhaps he meaneth Ireland, where S. Patrike is said to haue doone it with his holinesse, &c.

I. Bodin, lib. de dæm. 1. cap. 3.

Iames Sprenger, and Henrie Institor affirme, that serpents and snakes, and their skins exceed all other creatures for witchcraft; in so much as witches doo vse to burie them vnder mens threshholds,

threshholds, either of the house or stalles, whereby barrennes is procured both to woman and beast: yea and that the verie earth and ashes of them continue to haue force of fascination. In respect whereof they wish all men now and then to dig awaie the earth vnder their threshholds, and to sprinkle holie water in the place, & also to hang boughes (hallowed on midsummer daie) at the stall doore where the cattell stand: & produce examples thereupon, of witches lies, or else their owne, which I omit; bicause I see my booke groweth to be greater than I meant it should be.

Charmes to carrie water in a siue, to know what is spoken of vs behind our backs, for bleare eies, to make seeds to growe well, of images made of wax, to be rid of a witch, to hang hir vp, notable authorities against waxen images, a storie bewraieng the knauerie of waxen images.

The xvj. Chapter.

L.Vairus lib. fascin.1.ca.5. Oratio Tuscæ vestalis.

LEonardus Vairus saith, that there was a praier extant, whereby might be carried in a siue, water, or other liquor: I thinke it was Clam claie; which a crow taught a maid, that was promised a cake of so great quantitie, as might be kneded of so much floure as she could wet with the water that she brought in a siue, and by that meanes she clamd it with claie, & brought in so much water, as whereby she had a great cake, and so beguiled hir sisters, &c. And this tale I heard among my grandams maides, whereby I can decipher this witchcraft. Item, by the tingling of the eare, men heretofore could tell what was spoken of them. If anie see a scorpion, and saie this word (Bud) he shall not be stong or bitten therewith. These two Greeke letters Π and Λ written in a paper, and hong about ones necke, preserue the partie from bléereiednesse. Cummin or hempséed sowne with cursing and opprobrious words grow the faster and the better. Berosus Anianus maketh witchcraft of great antiquitie: for he saith, that Cham

Of the word *(Bud)* and the Greeke letters Π & Λ.

Cham touching his fathers naked member vttered a charme, wherby his father became emasculated or depriued of the powers generatiue.

¶ A charme teaching how to hurt whom you list with images of wax, &c.

Make an image in his name, whom you would hurt or kill, of new virgine wax; vnder the right arme poke whereof place a swallowes hart, and the liuer vnder the left; then hang about the necke thereof a new thred in a new néedle pricked into the member which you would haue hurt, with the rehearsall of certeine words, which for the auoiding of foolish superstition and credulitie in this behalfe is to be omitted. And if they were inserted, I dare vndertake they would doo no harme, were it not to make fooles, and catch gudgins. ☆ Otherwise: Sometimes these images are made of brasse, and then the hand is placed where the foote should be, and the foote where the hand, and the face downeward. ☆ Otherwise: For a greater mischéefe, the like image is made in the forme of a man or woman, vpon whose head is written the certeine name of the partie: and on his or hir ribs these words, *Ailif, casyl, zaze, hit mel meltat*: then the same must be buried. ☆ Otherwise: In the dominion of Mars, two images must be prepared, one of wax, the other of the earth of a dead man; each image must haue in his hand a sword wherwith a man hath béene slaine, & he that must be slaine may haue his head thrust through with a foine. In both must be written certeine peculiar characters, and then must they be hid in a certeine place. ☆ Otherwise: To obteine a womans loue, an image must be made in the houre of Venus, of virgine wax, in the name of the beloued, wherupon a character is written, & is warmed at a fier, and in dooing therof the name of some angell must be mentioned. To be vtterlie rid of the witch, and to hang hir vp by the haire, you must prepare an image of the earth of a dead man to be baptised in another mans name, whereon the name, with a character, must be written: then must it be perfumed with a rotten bone, and then these psalmes read backward: *Domine Dominus noster, Dominus illuminatio mea, Domine exaudi orationem meam, Deus laudem meam ne tacueris*: and then burie it, first in one place, and afterwards

The practiser of these charmes must haue skill in the planetarie motions, or else he may go shoo the goose.

afterwards in another. Howbeit, it is written in the 21. article of the determination of Paris, that to affirme that images of brasse, lead, gold, of white or red wax, or of any other stuffe (coniured, baptised, consecrated, or rather execrated through these magicall arts at certeine daies) haue woonderfull vertues, or such as are auowed in their bookes or assertions, is error in faith, naturall philosophie, and true astrononomie: yea it is concluded in the 22. article of that councell, that it is as great an error to beléeue those things, as to doo them.

But concerning these images, it is certeine that they are much feared among the people, and much vsed among cousening witches, as partlie appéereth in this discourse of mine else-where, & as partlie you may sée by the contents of this storie following.

A proued storie concerning the premisses.

Not long sithence, a yoong maiden (dwelling at new Romnie héere in Kent) being the daughter of one M. L. Stuppenie (late Iurat of the same towne but dead before the execution hereof) and afterwards the wife of Thomas Eps, who is at this instant Maior of Romnie) was visited with sicknesse, whose mother and father in lawe being abused with credulitie concerning witches supernaturall power, repaired to a famous witch called mother Baker, dwelling not far from thence at a place called Stonstreet, who (according to witches cousening custome) asked whether they mistrusted not some bad neighbour, to whom they answered that indéed they doubted a woman néere vnto them (and yet the same woman was, of the honester & wiser sort of hir neighbors, reputed a good creature.) Neuertheles the witch told them that there was great cause of their suspicion: for the same (said she) is the verie partie that wrought the maidens destruction, by making a hart of wax, and pricking the same with pins and néedels; affirming also that the same neighbor of hirs had bestowed the same in some secret corner of the house. This being beléeued, the house was searched by credible persons, but nothing could be found. The witch or wise woman being certified hereof, continued hir assertion, and would néeds go to the house where she hir selfe (as she affirmed) would certeinlie find it. When she came thither, she vsed hir cunning (as it chanced) to hir owne confusion, or at leastwise to hir detection: for héerein she did, as some of the wiser sort mistrusted that she woulde doo, laieng downe priuilie such an

image (as she had before described) in a corner, which by others had béene most diligentlie searched & looked into, & by that means hir cousenage was notablie bewraied. And I would wish that all witchmongers might paie for their lewd repaire to inchantors, and consultation with witches, and such as haue familiar spirits, as some of these did, and that by the order of the high commissioners, which partlie for respect of neighborhood, and partlie for other considerations, I leaue vnspoken of.

Sundrie sorts of charmes tending to diuerse purposes, and first, certeine charmes to make taciturnitie in tortures.

The xvij. Chapter.

Imparibus meritis tria
pendent corpora ramis,
Dismas & Gestas,
in medio est diuina potestas,
Dismas damnatur, Gestas
Gestas ad astra leuatur: Dismas

This charm seemeth to allude to Christ crucified betweene the two theeus.

Three bodies on a bough doo hang,
for merits of inequalitie,
Dismas and Gestas, in the midst
the power of the diuinitie.
Dismas is damnd, but Gestas lifted vp aboue the starres on hie. Gestas is damnd, but Dismas &c.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Also this: *Eructauit cor meum verbum bonum veritatem nunquam dicam regi.* ✣ Otherwise: As the milke of our ladie was lussious to our Lord Jesus Christ; so let this torture or rope be pleasant to mine armes and members. ✣ Otherwise: *Iesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat.* ✣ Otherwise: You shall not breake a bone of him.

Psal.44.

Luk.4.
Iohn.19.

¶ Counter charmes against these and all other witchcrafts, in the saieng also whereof witches are vexed, &c.

Psal.44. Scripture properlie applied.

E*ructauit cor meum verbum bonum, dicam cuncta opera mea regi.* ✱ Otherwise: *Domine labia mea aperies, & os meum annunciabit veritatem.* ✱ Otherwise: *Contere brachia iniqui rei, & lingua maligna subuertetur.*

¶ A charme for the choine cough.

TAke thrée sips of a chalice, when the préest hath said masse, and swallow it downe with good deuotion, &c.

¶ For corporall or spirituall rest.

In nomine patris, vp and downe,
Et filij & spiritus sancti vpon my crowne,
Crux Christi vpon my brest,
Sweete ladie send me eternall rest.

¶ Charmes to find out a theefe.

O most woonderfull vertue hidden in the letters of S. Helens holie name!

THe meanes how to find out a théefe, is thus: Turne your face to the east, and make a crosse vpon christall with oile oliue, and vnder the crosse write these two words [Saint Helen.] Then a child that is innocent, and a chast virgine borne in true wedlocke, and not base begotten, of the age of ten yeares, must take the christall in his hand, and behind his backe, knéeling on thy knées, thou must deuoutlie and reuerentlie saie ouer this praier thrise: I beséech thée my ladie S. Helen, mother of king Constantine, which diddest find the crosse whereupon Christ died: by that thy holie deuotion, and inuention of the crosse, and by the same crosse, and by the ioy which thou conceiuedst at the finding thereof, and by the loue which thou barest to thy sonne Constantine, and by the great goodnes which thou doest alwaies vse, that thou shew me in this christall, whatsoeuer I aske or desire to know; Amen. And when the child séeth the angell in the christall, demand what you will, and the angell will make answer thereunto. Memorandum, that this be doone iust at the sunne

rising,

rising, when the wether is faire and cleere.

Cardanus derideth these and such like fables, and setteth downe his iudgement therein accordinglie, in the sixteenth booke *De rerum var*. These coniurors and couseners forsooth will shew you in a glasse the theefe that hath stolne anie thing from you, and this is their order. They take a glasse viall full of holie water, and set it vpon a linnen cloth, which hath beene purified, not onelie by washing, but by sacrifice, &c. On the mouth of the viall or vrinall, two oliue leaues must be laid acrosse, with a litle coniuration said ouer it, by a child; to wit thus: *Angele bone, angele candide, per tuam sanctitatem, meámq; virginitatem, ostende mihi furem*: with three *Pater nosters*, three *Aues*, and betwixt either of them a *crosse made with the naile of the thumbe vpon the mouth of the viall; and then shall be seene angels ascending and descending as it were motes in the sunne beames. The theefe all this while shall suffer great torments, and his face shall be seene plainlie, euen as plainlie I beleeue as the man in the moone. For in truth, there are toies artificiallie conueied into the glasse, which will make the water bubble, and deuises to make images appeare in the bubbles: as also there be artificiall glasses, which will shew vnto you that shall looke thereinto, manie images of diuerse formes, and some so small and curious, as they shall in fauour resemble whom so euer you thinke vpon. Looke in Iohn Bap. Neap. for the confection of such glasses. The subtilties hereof are so detected, and the mysteries of the glasses so common now, and their cousenage so well knowne, &c: that I need not stand vpon the particular confutation hereof. Cardanus in the place before cited reporteth, how he tried with children these and diuerse circumstances the whole illusion, and found it to be plaine knauerie and cousenage.

Card. lib. 16. de var. rer. cap. 93.

*For if the crosse be forgotten all is not woorth a pudding.

¶ Another waie to find out a theefe that hath stolne anie thing from you.

GO to the sea side, and gather as manie pebles as you suspect persons for that matter; carrie them home, and throwe them into the fier, and burie them vnder the threshold, where the parties are like to come ouer. There let them lie three daies, and then before sunne rising take them awaie. Then set a porrenger

full of water in a circle, wherein must be made crosses euerie waie, as manie as can stand in it; vpon the which must be written: Christ ouercommeth, Christ reigneth, Christ commandeth. The porrenger also must be signed with a crosse, and a forme of coniuration must be pronounced. Then each stone must be throwne into the water, in the name of the suspected. And when you put in the stone of him that is guiltie, the stone will make the water boile, as though glowing iron were put thereinto. Which is a méere knacke of legier de maine, and to be accomplished diuerse waies.

¶ To put out the theeues eie.

Read the seuen psalmes with the Letanie, and then must be said a horrible praier to Christ, and God the father, with a cursse against the théefe. Then in the middest of the step of your foote, on the ground where you stand, make a circle like an eie, and write thereabout certeine barbarous names, and driue with a coopers hammar, or addes into the middest thereof a brasen naile consecrated, saieng: *Iustus es Domine, & iusta iudicia tua.* Then the théefe shall be bewraied by his crieng out.

¶ Another waie to find out a theefe.

These be meere toies to mocke apes, and haue in them no commendable deuise.

Sticke a paire of shéeres in the rind of a siue, and let two persons set the top of each of their forefingers vpon the vpper part of the shéeres, holding it with the siue vp from the ground steddilie, and aske Peter and Paule whether A. B. or C. hath stolne the thing lost, and at the nomination of the guiltie person, the siue will turne round. This is a great practise in all countries, and indéed a verie bable. For with the beating of the pulse some cause of that motion ariseth, some other cause by slight of the fingers, some other by the wind gathered in the siue to be staid, &c: at the pleasure of the holders. Some cause may be the imagination, which vpon conceipt at the naming of the partie altereth the common course of the pulse. As may well be conceiued by a ring held steddilie by a thred betwixt the finger and the thombe, ouer or rather in a goblet or glasse; which within short space will strike against the side therof so manie strokes as the holder thinketh it

a clocke, and then will staie: the which who so prooueth shall find true.

¶ A charme to find out or spoile a theefe.

Of this matter, concerning the apprehension of theeues by words, I will cite one charme, called S. Adelberts cursse, being both for length of words sufficient to wearie the reader, and for substantiall stuffe comprehending all that apperteineth vnto blasphemous speech or cursing, allowed in the church of Rome, as an excommunication and inchantment.

¶ Saint Adelberts cursse or charme against theeues.

By the authoritie of the omnipotent Father, the Sonne, and the Holie-ghost, and by the holie virgine Marie mother of our Lord Jesu Christ, and the holie angels and archangels, and S. Michaell, and S. John Baptist, and in the behalfe of S. Peter the apostle, and the residue of the apostles, and of S. Steeuen, and of all the martyrs, of S. Syluester, and of S. Adelbert, and all the confessors, and S. Alegand, and all the holie virgins, and of all the saints in heauen and earth, vnto whom there is giuen power to bind and loose: we doo excommunicate, damne, cursse, and bind with the knots and bands of excommunication, and we doo segregate from the bounds and lists of our holie mother the church, all those theeues, sacrilegious persons, rauenous catchers, doers, counsellers, coadiutors, male or female, that haue committed this theft or mischeefe, or haue vsurped any part thereof to their owne vse. Let their share be with Dathan and Abiran, whome the earth swallowed vp for their sinnes and pride, and let them haue part with Judas that betraied Christ, Amen: and with Pontius Pilat, and with them that said to the Lord, Depart from vs, we will not vnderstand thy waies; let their children be made orphanes. Cursed be they in the field, in the groue, in the woods, in their houses, barnes, chambers, and beds; and cursed be they in the court, in the waie, in the towne, in the castell, in the water, in the church, in the churchyard, in the tribunall place, in battell, in their abode, in the market place, in their talke, in silence, in eating, in watching, in sleeping, in drinking,

This is not to doo good to our enimies, nor to praie for them that hurt and hate vs; as Christ exhorteth.

in féeling, in sitting, in knéeling, in standing in lieng, in idlenes, in all their worke, in their bodie and soule, in their fiue wits, and in euerie place. Cursed be the fruit of their wombs, and cursed be the fruit of their lands, and cursed be all that they haue. Cursed be their heads, their mouthes, their nostrels, their noses, their lips, their iawes, their téeth, their eies and eielids, their braines, the roofe of their mouthes, their toongs, their throtes, their breasts, their harts, their bellies, their liuers, all their bowels, and their stomach.

Cursed be their nauels, their spléenes, their bladder. Cursed be their thighs, their legs, their féete, their toes, their necks, their shoulders. Cursed be their backs, cursed be their armes, cursed be their elbowes, cursed be their hands, and their fingers, cursed be both the nails of their hands and féete; cursed be their ribbes and their genitals, and their knées, cursed be their flesh, cursed be their bones, cursed be their bloud, cursed be the skin of their bodies, cursed be the marrowe in their bones, cursed be they from the crowne of the head, to the sole of the foote: and whatsoeuer is betwixt the same, be it accursed, that is to saie, their fiue senses; to wit, their séeing, their hearing, their smelling, their tasting, and their féeling. Cursed be they in the holie crosse, in the passion of Christ, with his fiue wounds, with the effusion of his bloud, and by the milke of the virgine Marie. I coniure thée Lucifer, with all thy soldiers, by the * father, the son, and the Holie-ghost, with the humanitie and natiuitie of Christ, with the vertue of all saints, that thou rest not day nor night, till thou bringest them to destruction, either by drowning or hanging, or that they be deuoured by wild beasts, or burnt, or slaine by their enimies, or hated of all men liuing. And as our Lord hath giuen authoritie to Peter the apostle, and his successors, whose place we occupie, and to vs (though vnworthie) that whatsoeuer we bind on earth, shall be bound in heauen, and whatsoeuer we loose on earth, shall be loosed in heauen: so we accordinglie, if they will not amend, doo shut from them the gates of heauen, and denie vnto them christian buriall, so as they shall be buried in asses leaze. Furthermore, cursed be the ground wherein they are buried, let them be confounded in the last daie of iudgement, let them haue no conuersation among christians, nor be-

*Thus they make the holie trinitie to beare a part in their exorcisme, or else it is no bargaine.

housele

houseled at the houre of death; let them be made as dust before the face of the wind: and as Lucifer was expelled out of heauen, and Adam and Eue out of paradise; so let them be expelled from the daie light. Also let them be ioined with those, to whome the Lord saith at the iudgement; Go ye cursed into euerlasting fier, which is prepared for the diuell and his angels, where the worme shall not die, nor the fier be quenched. And as the candle, which is throwne out of my hand here, is put out: so let their works and their soule be quenched in the stench of hell fier, except they restore that which they haue stolne, by such a daie: and let euerie one say, Amen. After this must be song* *In media vita in morte sumus, &c.*

Matth.19.

*That is, In the midst of life we are in death, &c.

This terrible cursse with bell, booke, and candell added thereunto, must néeds worke wonders: howbeit among théeues it is not much weighed, among wise and true men it is not well liked, to them that are robbed it bringeth small reléefe: the préests stomach may well be eased, but the goods stolne will neuer the sooner be restored. Hereby is bewraied both the malice and follie of popish doctrine, whose vncharitable impietie is so impudentlie published, and in such order vttered, as euerie sentence (if oportunitie serued) might be proued both hereticall and diabolicall. But I will answer this cruell cursse with another cursse farre more mild and ciuill, performed by as honest a man (I dare saie) as he that made the other, whereof mention was latelie made.

So it was, that a certeine sir Iohn, with some of his companie, once went abroad a ietting, and in a moone light euening robbed a millers weire, and stole all his éeles. The poore miller made his mone to sir Iohn himselfe, who willed him to be quiet; for he would so cursse the théefe, and all his confederates, with bell, booke, and candell, that they should haue small ioy of their fish. And therefore the next sundaie, sir Iohn got him to the pulpit, with his surplisse on his backe, and his stole about his necke, and pronounced these words following in the audience of the people.

A cursse for theft.

All you that haue stolne the millers eeles,
Laudate Dominum de cœlis,
And all they that haue consented thereto,
Benedicamus Domino.

Lo

Lo (saith he) there is sauce for your eeles my maisters.

¶ Another inchantment.

Certeine preests vse the hundred and eight psalme as an inchantment or charme, or at the leastwise saieng, that against whome soeuer they pronounce it, they cannot liue one whole yeere at the vttermost.

¶ A charme or experiment to find out a witch.

The xviij. Chapter.

In die dominico sotularia iuuenum axungia seu pinguedine porci, vt moris est, pro restauratione fieri perungunt: and when she is once come into the church, the witch can neuer get out, vntill the seachers for hir giue hir expresse leaue to depart.

Preseruatiues from witchcraft according to M.Mal. L. Vairus & others.

But now it is necessarie to shew you how to preuent and cure all mischeefes wrought by these charmes & witchcrafts, according to the opinion of M.Mal. and others. One principall waie is to naile a horsse sho at the inside of the outmost threshhold of your house, and so you shall be sure no witch shall haue power to enter thereinto. And if you marke it, you shall find that rule obserued in manie countrie houses. ⁂ Otherwise: Item the triumphant title to be written crossewise, in euerie corner of the house, thus: *Iesus* ✠ *Nazarenus* ✠ *rex* ✠ *Iudæorum* ✠ Memorandum you may ioine heerewithall, the name of the virgine Marie, or of the foure euangelists, or *Verbum caro factum est.* ⁂ Otherwise: Item in some countries they naile a woolues head on the doore. ⁂ Otherwise: Item they hang Scilla (which is either a roote, or rather in this place garlike) in the roofe of the house, for to keepe awaie witches and spirits: and so they doo Alicium also. ⁂ Otherwise: Item perfume made of the gall of a blake dog, and his bloud besmeered on the posts and walles of the house, driueth out of the doores both diuels and witches. ⁂ Otherwise: The house where

where *Herba betonica* is sowne, is frée from all mischéefes. ✠ Otherwise: It is not unknowne that the Romish church allowed and used the smoke of sulphur, to driue spirits out of their houses; as they did frankincense and water hallowed. ✠ Otherwise: Apuleius saith, that Mercurie gaue to Vlysses, when he came néere to the inchantresse Circe, an hearbe called Verbascum, which in English is called Mullein, or Tapsus barbatus, or Longwort; and that preserued him from the inchantments. ✠ Otherwise: Item Plinie and Homer both doo saie, that the herbe called Molie is an excellent herbe against inchantments; and saie all that thereby Vlysses escaped Circes hir sorceries, and inchantments. ✠ Otherwise also diuerse waies they went to worke in this case, and some used this defensatiue, some that preseruatiue against incantations.

And héerein you shall sée, not onelie how the religion of papists, and infidels agrée; but also how their ceremonies and their opinions are all one concerning witches and spirits.

For thus writeth Ouid touching that matter: — *Ouid de Medea.*

Térque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat:

She purifies with fier thrise
old horie headed Aeson,
With water thrise, and sulphur thrise,
as she thought meet in reason.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Againe, the same Ouid commeth in as before:

Adueniat, quæ lustret anus, lectúmque locúmque,
Deferat & tremula sulphur & oua manu.

Let some old woman hither come,
and purge both bed and place,
And bring in trembling hand new egs
and sulphur in like case.

By Ab. Fleming.

And Virgil also harpeth vpon the like string: — *Virg. in Bucolicis.*

——————— *baccare frontem*
Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro:

Of

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Of berrie bearing baccar bowze
 a wreath or garland knit,
And round about his head and browze
 see decentlie it sit;
That of an euill talking tung
Our future poet be not stung.

Furthermore, was it not in times of tempests the papists vse, or superstition, to ring their belles against diuels; trusting rather to the tonging of their belles, than to their owne crie vnto God with fasting and praier, assigned by him in all aduersities and dangers: according to the order of the Thracian preests, which would rore and crie, with all the noise they could make, in those tempests. Olaus Gothus saith, that his countriemen would shoot in the aire, to assist their gods, whome they thought to be then togither by the eares with others, and had consecrated arrowes, called *Sagittæ Iouiales*, euen as our papists had. Also in steed of belles, they had great hammers, called *Mallei Iouiales*, to make a noise in time of thunder. In some countries they runne out of the doores in time of tempest, blessing themselues with a cheese, whereupon there was a crosse made with a ropes end vpon ascension daie. Also thre hailestones to be throwne into the fier in a tempest, and therevpon to be said thre *Pater nosters*, and thre *Aues*, S. Iohns gospell, and *In fine fugiat tempestas*, is a present remedie. Item, to hang an eg laid on ascension daie in the roofe of the house, preserueth the same from all hurts. *Item, I coniure you haile and wind by the fiue wounds of Christ, by the thre nailes which pearsed his hands and his feete, and by the foure euangelists, Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Iohn, that thou come downe dissolued into water. Item, it hath beene a vsuall matter, to carrie out in tempests the sacraments and relikes, &c. Item, against stormes, and manie dumme creatures, the popish church vseth excommunication as a principall charme. And now to be deliuered from witches themselues, they hang in their entries an hearbe called pentaphyllon, cinquefole, also an oliue branch, also frankincense, myrrh, valerian, veruen, palme, antirchmon, &c: also haythorne, otherwise whitethorne gathered on Maie daie: also the smoke of a lappoints fethers driueth spirits awaie.

Olaus Goth. lib. de gentib. septentriona. lib. 3. cap. 8.

* A witches coniuration to make haile cease and be dissolued.

awaie. There be innumerable popish exorcismes, and coniurations for hearbs and other things, to be thereby made wholsome both for the bodies and soules of men and beasts, and also for contagion of weather. Memorandum, that at the gathering of these magicall herbs, the *Credo* is necessarie to be said, as Vairus affirmeth; and also the *Pater noster*, for that is not superstitious. Also Sprenger saith, that to throw vp a blacke chicken in the aire, will make all tempests to cease: so it be done with the hand of a witch. If a soule wander in the likenesse of a man or woman by night, molesting men, with bewailing their torments in purgatorie, by reason of tithes forgotten, &c: and neither masses nor coniurations can helpe; the exorcist in his ceremoniall apparell must go to the toome of that bodie, and spurne thereat, with his foote, saieng; *Vade ad gehennam*, Get thée packing to hell: and by and by the soule goeth thither, and there remaineth for euer. ✲ Otherwise: [redacted] there be masses of purpose for this matter, to vnbewitch the bewitched. ✲ Otherwise: You must spet into the pissepot, where you haue made water. ✲ Otherwise; Spet into the shoo of your right foote, before you put it on: and that Vairus saith is good and holsome to doo, before you go into anie dangerous place. ✲ Otherwise: That neither hunters nor their dogs maie be bewitched, they cleaue an oken branch, and both they and their dogs passe ouer it. ✲ Otherwise: S. Augustine saith, that to pacifie the god *Liber*, whereby women might haue fruite of the séeds they sowe, and that their gardens and féelds should not be bewitched; some chéefe graue matrone vsed to put a crowne vpon his genitall member, and that must be publikelie done.

L.Vair.lib.de fascin.2.cap.11.

Mal.malef. par.2.quę.1. cap.15.

Note that you read neuer of anie spirit that walked by daie, quoth Nota.

Aug.de ciuit.Dei.lib.7.cap.12.

To spoile a theefe, a witch, or anie other enimie, and to be deliuered from the euill.

Vpon the Sabboth daie before sunrising, cut a hazell wand, saieng: I cut thée O bough of this summers growth, in the name of him whome I meane to beate or maime. Then couer the table, and saie ✠ *In nomine patris* ✠ *& filij* ✠ *& spiritus sancti* ✠ *ter.* And striking thereon saie as followeth (english it he that can) *Drochs myroch, esenaroth* ✠ *betu* ✠ *baroch* ✠ *ass* ✠ *maaroth* ✠: and then saie; Holie trinitie punish him that hath

wrought

wrought this mischiefe, & take it away by thy great iustice, *Eson* ✠ *elion* ✠ *emaris, ales, age*; and strike the carpet with your wand.

¶ A notable charme or medicine to pull out an arrowhead, or anie such thing that sticketh in the flesh or bones, and cannot otherwise be had out.

The Hebrue knight was canonized a saint to wit, S. *Longinus*.

Saie thrée seuerall times knéeling; *Oremus, præceptis salutaribus moniti, Pater noster, aue Maria.* Then make a crosse saieng: The Hebrew knight strake our Lord Jesu Christ, and I beséech thée, O Lord Jesu Christ ✠ by the same iron, speare, bloud and water, to pull out this iron: *In nomine patris* ✠ *& filij* ✠ *& spiritus sancti* ✠

¶ Charmes against a quotidian ague.

Cut an apple in thrée péeces, and write vpon the one; The father is vncreated: vpon the other; The father is incomprehensible: vpon the third; The father is eternall. ✲ Otherwise: Write vpon a massecake cut in thrée péeces; O ague to be worshiped: on the second; O sicknesse to be ascribed to health and ioies: on the third; *Pax* ✠ *max* ✠ *fax* ✠ and let it be eaten fasting. ✲ Otherwise: Paint vpon thrée like péeces of a massecake, *Pater pax* ✠ *Adonai* ✠ *filius vita* ✠ *sabbaoth* ✠ *spiritus sanctus* ✠ *Tetragrammaton* ✠ and eate it, as is afore said.

¶ For all maner of agues intermittant.

A crossed appension, with other appensions.

Ioine two little stickes togither in the middest, being of one length, and hang it about your necke in the forme of a crosse. ✲ Otherwise: For this disease the Turkes put within their doublet a ball of wood, with an other péece of wood, and strike the same, speaking certeine friuolous words. ✲ Otherwise: Certeine monks hanged scrolles about the necks of such as were sicke, willing them to saie certeine praiers at each fit, and at the third fit to hope well: and made them beléeue that they should thereby receiue cure.

Periapts, characters, &c: for agues, and to cure all diseases, and to deliuer from all euill.

For bodie and soule.

The first chapter of S. Iohns gospell in small letters consecrated at a masse, and hanged about ones necke, is an in-

comparable amulet or tablet, which deliuereth from all witchcrafts and diuelish practises. But me thinkes, if one should hang a whole testament, or rather a bible, he might beguile the diuell terriblie. For indéed so would S. Barnard haue done, whom the diuell told, that he could shew him seuen verses in the psalter, which being dailie repeated, would of themselues bring anie man to heauen, and preserue him from hell. But when S. Barnard desired the diuell to tell him which they were, he refused, saieng, he might then thinke him a foole so to preiudice himselfe. Well (quoth S. Barnard) I will doo well enough for that, for I will dailie saie ouer the whole psalter. The diuell hearing him saie so, told him which were the verses, least in reading ouer the whole psalter dailie, he should merit too much for others. But if the hanging of S. Iohns gospell about the necke be so beneficiall; how if one should eate vp the same?

S. Barnard ouermatcheth the diuell for all his subtiltie.

¶ More charmes for agues.

Take the partie by the hand, and saie; *Aequè facilis sit tibi hæc febris, atque Mariæ virgini Christi partus.* ✱ Otherwise: Wash with the partie, and priuilie saie this psalme, *Exaltabo te Deus meus, rex, &c.* ✱ Otherwise: Weare about your necke a péece of a naile taken from a crosse, and wrapped in wooll. ✱ Otherwise: Drinke wine, wherein a sworde hath béene drowned that hath cut off ones head. ✱ Otherwise: Take thrée consecrated massecakes, and write vpon the first: *Qualis est pater talis est vita:* on the second; *Qualis est filius, talis est sanctus:* on the third; *Qualis est spiritus tale est remedium.* Then giue them to the sicke man, enioining him to eate none other thing that daie wherein he eateth anie of them, nor yet drinke: and let him saie fiftéene *Pater nosters,* and as manie *Aues,* in the honour and praise of the Trinitie. ✱ Otherwise: Lead the sicke man on a fridaie before sunne rising towards the east, and let him hold vp his hands towards the sunne, and saie: This is the daie, wherein the Lord God came to the crosse. But as the crosse shall neuer more come to him: so let neuer the hot or cold fit of this ague come anie more vnto this man, *In nomine patris* ✠ *& fi*✠*lij, & spiritus* ✠ *sancti* ✠. Then saie seuen and twentie *Pater nosters,* and as manie *Aues,* and vse this thrée daies togither. ✱ Otherwise:

Pretious restorities.

Fécana,

This is too mysticall to be englished; quoth Nota.

Fécana, cagéti, daphnes, gebáre, gedáco,
Gébali stant, sed non stant phebas, hecas, & hedas.

Euerie one of these words must be written vpon a péece of bread, and be giuen in order one daie after another to the sicke bodie, and so must he be cured. This saith Nicholas Hemingius he chanced to read in the schooles in iest; so as one noting the words, practised the medicine in earnest; and was not onelie cured himselfe, but also cured manie others thereby. And therefore he concludeth, that this is a kind of a miraculous cure, wrought by the illusion of the diuell: whereas in truth, it will fall out most commonlie, that a tertian ague will not hold anie man longer than so, though no medicine be giuen, nor anie words spoken. ✻ Otherwise: This word, *Abra cadabra* written on a paper, with a certeine figure ioined therewith, and hanged about ones necke, helpeth the ague. ✻ Otherwise: Let the vrine of the sicke bodie made earlie in the morning be softlie heated nine daies togither continuallie, vntill all be consumed into vapor. ✻ Otherwise: A crosse made of two litle twigs ioined togither, wherewith when the partie is touched, he will be whole; speciallie if he weare it about his necke. ✻ Otherwise: Take a like quantitie of water out of thrée ponds of equall bignesse, and tast thereof in a new earthen vessell, and drinke of it when the fit commeth.

Fernelius.

Notable follies of the Spaniards & Italians.

In the yeare of our lord 1568. the Spaniards and Italians receiued from the pope, this incantation following; whereby they were promised both remission of sinnes, and good successe in their warres in the lowe countries. Which whether it be not as prophane and impious, as anie witches charme, I report me to the indifferent reader. ✠ *Crucem pro nobis subijt* ✠ *& stans in illa sitijt* ✠ *Iesus sacratis manibus, clauis ferreis, pedibus perfossis, Iesus, Iesus, Iesus*: *Domine libera nos ab hoc malo, & ab hac peste*: then thrée *Pater nosters*, and thrée *aue Maries*. Also the same yéere their ensignes were by the authoritie aforesaid coniured with certeine ceremonies, & consecrated against their enimies. And if you read the histories of these warres, you maie sée what victorie they gained hereby. Item, they baptised their chéefe standard, and gaue it to name S. Margaret, who ouerthrew the diuell. And bicause you shall vnderstand

stand the mysterie hereof, I haue the rather set it downe elsewhere, being indéed worth the reading.

¶ For a bloudie flux, or rather an issue of bloud.

TAke a cup of cold water, and let fall thereinto thrée drops of the same bloud, and betwéene each drop saie a *Pater noster*, and an *Aue*, then drinke to the patient, and saie; Who shall helpe you? The patient must answer S. Marie. Then saie you; S. Marie stop the issue of bloud. ✠ Otherwise: Write vpon the patients forhead with the same bloud; *Consummatum est*. ✠ Otherwise: Saie to the patient; *Sanguis mane in te sicut fecit Christus in se; Sanguis mane in tua vena, sicut Christus in sua pœna; Sanguis mane fixus, sicut Christus quando fuit crucifixus: ter.* ✠ Otherwise, as followeth.

He must answer by none other, for she perhaps hath the curing thereof by patent.

In the bloud of Adam death was taken ✠
In the bloud of Christ it was all to shaken ✠
And by the same bloud I doo thee charge,
That thou doo runne no longer at large. ✠ Otherwise.

Christ was borne at Bethelem, and suffered at Ierusalem, where his bloud was troubled. I command thée by the vertue of God, and through the helpe of all saincts, to staie euen as Iordan did, when Iohn baptised Christ Iesus; *In nomine patris* ✠ *& filij* ✠ *& spiritus sancti* ✠ ✠ Otherwise: Put thy nameles finger in the wound, and make therwith thrée crosses vpon the wound, and saie fiue *Pater nosters*, fiue *Aues*, and one *Credo*, in the honour of the fiue wounds. ✠ Otherwise: Touch that part and saie, *De latere eius exiuit sanguis & aqua.* ✠ Otherwise: *In nomine patris* ✠ *& filij* ✠ *& spiritus sancti* ✠ *&c. Chimrat, chara, sarite, confirma, consona, Imohalite.* ✠ Otherwise: *Sepa* ✠ *sepaga* ✠ *sepagoga* ✠ *sta sanguis in nomine patris* ✠ *podendi* ✠ *& filij* ✠ *podera* ✠ *& spiritus sancti* ✠ *pandorica* ✠ *pax tecum, Amen.*

See I. Wier. cap. 11. conf.

¶ Cures commensed and finished by witchcraft.

THere was a iollie fellowe that tooke vpon him to be a notable surgion, in the dutchie of Mentz, 1567. to whom there resorted a Gentleman that had béene vexed with sicknesse, named

Elibert, hauing a kerchiefe on his head, according to the guise of sicke folke. But the surgion made him pull off his kerchiefe, and willed him to drinke with him fréelie. The sickeman said he durst not; for he was forbidden by physicke so to doo. Tush (said this cunning man) they know not your disease: be ruled by me, and take in your drinke lustilie. For he thought that when he was well tipled, he might the more easilie beguile him in his bargaine, and make his reward the greater, which he was to receiue in part aforehand. When they had well dronke, he called the sicke man aside, and told him the greatnes and danger of his disease, and how that it grew by meanes of witchcraft, and that it would be vniuersallie spread in his house, and among all his cattell, if it were not preuented: and impudentlie persuaded the sicke man to receiue cure of him. And after bargaine made, he demanded of the sicke man, whether he had not anie at home, whom he might assuredlie trust. The sicke man answered, that he had a daughter and a seruant. The cousener asked how old his daughter was? The patient said, twentie. Well (said the cousener) that is fit for our turne. Then he made the mother and father to knéele on their knées to their daughter, and to desire hir in all things to obey the physician, and that she would doo in euerie thing as he commanded hir; otherwise hir father could not be restored to his health. In which respect hir parents humblie besought hir on their knées so to doo. Then he assigned hir to bring him into his lodging hir fathers haire, and hir mothers, and of all those which he kept in his house, as well of men and women, as also of his cattell. When she came therewith vnto him, according to the match made, and hir parents commandement, he lead hir downe into a lowe parlor, where hauing made a long spéech, he opened a booke that laie on the boord, and laieth thereon two kniues acrosse, with much circumstance of words. Then coniureth he, and maketh strange characters, and at length he maketh a circle on the ground, wherein he causeth hir to sticke one of those coniured kniues; and after manie more strange words, he maketh hir sticke the other knife beside it. Then fell downe the maid in a swoone for feare; so as he was faine to frote hir and put a sop into hir mouth, after the receipt whereof she was sore troubled and amazed. Then he made hir brests to be vncouered, so as when they

The surgion here most impudentlie setteth his knauerie abroch.

A pretended coniuration.

they were bare, he dallied with them, diuerslie and long toge-ther. Then he made hir lie right vpward, all vncouered and bare belowe hir pappes. Wherein the maid being loth to obeie him, re-sisted, and in shame forbad that villanie. Then said the knaue; Your fathers destruction is at hand: for except you will be ruled, he and all his familie shall susteine greater greefe and inconue-nience, than is yet happened vnto him. And no remedie, except you will seeke his vtter ouerthrowe, I must haue carnall copula-tion with you, and therewithall fell into hir bosome, and ouer-threw hir and hir virginitie. So did he the second daie, and at-tempted the like on the third daie. But he failed then of his pur-pose, as the wench confessed afterwards. In the meane time he ministred so cruell medicines to the sicke man, that through the torments therof he feared present death, and was faine to keepe his bed, whereas he walked about before verie well and lustilie. The patient in his torments calleth vnto him for remedie, who being slacke and negligent in that behalfe, made roome for the daughter to accompanie hir father, who asked hir what she thought of the cure, and what hope she had of his recouerie. Who with teares remained silent, as being oppressed with greefe; till at the last in abundance of sorrowe she vttered the whole matter to hir father. This dooth Iohannes Wierus report, saieng, that it came vnto him by the lamentable relation of the father him-selfe. And this is here at this time for none other purpose rehear-sed, but that men may hereby learne to take heed of such couse-ning merchants, and knowe what they be that take vpon them to be so cunning in witchcraft; least they be bewitched: as mai-ster Elibert and his daughter were.

Ad vada tot vadit vrna quòd ipsa cadit.

¶ Another witchcraft or knauerie, practised by the same surgion.

This surgion ministred to a noble man, that laie sicke of an ague, offering vnto him three peeces of a roote to be eaten at three morsels; saieng to the first: I would Christ had not beene borne; vnto the second: I would he had not suffered; vnto the third: I would he had not risen againe. And then putting them about the sicke mans necke, said; Be of good cheere. And if he lost them, whosoeuer tooke them vp, should therewithall take awaie his

Three morsels, the first charmed with christs birth, the second with his passion, the third with his resur-rection.

his ague. ✠ Otherwise: Jesus Christ, which was borne, deliuer thée from this infirmitie ✠ Jesus Christ which died ✠ deliuer thée from this infirmitie ✠ Jesus Christ which rose againe ✠ deliuer thée from this infirmitie. Then dailie must be said fiue *Pater nosters*, and fiue *Aues*.

¶ Another experiment for one bewitched.

A couse-ning phy-sician, and a foolish patient.

ANother such cousening physician persuaded one which had a timpanie, that it was one old viper, and two yong mainteined in his bellie by witchcraft. But being watched, so as he could not conuey vipers into his ordure or excrements, after his purgations: at length he told the partie, that he should suffer the paines of childbirth, if it were not preuented; and therefore he must put his hand into his bréech, and rake out those wormes there. But the mother of the sicke partie hauing warning hereof, said she could doo that hir selfe. So the cousenor was preuented, and the partie died onelie of a timpanie, and the knaue ran awaie out of the countrie.

¶ Otherwise.

Iohn. Bodin.

MOnsieur Bodin telleth of a witch, who undertaking to cure a woman bewitched, caused a masse to be song at midnight in our ladies chappell. And when she had ouerlien the sicke partie, and breathed certeine words upon hir, she was healed. Wherein Bodin saith, she followed the example of Elias the prophet, who raised the Sunamitie. And this storie must néeds be true: for goodman Hardiuin Blesensis his host at the signe of the lion told him the storie.

Kakozelia.

¶ A knacke to knowe whether you be bewitched, or no, &c.

Mal. malef. pa. 1. que. 17. Barth. Spin. in nouo Mal. malef.

IT is also expedient to learne how to know whether a sicke man be bewitched or no: this is the practise thereof. You must hold molten lead ouer the sicke bodie, and powre it into a porrenger full of water; and then, if there appeare upon the lead, anie image, you may then knowe the partie is bewitched.

That

That one witchcraft maie lawfullie meete with another.

The xix. Chapter.

SCotus, Hostiensis, Gofridus, and all the old canonists agrée, that it is lawfull to take awaie witchcraft by witchcraft, *Et vana vanis contundere.* And Scotus saith, It were follie to forbeare to encounter witchcraft by witchcraft; for (saith he) there can be none inconuenience therein; bicause the ouerthrower of witchcraft assenteth not to the works of the diuell. And therefore he saith further, that it is meritorious so to extinguish and ouerthrow the diuels workes. As though he should saie; It maketh no matter, though S. Paule saie; *Non facies malum, vt indè veniat bonum,* Thou shalt not doo euill, that good maie come thereof. Humbertus saith, that witchcraft maie be taken awaie by that meanes whereby it was brought. But Gofredus inueieth sore against the oppugners thereof. Pope Nicholas the fift gaue indulgence and leaue to bishop Miraties (who was so bewitched in his priuities, that he could not vse the gift of venerie) to séeke remedie at witches hands. And this was the clause of his dispensation, *Vt ex duobus malis fugiatur maius,* that of two euils, the greater should be auoided. And so a witch, by taking his doublet, cured him, and killed the other witch: as the storie saith, which is to be séene in M. Mal. and diuerse other writers.

Scotus in 4. distinct. 34. de imperio.

Dist. 4.

Gofred. in summa sua.

Who are priuileged from witches, what bodies are aptest to be bewitched, or to be witches, why women are rather witches than men, and what they are.

The xx. Chapter.

NOw if you will know who and what persons are priuileged from witches, you must vnderstand, that they be euen such as cannot be bewitched. In the number of whome first be the inquisitors,

Mal. malef. par. 2. quę. 1. cap. 1.

quisitors, and such as exercise publike iustice vpon them. Howbeit,* a iustice in Essex, whome for diuerse respects I haue left vnnamed, not long since thought he was bewitched, in the verie instant whiles he examined the witch; so as his leg was broken therby, &c: which either was false, or else this rule vntrue, or both rather iniurious vnto Gods prouidence. Secondlie, such as obserue dulie the rites and ceremonies of holie church, and worship them with reuerence, through the sprinkling of holie water, and receiuing consecrated salt, by the lawfull vse of candles hallowed on Candelmas daie, and greene leaues consecrated on Palme sundaie (which things they saie the church vseth for the qualifieng of the diuels power) are preserued from witchcraft. Thirdlie, some are preserued by their good angels, which attend and wait vpon them.

*Whereof looke more in a little booke set foorth in print.

But I maie not omit here the reasons, which they bring, to proue what bodies are the more apt and effectuall to execute the art of fascination. And that is, first they saie the force of celestiall bodies, which indifferentlie communicate their vertues vnto men, beasts, trees, stones, &c. But this gift and naturall influence of fascination maie be increased in man, according to his affections and perturbations; as thorough anger, feare, loue, hate, &c. For by hate (saith Vairus) entereth a fierie inflammation into the eie of man, which being violentlie sent out by beams and streames, &c: infect and bewitch those bodies against whome they are opposed. And therefore he saith (in the fauour of women) that that is the cause why women are oftener found to be witches than men. For (saith he) they haue such an vnbridled force of furie and concupiscence naturallie, that by no meanes it is possible for them to temper or moderate the same. So as vpon euerie trifling occasion, they (like brute beasts) fix their furious eies vpon the partie whom they bewitch. Hereby it commeth to passe, that whereas women hauing a meruellous fickle nature, what greefe so euer happeneth vnto them, immediatlie all peaceablenes of mind departeth; and they are so troubled with euill humors, that out go their venomous exhalations, ingendred thorough their ilfauoured diet, and increased by meanes of their pernicious excrements, which they expell. Women are also (saith he) monethlie filled full of superfluous humors, and with them the

I. Vair. lib. de fascin. 1. c. 12.

Much like the eiebiting witches, of whom we haue elswhere spoken.

the melancholike bloud boileth; whereof spring vapors, and are carried vp, and conueied through the nosethrels and mouth, &c: to the bewitching of whatsoeuer it meeteth. For they belch vp a certeine breath, wherewith they bewitch whomsoeuer they list. And of all other women, leane, hollow eied, old, beetlebrowed women (saith he) are the most infectious. Marie he saith, that hot, subtill, and thin bodies are most subiect to be bewitched, if they be moist, and all they generallie, whose veines, pipes, and passages of their bodies are open. And finallie he saith, that all beautifull things whatsoeuer, are soone subiect to be bewitched; as namelie goodlie yoongmen, faire women, such as are naturallie borne to be rich, goodlie beasts, faire horsses, ranke corne, beutifull trees, &c. Yea a freend of his told him, that he saw one with his eie breake a pretious stone in peeces. And all this he telleth as soberlie, as though it were true. And if it were true, honest women maie be witches, in despight of all inquisitors: neither can anie auoid being a witch, except shee locke hir selfe vp in a chamber.

Who are most likelie to bewitch, and to be bewitched.

What miracles witchmongers report to haue beene done by witches words, &c: contradictions of witchmongers among themselues, how beasts are cured herby, of bewitched butter, a charme against witches, and a counter charme, the effect of charmes and words proued by L. Vairus to be woonderfull.

The xxj. Chapter.

IF I should go about to recite all charmes, I should take an infinite worke in hand. For the witching writers hold opinion, that anie thing almost maie be therby brought to passe; & that whether the words of the charme be vnderstandable or not, it skilleth not: so the charmer haue a steddie intention to bring his desire about. And then what is it that cannot be done by words? For L. Vairus saith, that old women haue infeebled and killed children with words, and haue made women with child miscarrie;

L. Vair. lib. de fascin. 1. ca. 5.

they haue made men pine awaie to death, they haue killed horsses, depriued shéepe of their milke, *transformed men into beasts, flowne in the aire, tamed and staied wild beasts, driuen all noisome cattell and vermine from corne, vines and hearbs, staied serpents, &c: and all with words. In so much as he saith, that with certeine words spoken in a bulles eare by a witch, the bull hath fallen downe to the ground as dead. Yea some by vertue of words haue gone vpon a sharpe sword, and walked vpon hot glowing coles, without hurt; with words (saith he) verie heauie weights and burthens haue béene lifted vp; and with words wild horsses and wild bulles haue béene tamed, and also mad dogs; with words they haue killed wormes, and other vermine, and staied all maner of bléedings and fluxes: with words all the diseases in mans bodie are healed, and wounds cured; arowes are with wonderfull strangenesse and cunning plucked out of mens bones. Yea (saith he) there be manie that can heale all bitings of dogs, or stingings of serpents, or anie other poison: and all with nothing but words spoken. And that which is most strange, he saith, that they can remedie anie stranger, and him that is absent, with that verie sword wherewith they are wounded. Yea and that which is beyond all admiration, if they stroke the sword vpwards with their fingers, the partie shall féele no paine: whereas if they drawe their finger downewards thereupon, the partie wounded shall féele intollerable paine. With a number of other cures, done altogither by the vertue and force of words vttered and spoken.

*According to *Ouids* saieng of *Proteus* & *Medea*, which he indeed alledgeth therefore, *Nunc aqua, nunc ales, modò bos, modò ceruus abibat.*

Where, by the waie, I maie not omit this speciall note, giuen by M. Mal. to wit, that holie water maie not be sprinkled vpon bewitched beasts, but must be powred into their mouthes. And yet he, and also Nider, saie, that It is lawfull to blesse and sanctifie beasts, as well as men; both by charmes written, and also by holie words spoken. For (saith Nider) if your cow be bewitched, thrée crosses, thrée *Pater nosters*, and thrée *Aues* will certeinlie cure hir: and likewise all other ceremonies ecclesiasticall. And this is a sure *Maxime*, that they which are deliuered from witchcraft by shrift, are euer after in the night much molested (I beléeue by their ghostlie fathers.) Also they lose their monie out of their pursses and caskets: as M. Mal. saith he knoweth by experience.

Mal. malef. par. 2. quę. 2. cap 7.
Nider in pręceptorio, pręcept. 1. ca. 11.
Nider in fornicario.
Mal. malef. part. 2. cap. 8.

Also

Also one generall rule is giuen by M. Mal. to all butter wiues, and dairie maides, that they neither giue nor lend anie butter, milke, or chéese, to anie witches, which alwaies vse to beg therof, when they meane to worke mischéefe to their kine or whitmeats. Whereas indéed there are in milke thrée substances commixed; to wit, butter, chéese, and whaie: if the same be kept too long, or in an euill place, or be sluttishlie vsed, so as it be stale and sower, which happeneth sometimes in winter, but oftener in summer, when it is set ouer the fier, the chéese and butter runneth togither, and congealeth, so as it will rope like birdlime, that you maie wind it about a sticke, and in short space it will be so drie, as you maie beate it to powder. Which alteration being strange, is wondered at, and imputed to witches. And herehence sometimes procéedeth the cause, why butter commeth not, which when the countrie people sée that it commeth not, then get they out of the suspected witches house, a little butter, whereof must be made thrée balles, in the name of the holie trinitie; and so if they be put into the cherne, the butter will presentlie come, and the witchcraft will cease; *Sic ars deluditur arte.* But if you put a little sugar or sope into the cherne, among the creame, the butter will neuer come: which is plaine witchcraft, if it be closelie, cleanlie, and priuilie handled. There be twentie seuerall waies to make your butter come, which for breuitie I omit; as to bind your cherne with a rope, to thrust thereinto a red hot spit, &c: but your best remedie and surest waie is, to looke well to your dairie maid or wife, that she neither eat vp the creame, nor sell awaie your butter.

A good deuise to starue vp poore women.

Mal. malef. part.2. quæ.2. cap.7.

¶ A charme to find hir that bewitched your kine.

Put a paire of bréeches vpon the cowes head, and beate hir out of the pasture with a good cudgell vpon a fridaie, and she will runne right to the witches doore, and strike thereat with hir hornes.

A ridiculous charme.

¶ Another, for all that haue bewitched anie kind of cattell.

When anie of your cattell are killed with witchcraft, hast you to the place where the carcase lieth, and traile the bowels of the beast vnto your house, and drawe them not in at

the doore, but vnder the threshhold of the house into the kitchen; and there make a fier, and set ouer the same a grediron, and there vpon laie the inwards or bowels; and as they wax hot, so shall the witches entrailes be molested with extreame heate and paine. But then must you make fast your doores, least the witch come and fetch awaie a cole of your fier: for then ceaseth hir torments. And we haue knowne saith M. Mal. when the witch could not come in, that the whole house hath béene so darkened, and the aire round about the same so troubled, with such horrible noise and earthquakes; that except the doore had béene opened, we had thought the house would haue fallen on our heads. Thomas Aquinas, a principall treator herein, alloweth coniurations against the changelings, and in diuerse other cases: whereof I will saie more in the word Iidoni.

¶ A speciall charme to preserue all cattell from witchcraft.

In anie case obserue the festiuall time, or else you marre all.

AT Easter you must take certeine drops, that lie vppermost of the holie paschall candle, and make a little wax candle thereof: and vpon some sundaie morning rath, light it, and hold it, so as it maie drop vpon and betwéene the hornes and eares of the beast, saieng: *In nomine patris, & filij, & duplex ss:* and burne the beast a little betwéene the hornes on the eares with the same wax: and that which is left thereof, sticke it in crossewise about the stable or stall, or vpon the threshold, or ouer the doore, where the cattell vse to go in and out, and for all that yeare your cattell shall neuer be bewitched. ✠ Otherwise: Iacobus de Chusa Carthusianus sheweth, how bread, water, and salt is coniured, and saith, that if either man or beast receiue holie bread and holie water nine daies together, with thrée *Pater nosters,* and thrée *Aues,* in the honour of the trinitie, and of S. Hubert, it preserueth that man or beast from all diseases, and defendeth them against all assaults of witchcraft, of satan, or of a mad dog, &c.

Lo this is their stuffe, mainteined to be at the least effectuall, if not wholsome, by all papists and witchmongers, and speciallie of the last and proudest writers. But to proue these things to be effectuall, God knoweth their reasons are base and absurd. For they write so, as they take the matter in question as granted, and

and by that meanes go awaie therewith. For L. Vairus saith in the beginning of his booke, that there is no doubt of this supernaturall matter, bicause a number of writers agrée herein, and a number of stories confirme it, and manie poets handle the same argument, and in the twelue tables there is a lawe against it, and bicause the consent of the common people is fullie with it, and bicause immoderate praise is to be approoued a kind of witchcraft, and bicause old women haue such charmes and superstitious meanes as preserue themselues from it, and bicause they are mocked that take awaie the credit of such miracles, and bicause Salomon saith; *Fascinatio malignitatis obscurat bona*, and bicause the apostle saith; *O insensati Galatæ, quis vos fascinauit?* And bicause it is written, *Qui timent te, videbunt me*. And finallie he saith, least you should séeme to distrust and detract anie thing from the credit of so manie graue men, from histories, and common opinion of all men: he meaneth in no wise to proue that there is miraculous working by witchcraft and fascination; and procéedeth so, according to his promise.

L.Vair.lib. de fascin.1. cap.1.

Sapi.4. Gali.3. Psal.119.

Lawfull charmes, or rather medicinable cures for diseased cattell. The charme of charmes, and the power thereof.

The xxij. Chapter.

But if you desire to learne true and lawfull charmes, to cure diseased cattell, euen such as séeme to haue extraordinarie sicknesse, or to be bewitched, or (as they saie) strangelie taken: looke in B. Googe his third booke, treating of cattell, and happilie you shall find some good medicine or cure for them: or if you list to sée more ancient stuffe, read Vegetius his foure bookes thereupon: or, if you be vnlearned, séeke some cunning bullocke léech. If all this will not serue, then set Iobs patience before your eies. And neuer thinke that a poore old woman can alter supernaturallie the notable course, which God hath appointed among his creatures.

Direct and lawfull meanes of curing cattell, &c.

creatures. If it had béene Gods pleasure to haue permitted such a course, he would no doubt haue both giuen notice in his word, that he had giuen such power vnto them, and also would haue taught remedies to haue preuented them.

Furthermore, if you will knowe assured meanes, and infallible charmes, yéelding indéed vndoubted remedies, and preuenting all maner of witchcrafts, and also the assaults of wicked spirits; then despise first all cousening knauerie of priests, witches, and couseners: and with true faith read the sixt chapter of S. Paule to the Ephesians, and followe his counsell, which is ministred vnto you in the words following, deseruing worthilie to be called by the name insuing:

The charme of charmes.

A charme of charmes taken out of the sixt chapter of S. Paule to the Ephesians.

Finallie my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that you may stand against the assaults of the diuell. For we wrestle not against flesh and bloud, but against principalities and powers, & against worldlie gouernors the princes of the darkenes of this world, against spirituall wickednes, which are in the high places. For this cause take vnto you the armour of God, that you may be able to resist in the euill daie; and hauing finished all things, stand fast. Stand therefore, and your loines girded about with veritie, and hauing on the brestplate of righteousnes, &c: as followeth in that chapter, verses 15. 16. 17. 18. 1. Thes. 5. 1. Pet. 5, verse. 8. Ephes. 1. and elsewhere in the holie scripture.

¶ Otherwise.

If you be vnlearned, and want the comfort of fréends, repaire to some learned, godlie, and discréet preacher. If otherwise néed require, go to a learned physician, who by learning and experience knoweth and can discerne the difference, signes, and causes of such diseases, as faithlesse men and vnskilfull physicians impute to witchcraft.

A confutation of the force and vertue falselie ascribed to charmes and amulets, by the authorities of ancient writers, both diuines and physicians.

The xxiij. Chapter.

My meaning is not, that these words, in the bare letter, can doo anie thing towards your ease or comfort in this behalfe; or that it were wholesome for your bodie or soule to weare them about your necke: for then would I wish you to weare the whole Bible, which must néeds be more effectuall than anie one parcell thereof. But I find not that the apostles, or anie of them in the primitiue church, either carried S. Iohns gospell, or anie *Agnus Dei* about them, to the end they might be preserued from bugges: neither that they looked into the foure corners of the house, or else in the roofe, or vnder the threshhold, to find matter of witchcraft, and so to burne it, to be fréed from the same; according to the popish rules. Neither did they by such and such verses or praiers made vnto saints, at such or such houres, séeke to obteine grace: neither spake they of anie old women that vsed such trades. Neither did Christ at anie time vse or command holie water, or crosses, &c: to be vsed as terrors against the diuell, who was not affraid to assault himselfe, when he was on earth. And therefore a verie vaine thing it is to thinke that he feareth these trifles, or anie externall matter. Let vs then cast awaie these prophane and old wiues fables. For (as Origen saith) *Incantationes sunt dæmonũ irrisiones, idololatriæ fæx, animarum infatuatio, &c.* *Mal. malef. part. 2. qu. 2. cap. 6.* *1. Tim. 4, 7.* *Origin. lib. 3. in Iob.*

Chrysostome saith; There be some that carrie about their necks a péece of a gospell. But * is it not dailie read (saith he) and heard of all men? But if they be neuer the better for it, being put into their eares, how shall they be saued, by carrieng it about their necks? And further he saith; Where is the vertue of the gospell? In the figure of the letter, or in the vnderstanding of the sense? If in the figure, thou doost well to weare it about thy necke; *I. Chrysost. in Matth.* * Marke that here was no latine seruice. *Idem. Ibid.*

necke; but if in the understanding, then thou shouldest laie it up in thine heart. Augustine saith; Let the faithfull ministers admonish and tell their people, that these magicall arts and incantations doo bring no remedie to the infirmities either of men or cattell, &c.

August.26. quæ.vltim.

The heathen philosophers shall at the last daie confound the infidelitie and barbarous foolishnes of our christian or rather antichristian and prophane witchmongers. For as Aristotle saith, that *Incantamenta sunt muliercularum figmenta*: so dooth Socrates (who was said to be cunning herein) affirme, that *Incantationes sunt verba animas decipientia humanas*. Others saie; *Inscitiæ pallium sunt carmina, maleficium, & incantatio*. Galen also saith, that such as impute the falling euill, and such like diseases to diuine matter, and not rather to naturall causes, are witches, coniurers, &c. Hippocrates calleth them arrogant; and in another place affirming that in his time there were manie deceiuers and couseners, that would undertake to cure the falling euill, &c: by the power and helpe of diuels, by burieng some lots or inchantments in the ground, or casting them into the sea, concludeth thus in their credit, that they are all knaues and couseners: for God is our onlie defender and deliuerer. O notable sentence of a heathen philosopher!

Galen. in lib. de comitiali morbo.

Hippocrat. lib. de morbo sacro.

¶ *The*

¶ *The xiij. booke.*

The ſignification of the Hebrue word Hartumim, where it is found written in the ſcriptures, and how it is diuerſlie tranſlated: whereby the obiection of Pharaos magicians is afterward anſwered in this booke; alſo of naturall magicke not euill in it ſelfe.

The firſt Chapter.

HArtumim is no naturall Hebrue word, but is borrowed of ſome other nation: howbeit, it is vſed of the Hebrues in theſe places; to wit, Gen.41.8. 24. Exod.7.13.24.& 8.7. 18. & 9.11. Dan.1,20. & 2.2. Hierome ſometimes tranſlateth it *Coniectores*, ſometimes *Malefici*, ſometimes *Arioli*: which we for the moſt part tranſlate by this word witches. But the right ſignification héereof may be conceiued, in that the inchanters of Pharao, being magicians of Aegypt, were called Hartumim. And yet in Exodus they are named in ſome Latine tranſlations *Venefici*. Rabbi Leui ſaith, it betokeneth ſuch as doo ſtrange and wonderfull things, naturallie, artificiallie, and deceitfullie. Rabbi Iſaac Natar affirmeth, that ſuch were ſo termed, as amongſt the Gentiles profeſſed ſingular wiſedome. Aben Ezra expoundeth it, to ſignifie ſuch as knowe the ſecrets of nature, and the qualitie of ſtones and hearbs, &c: which is atteined vnto by art, and ſpeciallie by naturall magicke. But we, either for want of ſpeach, or knowlege, call them all by the name

Hieronymus in Gen.41.8, & 24. In Exod.7,13. In Dan.1,20

and

and terme of witches.

Certeinlie, God indueth bodies with wonderfull graces, the perfect knowledge whereof man hath not reached vnto: and on the one side, there is amongst them such mutuall loue, societie, and consent; and on the other side, such naturall discord, and secret enimitie, that therein manie things are wrought to the astonishment of mans capacitie. But when deceit and diabolicall words are coupled therewith, then extendeth it to witchcraft and coniuration; as whereunto those naturall effects are falselie imputed. So as heere I shall haue some occasion to say somewhat of naturall magicke; bicause vnder it lieth hidden the venome of this word Hartumim. This art is said by some to be the profoundnesse, and the verie absolute perfection of naturall philosophie, and shewing forth the actiue part thereof, & through the aid of naturall vertues, by the conuenient aplieng of them, works are published, exceeding all capacitie and admiration; and yet not so much by art, as by nature. This art of it selfe is not euill: for it consisteth in searching forth the nature, causes, and effects of things. As farre as I can conceiue, it hath beene more corrupted and prophaned by vs Christians, than either by Iewes or Gentiles.

The authors intention touching the matter hereafter to be discoursed vpon.

How the philosophers in times past trauelled for the knowledge of naturall magicke, of Salomons knowledge therein, who is to be called a naturall magician, a distinction thereof, and why it is condemned for witchcraft.

The second Chapter.

Manie philosophers; as namely Plato, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, &c: trauelled ouer all the world, to find out & learne the knowlege of this art; & at their returne they preached and taught, professed and published it. Yea, it should appeere by the magicians that came to adore Christ, that the knowledge and reputation

reputation thereof was greater, than we conceiue or make account of. But of all other, Salomon was the greatest traueller in this art, as may appeere throughout the booke of Ecclesiastes: and speciallie in the booke of Wisedome, where hee saith* God hath giuen me the true science of things, so as I knowe how the world was made, and the power of the elements, the beginning and the end, and the middest of times, how the times alter, and the change of seasons, the course of the yeare, and the situation of the starres, the nature of liuing things, and the furiousnesse of beasts, the power of the wind, and the imaginations of men, the diuersities of plants, and the vertues of roots, and all things both secret and knowne, &c. Finallie, he was so cunning in this art, that he is said to haue bene a coniurer or witch, and is so reputed in the Romish church at this daie. Whereby you may see, how fooles and papists are inclined to credit false accusations in matters of witchcraft and coniuration. The lesse knowledge we haue in this art, the more we haue it in contempt: in which respect Plato saith trulie to Dionysius; They make philosophie a mockerie, that deliuer it to prophane and rude people. Certeinlie, the witchcraft, coniuration, and inchantment that is imputed to Salomon, is gathered out of these his words following: I applied my mind to knowledge, and to search and seeke out science, wisedome and vnderstanding, to knowe the foolishnesse of the vngodlie, and the error of doting fooles. In this art of naturall magike (without great heed be taken) a student shall soone be abused. For manie (writing by report, without experience) mistake their authors, and set downe one thing for another. Then the conclusions being found false, the experiment groweth into contempt, and in the end seemeth ridiculous, though neuer so true. Plinie and Albert being curious writers heerein, are often deceiued; insomuch as Plinie is called a noble lier, and Albert a rusticall lier; the one lieng by heeresaie, the other by authoritie.

* Sap.7,17 18. 19. 20. 21.

See Iidioni.

Eccle.1.& 1

A magician is indeed that which the Latines call a wise man, as *Numa Pompilius* was among the Romans; The Greeks, a philosopher, as Socrates was among them; the Aegyptians a preest, as Hermes was; the Cabalists called them prophets. But although these distinguished this art, accounting the one part thereof

A magician described and the art distinguished.

thereof infamous, as being too much giuen vnto wicked, vaine, and impious curiositie, as vnto mouings, numbers, figures, sounds, voices, tunes, lights, affections of the mind, and words; and the other part commendable, as teaching manie good and necessarie things, as times and seasons to sowe, plant, till, cut, &c: and diuerse other things, which I will make manifest vnto you héereafter: yet we generallie condemne the whole art, without distinction, as a part of witchcraft; hauing learned to hate it, before we knowe it; affirming all to be witchcraft, which our grosse heads are not able to conceiue, and yet can thinke that an old doting woman séeth through it, &c. Wherein we consider not how God bestoweth his gifts, and hath established an order in his works, graffing in them sundrie vertues to the comfort of his seuerall creatures; and speciallie to the vse and behoofe of man: neither doo we therein weigh that art is seruant vnto nature, and waiteth vpon hir as hir handmaiden.

What secrets do lie hidden, and what is taught in naturall magicke, how Gods glorie is magnified therein, and that it is nothing but the worke of nature.

The third Chapter.

Read Plinie in natural. hist. Cardan de rerum variet. Albertus de occulta rerum proprietate. Barthol. Neap. in natural. magia, & many others.

IN this art of naturall magicke, God almightie hath hidden manie secret mysteries; as wherein a man may learne the properties, qualities, and knowledge of all nature. For it teacheth to accomplish maters in such sort and oportunitie, as the common people thinketh the same to be miraculous; and to be compassed none other waie, but onelie by witchcraft. And yet in truth, naturall magicke is nothing else, but the worke of nature. For in tillage, as nature produceth corne and hearbs; so art, being natures minister, prepareth it. Wherein times and seasons are greatlie to be respected: for *Annus non aruus producit aristas.*

But as manie necessarie and sober things are héerein taught: so dooth it partlie (I saie) consist in such experiments and conclu-

stons as are but toies, but neuerthelesse lie hid in nature, and being vnknowne, doo seeme miraculous, speciallie when they are intermedled and corrupted with cunning illusion, or legierdemaine, from whence is deriued the estimation of witchcraft. But being learned and knowne, they are contemned, and appeere ridiculous: for that onelie is wonderfull to the beholder, whereof he can conceiue no cause nor reason, according to the saieng of Ephesius, *Miraculum soluitur vnde videtur esse miraculum.* And therefore a man shall take great paines heerein, and bestow great cost to learne that which is of no value, and a meere iugling knacke. Whervpon it is said, that a man may not learne philosophie to be rich; but must get riches to learne philosophie: for to sluggards, niggards, & dizzards, the secrets of nature are neuer opened. And doubtlesse a man may gather out of this art, that which being published, shall set forth the glorie of God, and be many waies beneficiall to the commonwealth: the first is doone by the manifestation of his works; the second, by skilfullie applieng them to our vse and seruice.

Naturall magicke hath a double end, which proueth yͤ excellencie of the same.

What strange things are brought to passe by naturall magicke.

The fourth Chapter.

THe dailie vse and practise of medicine taketh awaie all admiration of the wonderfull effects of the same. Manie other things of lesse weight, being more secret and rare, seeme more miraculous. As for example (if it be true that I. Bap. Neap. and many other writers doo constantlie affirme.) Tie a wild bull to a figtree, and he will be presentlie tame; or hang an old cocke therevpon, and he will immediatlie be tender; as also the feathers of an eagle consume all other feathers, if they be intermedled together. Wherein it may not be denied, but nature sheweth hir selfe a proper workwoman. But it seemeth vnpossible, that a little fish being but halfe a foot long, called Remora or Remiligo, or

of some Echeneis, staieth a mightie ship with all hir loade and tackling, and being also vnder saile. And yet it is affirmed by so manie and so graue authors, that I dare not denie it; speciallie, bicause I sée as strange effects of nature otherwise: as the propertie of the loadstone, which is so beneficiall to the mariner; and of Rheubarb, which onelie medleth with choler, and purgeth neither flegme nor melancholie, & is as beneficiall to the physician, as the other to the mariner.

Pompanatius.lib.de incant.cap.3. I.Wierus de lamijs. Iasp.Peucer H.Cardan. &c.

The incredible operation of waters, both standing and running; of wels, lakes, riuers, and of their woonderfull effects.

The fift Chapter.

THe operation of waters, and their sundrie vertues are also incredible, I meane not of waters compounded and distilled: for it were endlesse to treate of their forces, speciallie concerning medicines. But we haue héere euen in England naturall springs, wels, and waters, both standing and running, of excellent vertues, euen such as except we had séene, and had experiment of, we would not beleeue to be *In rerum natura*. And to let the physicall nature of them passe (for the which we cannot be so thankefull to God, as they are wholsome for our bodies) is it not miraculous, that wood is by the qualitie of diuers waters héere in England transubstantiated into a stone? The which vertue is also found to be in a lake besides the citie Masaca in Cappadocia, there is a riuer called Scarmandrus, that maketh yellow shéepe. Yea, there be manie waters, as in Pontus & Thessalia, and in the land of Assyrides, in a riuer of Thracia (as Aristotle saith) that if a white shéepe being with lambe drinke thereof, the lambe will be blacke. Strabo writeth of the riuer called Crantes, in the borders of Italie, running towards Tarentum, where mens haire is made white and yellow being washed therein. Plinie doth write that of what colour the veines are vnder the rammes tong, of the

Of late experience neere Couentrie, &c.

Aristot.in lib.de hist. animalium.

Plin.de lanicij colore.

the same colour or colours will the lambs be. There is a lake in a field called Cornetus, in the bottome whereof manifestlie appeareth to the eie, the carcases of snakes, ewts, and other serpents: whereas if you put in your hand, to pull them out, you shall find nothing there. There droppeth water out of a rocke in Arcadia, the which neither a siluerne nor a brasen boll can conteine, but it leapeth out, and sprinkleth awaie; and yet will it remaine without motion in the hoofe of a mule. Such conclusions (I warrant you) were not vnknowne to Iannes and Iambres.

The vertues and qualities of sundrie pretious stones, of cousening Lapidaries, &c.

The sixt Chapter.

THe excellent vertues and qualities of stones, found, conceiued and tried by this art, is wonderfull. Howbeit many things most false and fabulous are added vnto their true effects, wherewith I thought good in part to trie the readers patience and cunning withall. An Agat (they saie) hath vertue against the biting of scorpions or serpents. It is written (but I will not stand to it) that it maketh a man eloquent, and procureth the fauour of princes; yea that the fume thereof dooth turne awaie tempests. Alectorius is a stone about the bignesse of a beane, as cleere as the christall, taken out of a cocks bellie which hath beene gelt or made a capon foure yeares. If it be held in ones mouth, it asswageth thirst, it maketh the husband to loue the wife, and the bearer inuincible: for hereby Milo was said to ouercome his enimies. A crawpocke deliuereth from prison. Chelidonius is a stone taken out of a swallowe, which cureth melancholie: howbeit, some authors saie, it is the hearbe wherby the swallowes recouer the sight of their yoong, euen if their eies be picked out with an instrument. Geranites is taken out of a crane, and Draconites out of a dragon. But it is to be noted, that such stones must be taken out of the bellies of the serpents, beasts, or birds,

Ludouicus Cœlius. Rhodo. lib. antiq. lect. 11. ca. 70. Barthol. Angelicus, lib. 16.

(wherein they are) whiles they liue: otherwise, they vanish awaie with the life, and so they reteine the vertues of those starres vnder which they are. Amethysus maketh a drunken man sober, and refresheth the wit. The* corall preserueth such as beare it from fascination or bewitching, and in this respect they are hanged about childrens necks. But from whence that superstition is deriued, and who inuented the lie, I knowe not: but I see how readie the people are to giue credit thereunto, by the multitude of corrals that waie emploied. I find in good authors, that while it remaineth in the sea, it is an hearbe; and when it is brought thence, into the aire, it hardeneth, and becommeth a stone.

** Auicenna cano. 2. tract. 2. cap. 124. Serapio agg. cap. 100. Dioscor. lib. 5. cap. 93.*

Heliotropius stancheth bloud, driueth awaie poisons, preserueth health: yea, and some write that it prouoketh raine, and darkeneth the sunne, suffering not him that beareth it to be abused. Hyacinthus dooth all that the other dooth, and also preserueth from lightening. Dinothera hanged about the necke, collar, or yoke of any creature, tameth it presentlie. A Topase healeth the lunatike person of his passion of lunacie. Aitites, if it be shaken, soundeth as if there were a little stone in the bellie thereof: it is good for the falling sicknesse, and to preuent vntimelie birth. Amethysus aforesaid resisteth drunkenesse, so as the bearers shall be able to drinke freelie, and recouer themselues soone being drunke as apes: the same maketh a man wise. Chalcedonius maketh the bearer luckie in lawe, quickeneth the power of the bodie, and is of force also against the illusions of the diuell, and phantasticall cogitations arising of melancholie. Corneolus mitigateth the heate of the mind, and qualifieth malice, it stancheth bloudie fluxes, speciallie of women that are troubled with their flowers. Heliotropius aforesaid darkeneth the sunne, raiseth showers, stancheth bloud, procureth good fame, keepeth the bearer in health, and suffereth him not to be deceiued. If this were true, one of them would be deerer than a thousand diamonds.

Plin. lib. 37. cap. 10. Albert. lib. 2. cap. 7. Solin. cap. 32.

Hyacinthus deliuereth one from the danger of lightening, driueth awaie poison and pestilent infection, and hath manie other vertues. Iris helpeth a woman to speedie deliuerance, and maketh rainebowes to appeere. A Saphire preserueth the members, and maketh them liuelie, and helpeth agues and gowts, and suffereth not the bearer to be afraid: it hath vertue against

venome, and staieth bléeding at the nose being often put thereto. A* Smarag is good for the eiesight, and suffereth not carnall copulation, it maketh one rich and eloquent. A Topase increaseth riches, healeth the lunatike passion, and stancheth bloud. Mephis (as Aaron and Hermes report out of Albertus Magnus) being broken into powder, and dronke with water, maketh insensibilitie of torture. Héereby you may vnderstand, that as God hath bestowed vpon these stones, and such other like bodies, most excellent and woonderfull vertues: so according to the abundance of humane superstitions and follies, manie ascribe vnto them either more vertues, or others than they haue: other boast that they are able to adde new qualities vnto them. And héerin consisteth a part of witchcraft and common cousenage vsed sometimes of the Lapidaries for gaines; sometimes of others for cousening purposes. Some part of the vanitie héereof I will héere describe, bicause the place serueth well therefore. And it is not to be forgotten or omitted, that Pharos magicians were like enough to be cunning therein.

*Rabbi Moses aphorism. partic.22. Isidor.lib.14. cap.3. Sauanorola.

Neuerthelesse, I will first giue you the opinion of one, who professed himselfe a verie skilfull and well experimented Lapidarie, as appéereth by a booke of his owne penning, published vnder this title of Dactylotheca, and (as I thinke) to be had among the booksellers. And thus followeth his assertion:

Marbodeus Gallus in sua dactylotheca, pag.5.6.

Euax rex Arabum fertur scripsisse Neroni,
(Qui post Augustum regnauit in orbe secundus)
Quot species lapidis, quæ nomina, quiue colores,
Quæq; sit his regio, vel quanta potentia cuiq;,
Occultas etenim lapidum cognoscere vires,
Quorum causa latens effectus dat manifestos,
Egregium quiddam volumus rarúmque videri.
Scilicet hinc solers medicorum cura iuuatur,
Auxilio lapidum morbos expellere docta.
Nec minùs inde dari cunctarum commoda rerum
Autores perhibent, quibus hæc perspecta feruntur.
Nec dubium cuiquam debet falsúmque videri,
Quin sua sit gemmis diuinitùs insita virtus:

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Euax an old Arabian king
is named to haue writ
A treatise, and on Neros Grace
to haue bestowed it,
(Who in the world did second reigne
after Augustus time)
Of pretious stones the sundrie sorts,
their names, and in what clime
And countrie they were to be found,
their colours and their hue,
Their priuie power and secret force,
the which with knowledge true
To vnderstand, their hidden cause
most plaine effects declare:
And this will we a noble thing
haue counted be and rare.
The skilfull care of leeches learnd
is aided in this case,
And hereby holpen, and are taught
with aid of stones to chase
Awaie from men such sicknesses
as haue in them a place.
No lesse precise commodities
of althings else therebie
Are ministred and giuen to men,
if authors doo not lie,
To whome these things are said to bee
most manifestlie knowne.
It shall no false or doubtfull case
appeare to anie one,
But that by heauenlie influence
each pretious pearle and stone,
Hath in his substance fixed force
and vertue largelie sowne.

Vis gemmarum & lapillorum pretiosorum negatur, quia occulta est, rarissiméque sub sensum cadit.

Whereby it is to be concluded, that stones haue in them certeine

teine proper vertues, which are giuen them of a speciall influence of the planets, and a due proportion of the elements, their substance being a verie fine and pure compound, consisting of well tempered matter wherein is no grosse mixture: as appeareth by plaine proofe of India and Aethopia, where the sunne being orient and meridionall, doth more effectuallie shew his operation, procuring more pretious stones there to be ingendred, than in the countries that are occident and septentrionall. Unto this opinion doo diuerse ancients accord; namelie, Alexander Peripateticus, Hermes, Euax, Bocchus Zoroastes, Isaac Iudæus, Zacharias Babylonicus, and manie more beside.

Manie mo authors may be named of no lesse antiquitie and learning.

Whence the pretious stones receiue their operations, how curious Magicians vse them, and of their seales.

The seuenth Chapter.

Curious Magicians affirme, that these stones receiue their vertues altogether of the planets and heauenlie bodies, and haue not onelie the verie operation of the planets, but sometimes the verie images and impressions of the starres naturallie ingrafted in them, and otherwise ought alwaies to haue grauen vpon them, the similitudes of such monsters, beasts, and other deuises, as they imagine to be both internallie in operation, and externallie in view, expressed in the planets. As for example, vpon the Achate are grauen serpents or venemous beasts: and sometimes a man riding on a serpent: which they know to be Aesculapius, which is the celestiall serpent, whereby are cured (they saie) poisons and stingings of serpents and scorpions. These grow in the riuer of Achates, where the greatest scorpions are ingendred, and their noisomnes is thereby qualified, and by the force of the scorpions the stones vertue is quickened and increased. Also, if they would induce loue for the accomplishment of venerie, they inscribe and expresse in the stones, amiable embracings and louelie

Plin. lib. 37. cap. 10. Albert. miner. li. 2. ca. 1. Solin. cap. 11. Diurius in scrin. cap. de complexionibus & complexatis.

lie

lie countenances and gestures, words and kissings in apt figures. For the desires of the mind are consonant with the nature of the stones, which must also be set in rings, and vpon foiles of such metals as haue affinitie with those stones, thorough the operation of the planets whereunto they are addicted, whereby they may gather the greater force of their working.

As for example, They make the images of Saturne in lead, of Sol in gold, of Luna in siluer. Marrie there is no small regard to be had for the certeine and due times to be obserued in the grauing of them: for so are they made with more life, and the influences and configurations of the planets are made thereby the more to abound in them. As if you will procure loue, you must worke in apt, proper, and fréendlie aspects, as in the houre of Venus, &c: to make debate, the direct contrarie order is to be taken. If you determine to make the image of Venus, you must expect to be vnder Aquarius or Capricornus: for Saturne, Taurus, and Libra must be taken héed of. Manie other obseruations there be, as to auoid the infortunate seate and place of the planets, when you would bring a happie thing to passe, and speciallie that it be not doone in the end, declination, or héele (as they terme it) of the course thereof: for then the planet mourneth and is dull.

Geor. Pictorius. Villang. doct. medici in scholijs super Marbod. dactyl.

Such signes as ascend in the daie, must be taken in the daie; if in the night they increase, then must you go to worke by night, &c. For in Aries, Leo, and Sagittarie is a certeine triplicitie, wherein the sunne hath dominion by daie, Iupiter by night, and in the twielight the cold star of Saturne. But bicause there shall be no excuse wanting for the faults espied herein, they saie that the vertues of all stones decaie through tract of time: so as such things are not now to be looked for in all respects as are written. Howbeit Iannes and Iambres were liuing in that time, and in no inconuenient place; and therefore not vnlike to haue that helpe towards the abusing of Pharao. Cardane saith, that although men attribute no small force vnto such seales; as to the seale of the sunne, authorities, honors, and fauors of princes; of Iupiter, riches and fréends; of Venus, pleasures; of Mars, boldnes; of Mercurie, diligence; of Saturne, patience and induring of labour; of Luna, fauour of people: I am not ignorant (saith he) that stones doo good, and yet I knowe the seales or figures doo

H. Card. lib. de subtil. 10.

none

none at all. And when Cardane had shewed fullie that art, and the follie thereof, and the maner of those terrible, prodigious, & deceitfull figures of the planets with their characters, &c: he saith that those were deceitfull inuentions deuised by coseners, and had no vertue indeed nor truth in them. But bicause we spake somewhat euen now of signets and seales, I will shew you what I read reported by Vincentius *in suo speculo*, where making mention of the Iasper stone, whose nature and propertie Marbodeus Gallus describeth in the verses following: *H. Card. lib. de var. rer. 16. cap. 90.*

Marbodeus in sua dactylotheca, pag. 41, 52.

Iaspidis esse decem species septémque feruntur,
Hic & multorum cognoscitur esse colorum,
Et multis nasci perhibetur partibus orbis,
Optimus in viridi translucentíque colore,
Et qui plus soleat virtutis habere probatur,
Castè gestatus febrem fugat, arcet hydropem,
Adpositúsque iuuat mulierem parturientem,
Et tutamentum portanti creditur esse.
Nam consecratus gratum facit atque potentem,
Et, sicut perhibent, phantasmata noxia pellit,
Cuius in argento vis fortior esse putatur.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

Seuen kinds and ten of Iasper stones
reported are to be,
Of manie colours this is knowne
which noted is by me,
And said in manie places of
the world for to be seene,
Where it is bred; but yet the best
is thorough shining greene,
And that which prooued is to haue
in it more vertue plaste:
For being borne about of such
as are of liuing chaste,

Memorandum the authors meaning is, that this

It

stone be set in siluer, & worne on the finger for a ring: as you shall see afterwards.

It driues awaie their ague fits,
the dropsie thirsting drie,
And put vnto a woman weake
in trauell which dooth lie
It helps, assists, and comforts hir
in pangs when she dooth crie.
Againe, it is beleeud to be
A safegard franke and free,
To such as weare and beare the same;
and if it hallowed bee
It makes the parties gratious,
and mightie too that haue it,
And noysome fansies (as they write
that ment not to depraue it)
It dooth displace out of the mind:
the force thereof is stronger,
In siluer if the same be set,
and will endure the longer.

Vincent. lib. 9. cap. 77. Dioscor. lib. 5. cap. 100. Aristot. in Lapidario.

But (as I said) Vincentius making mention of the Jasper stone, touching which (by the waie of a parenthesis) I haue inferred Marbodeus his verses, he saith that some Jasper stones are found hauing in them the liuelie image of a naturall man, with a sheeld at his necke and a speare in his hand, and vnder his feete a serpent: which stones so marked and signed, he preferreth before all the rest, bicause they are antidotaries or remedies notablie resisting poison. Othersome also are found figured and marked with the forme of a man bearing on his necke a bundle of hearbs and flowres, with the estimation and value of them noted, that they haue in them a facultie or power restrictiue, and will in an instant or moment of time stanch bloud. Such a kind of stone (as it is reported) Galen wore on his finger. Othersome are marked with a crosse, as the same author writeth, and these be right excellent against inundations or ouerflowings of waters. I could hold you long occupied in declarations like vnto these, wherein I laie before you what other men haue published and set forth to the world, chusing rather to be an academicall discour-

ser,

ser, than an vniuersall determiner: but I am desirous of breuitie.

The sympathie and antipathie of naturall and elementarie bodies declared by diuerse examples of beasts, birds, plants, &c.

The eight Chapter.

If I should write of the strange effects of Sympathia and Antipathia, I should take great paines to make you wonder, and yet you would scarse beleeue me. And if I should publish such conclusions as are common and knowne, you would not regard them. And yet Empedocles thought all things were wrought hereby. It is almost incredible, that the grunting or rather the wheeking of a little pig, or the sight of a simple sheepe should terrifie a mightie elephant: and yet by that meanes the Romans did put to flight Pyrhus and all his hoast. A man would hardlie beleeue, that a cocks combe or his crowing should abash a puissant lion: but the experience herof hath satisfied the whole world. Who would thinke that a serpent should abandon the shadow of an ash, &c: But it seemeth not strange, bicause it is common, that some man otherwise hardie and stout enough, should not dare to abide or endure the sight of a cat. Or that a draught of drinke should so ouerthrow a man, that neuer a part or member of his bodie should be able to performe his dutie and office; and should also so corrupt and alter his senses, understanding, memorie, and iudgement, that he should in euerie thing, sauing in shape, become a verie beast. And herein the poets experiment of liquor is verified, in these words following:

Agreement & disagreement in sufferance.

——————sunt qui non corpora tantùm,
Verùm animas etiam valeant mutare liquores:

Some waters haue so powerfull ben,
As could not onelie bodies change,

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

But

But euen the verie minds of men,
Their operation is so strange.

Read a litle tract of Erasmus intituled *De amicitia*, where enough is said touching this point.

The fréendlie societie betwixt a fox and a serpent is almost incredible: how louing the lizzard is to a man, we maie read, though we cannot sée. Yet some affirme that our newt is not onlie like to the lizzard in shape, but also in condition. From the which affection towards a man, a spaniell doth not much differ, whereof I could cite incredible stories. The amitie betwixt a castrell and a pigeon is much noted among writers; and speciallie how the castrell defendeth hir from hir enimie the sparowhawke: whereof they saie the doue is not ignorant. Besides, the wonderfull operation and vertue of hearbs, which to repeat were infinite: and therfore I will onlie referre you to Mattheolus his herball, or to Dodonæus. There is among them such naturall accord and discord, as some prosper much the better for the others companie, and some wither awaie being planted néere vnto the other. The lillie and the rose reioise in ech others neighborhood. The flag and the fernebush abhorre each other so much, that the one can hardlie liue besides the other. The cowcumber loueth water, and hateth oile to the death. And bicause you shall not saie that hearbs haue no vertue, for that in this place I cite none, I am content to discouer two or thrée small qualities and vertues, which are affirmed to be in hearbs: marie as simple as they be, Iannes and Iambres might haue done much with them, if they had had them. If you pricke out a yong swallowes eies, the old swallow restoreth againe their sight, with the application (they saie) of a little Celondine. Xanthus the author of histories reporteth, that a yong dragon being dead, was reuiued by hir dam, with an hearbe called Balim. And Iuba saith, that a man in Arabia being dead was reuiued by the vertue of another hearbe.

Xanthus in hist. prima.

Iub. lib. 25. cap. 2.

The former matter prooued by manie examples of the liuing and the dead.

The ninth Chapter.

And as we see in stones, herbs, &c: strange operation and naturall loue and dissention: so do we read, that in the bodie of a man, there be as strange properties and vertues naturall. I haue heard by credible report, and I haue read many graue authors constantlie affirme, that the wound of a man murthered reneweth bleeding; at the presence of a deere friend, or of a mortall enimie. Diuerse also write, that if one passe by a murthered bodie (though vnknowne) he shalbe striken with feare, and feele in him selfe some alteration by nature. Also that a woman, aboue the age of fiftie yeares, being bound hand and foote, hir clothes being vpon hir, and laid downe softlie into the water, sinketh not in a long time; some saie, not at all. By which experiment they were wont to trie witches, as well as by *Ferrum candens:* which was, to hold hot iron in their hands, and by not burning to be tried. Howbeit, Plutarch saith, that Pyrhus his great toe had in it such naturall or rather diuine vertue, that no fier could burne it.

This common experience can iustifie.

I.Wierus.

Plutarch. in vita Pyrhi.

And Albertus saith, and manie other also repeat the same storie, saieng, that there were two such children borne in Germanie, as if that one of them had beene carried by anie house, all the doores right against one of his sides would flie open: and that vertue which the one had in the left side, the other brother had in the right side. He saith further, that manie sawe it, and that it could be referred to nothing, but to the proprietie of their bodies. Pompanatius writeth that the kings of France do cure the disease called now the kings euill, or queenes euill; which hath beene alwaies thought, and to this daie is supposed to be a miraculous and a peculiar gift, & a speciall grace giuen to the kings and queenes of England. Which some referre to the proprietie of their persons, some to the peculiar gift of God, and some to the efficacie

Albert.lib.de mor. animal. cap.3.

Pompan.lib. de incant. cap.4.

efficacie

efficacie of words. But if the French king vse it no worsse than our Princesse doth, God will not be offended thereat: for hir maiestie onelie vseth godlie and diuine praier, with some almes, and referreth the cure to God and to the physician. Plutarch writeth that there be certeine men called Psilli, which with their mouthes heale the bitings of serpents. And I. Bap. Neap. saith, that an oliue being planted by the hand of a virgine, prospereth; which if a harlot do, it withereth awaie. Also, if a serpent or viper lie in a hole, it maie easilie be pulled out with the left hand, wheras with the right hand it cannot be remoued. Although this experiment, and such like, are like enough to be false; yet are they not altogether so impious as the miracles said to be done by characters, charmes, &c. For manie strange properties remaine in sundrie partes of a liuing creature, which is not vniuersallie dispersed, and indifferentlie spred through the whole bodie: as the eie smelleth not, the nose seeth not, the eare tasteth not, &c.

Plutar. in vita Catonis.

I. Bap. Neap. in lib. de natur. magia. 1.

The bewitching venome conteined in the bodie of an harlot, how hir eie, hir toong, hir beautie and behauior bewitcheth some men: of bones and hornes yeelding great vertue.

The tenth Chapter.

The venom or poison of an harlot.

The vertue conteined within the bodie of an harlot, or rather the venome procéeding out of the same maie be beheld with great admiration. For hir eie infecteth, entiseth, and (if I maie so saie) bewitcheth them manie times, which thinke themselues well armed against such maner of people. Hir toong, hir gesture, hir behauiour, hir beautie, and other allurements poison and intoxicate the mind: yea, hir companie induceth impudencie, corrupteth virginitie, confoundeth and consumeth the bodies, goods, and the verie soules of men. And finallie hir bodie destroieth and rotteth the verie flesh and bones of mans bodie. And this is common, that we wonder not at all thereat, naie we haue not

the

the course of the sunne, the moone, or the starres in so great admiration, as the globe, counterfeting their order: which is in respect but a bable made by an artificer. So as (I thinke) if Christ himselfe had continued long in the execution of miracles, and had left that power permanent and common in the church; they would haue growne into contempt, and not haue béene estéemed, according to his owne saieng: A prophet is not regarded in his owne countrie. I might recite infinite properties, wherewith God hath indued the bodie of man, worthie of admiration, and fit for this place. As touching other liuing creatures, God hath likewise (for his glorie, and our behoofe) bestowed most excellent and miraculous gifts and vertues upon their bodies and members, and that in severall and woonderfull wise. We sée that a bone taken out of a carps head, stancheth bloud, and so doth none other part besides of that fish. The bone also in a hares foot mitigateth the crampe, as none other bone nor part else of the hare doth. How pretious is the bone growing out of the forehead of a unicorne; if the horne, which we sée, growe there, which is doubted: and of how small accompt are the residue of all his bones? At the excellencie whereof, as also at the noble and innumerable vertues of herbs we muse not at all; bicause it hath pleased God to make them common unto us. Which perchance might in some part assist Iannes and Iambres, towards the harding of Pharaos heart. But of such secret and strange operations read Albert *De mineral. cap.* 1. 11. 17. Also Marsilius Ficinus, *cap.* 1. *lib.* 4. Cardan. *de rerum varietate.* I. Bap. Neap. *de magia naturali.* Peucer, Wier, Pompanacius, Fernelius, and others.

Matth. 13. Marke. 6. Luke. 4. Iohn. 4.

Wonderfull naturall effects in bones of fishes, beasts, &c.

Two notorious woonders and yet not maruelled at.

The eleuenth Chapter.

I Thought good here to insert two most miraculous matters, of the one I am *Testis oculatus*, an eie witnesse; of the other I am so credible and certeinelie informed, that I dare and doo beléeue it to be verie true. When Maister T. Randolph returned out of Russia, after his ambassage dispatched, a gentleman of his traine

brought home a monument of great accompt, in nature and in propertie very wonderfull. And bicause I am loath to be long in the description of circumstances, I will first describe the thing it selfe: which was a péece of earth of a good quantitie, and most excellentlie proportioned in nature, hauing these qualities and vertues following. If one had taken a péece of perfect stéele, forked and sharpened at the end, and heated it red hot, offering therewith to haue touched it; it would haue fled with great celeritie: and on the other side, it would haue pursued gold, either in coine or bulloine, with as great violence and spéed as it shunned the other. No bird in the aire durst approch néere it; no beast of the field but feared it, and naturallie fled from the sight thereof. It would be here to daie, and to morrowe twentie miles off, and the next daie after in the verie place it was the first daie, and that without the helpe of anie other creature.

Strange properties in a peece of earth.

Strange properties in a stone: the like qualities in other stons: *See pag.* 193. 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 300.

Iohannes Fernelius writeth of a strange stone latelie brought out of India, which hath in it such a maruellous brightnes, puritie, and shining, that therewith the aire round about is so lightned and cleared, that one may sée to read thereby in the darknes of night. It will not be conteined in a close roome, but requireth an open and frée place. It would not willinglie rest or staie here belowe on the earth, but alwaies laboureth to ascend vp into the aire. If one presse it downe with his hand, it resisteth, and striketh verie sharpelie. It is beautifull to behold, without either spot or blemish, and yet verie vnplesant to taste or féele. If anie part thereof be taken awaie, it is neuer a whit diminished, the forme thereof being inconstant, and at euerie moment mutable. These two things last rehearsed are strange, and so long woondered at, as the mysterie and moralitie thereof remaineth vndiscouered: but when I haue disclosed the matter, and told you that by the lumpe of earth a man is ment, and some of his qualities described; and that that which was conteined in the farre fetcht stone, was fier, or rather flame: the doubt is resolued, and the miracle ended. And yet (I confesse) there is in these two creatures conteined more miraculous matter, than in all the loadstones and diamonds in the world. And hereby is to be noted, that euen a part of this art, which is called naturall or witching magicke, consisteth as well in the deceipt of words, as in the sleight

sleight of hand: wherein plaine lieng is auoided with a figuratiue spéech, in the which, either the words themselues, or their interpretation haue a double or doubtfull meaning, according to that which hath béene said before in the title* *ob* or *Pytho*: and shall be more at large hereafter in this treatise manifested.

*Being the 7. booke of this discouerie: *See pag.* 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 160, &c. Where discourse is made of oracles, &c.

Of illusions, confederacies, and legierdemaine, and how they may be well or ill vsed.

The twelfe Chapter.

Manie writers haue béene abused, as well by vntrue reports, as by illusion, and practises of confederacie and legierdemaine, &c: sometimes imputing vnto words that which resteth in the nature of the thing; and sometimes to the nature of the thing, that which procéedeth of fraud and deception of sight. But when these experiments growe to superstition or impietie, they are either to be forsaken as vaine, or denied as false. Howbeit, if these things be doone for mirth and recreation, and not to the hurt of our neighbour, nor to the abusing or prophaning of Gods name, in mine opinion they are neither impious nor altogether vnlawfull: though herein or hereby a naturall thing be made to séeme supernaturall. Such are the miracles wrought by iugglers, consisting in fine and nimble conueiance, called legierdemaine: as when they séeme to cast awaie, or to deliuer to another that which they reteine still in their owne hands; or conueie otherwise: or séeme to eate a knife, or some such other thing, when indéed they bestowe the same secretlie into their bosoms or laps. Another point of iuggling is, when they thrust a knife through the braines and head of a chicken or pullet, and séeme to cure the same with words: which would liue and doo well, though neuer a word were spoken. Some of these toies also consist in arythmeticall deuises, partlie in experiments of naturall magike, and partlie in priuate as also in publike confederacie.

Look hereafter in this booke for diuers conceits of iuggling set foorth at large, beginning at pag. 321.

Of priuate confederacie, and of Brandons pigeon.

The xiij. Chapter.

Priuate confederacie I meane, when one (by a speciall plot laid by himselfe, without anie compact made with others) persuadeth the beholders, that he will suddenlie and in their presence doo some miraculous feat, which he hath alredie accomplished priuilie. As for example, he will shew you a card, or anie other like thing: and will saie further vnto you; Behold and sée what a marke it hath, and then burneth it; and neuertheles fetcheth another like card so marked out of some bodies pocket, or out of some corner where he himselfe before had placed it; to the woonder and astonishment of simple beholders, which conceiue not that kind of illusion, but expect miracles and strange works.

Example of a ridiculous woonder.

What woondering and admiration was there at Brandon the iuggler, who painted on a wall the picture of a doue, and séeing a pigeon sitting on the top of a house, said to the king; Lo now your Grace shall sée what a iuggler can doo, if he be his craftes maister; and then pricked the picture with a knife so hard and so often, and with so effectuall words, as the pigeon fell downe from the top of the house starke dead. I néed not write anie further circumstance to shew how the matter was taken, what woondering was thereat, how he was prohibited to vse that feat anie further, least he should emploie it in anie other kind of murther; as though he, whose picture so euer he had pricked, must néeds haue died, and so the life of all men in the hands of a iuggler: as is now supposed to be in the hands and willes of witches. This storie is, vntill the daie of the writing hereof, in fresh remembrance, & of the most part beléeued as canonicall, as are all the fables of witches: but when you are taught the feate or sleight (the secrecie and sorcerie of the matter being bewraied, and discouered) you will thinke it a mockerie, and a simple illusion. To interpret vnto you the reuelation of this mysterie; so it is, that the poore pigeon was before in the hands of the iuggler,

This I haue prooued vpon crows and pies.

into whome he had thrust a dramme of *Nux vomica*, or some other such poison, which to the nature of the bird was so extreame a venome, as after the receipt thereof it could not liue aboue the space of halfe an houre, and being let lose after the medicine ministred, she alwaies resorted to the top of the next house: which she will the rather doo, if there be anie pigeons alreadie sitting there, and (as it is alreadie said) after a short space falleth downe, either starke dead, or greatlie astonnied. But in the meane time the iuggler vseth words of art, partlie to protract the time, and partlie to gaine credit and admiration of the beholders. If this or the like feate should be done by an old woman, euerie bodie would crie out for fier and faggot to burne the witch.

This might be done by a confederate, who standing at some window in a church steeple, or other fit place, and holding the pigeon by the leg in a string, after a signe giuen by his fellowe, pulleth downe the pigeon, and so the woonder is wrought.

Of publike confederacie, and whereof it consisteth.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Publike confederacie is, when there is before hand a compact made betwixt diuerse persons; the one to be principall, the rest to be assistants in working of miracles, or rather in cousening and abusing the beholders. As when I tell you in the presence of a multitude what you haue thought or doone, or shall doo or thinke, when you and I were thereupon agreed before. And if this be cunninglie and closelie handled, it will induce great admiration to the beholders; speciallie when they are before amazed and abused by some experiments of naturall magike, arythmeticall conclusions, or legierdemaine. Such were, for the most part, the conclusions and deuises of Feates: wherein doubt you not, but Iannes and Iambres were expert, actiue, and readie.

How men haue beene abused with words of equiuocation, with sundrie examples thereof.

The xv. Chapter.

Some haue taught, and others haue writen certeine experiments; in the expressing whereof they haue vsed such words of equiuocation, as whereby manie haue beene ouertaken and abused through

rash credulitie: so as sometimes (I saie) they haue reported, taught, and written that which their capacitie tooke hold vpon, contrarie to the truth and sincere meaning of the author. It is a common iest among the water men of the Thames, to shew the parish church of Stone to the passengers, calling the same by the name of the lanterne of Kent; affirming, and that not vntrulie, that the said church is as light (meaning in weight and not in brightnes) at midnight, as at noonedaie. Wherevpon some credulous person is made beleeue, and will not sticke to affirme and sweare, that in the same church is such continuall light, that anie man may see to read there at all times of the night without a candle.

A iest among watermen touching Stone church in Kent as light at midnight as at middaie.

An excellent philosopher, whome (for reuerence vnto his fame and learning) I will forbeare to name, was ouertaken by his hostesse at Douer; who merrilie told him, that if he could reteine and keepe in his mouth certeine pibbles (lieng at the shore side) he should not perbreake vntill he came to Calice, how rough and tempestuous so euer the seas were. Which when he had tried, and being not forced by sicknes to vomit, nor to lose his stones, as by vomiting he must needs doo, he thought his hostesse had discouered vnto him an excellent secret, nothing doubting of hir amphibologicall speech: and therefore thought it a worthie note to be recorded among miraculous and medicinable stones; and inserted it accordinglie into his booke, among other experiments collected with great industrie, learning, trauell, and iudgement. All these toies helpe a subtill cousener to gaine credit with the multitude. Yea, to further their estimation, manie will whisper prophesies of their owne inuention into the eares of such as are not of quickest capacitie; as to tell what weather, &c: shall follow. Which if it fall out true, then boast they and triumph, as though they had gotten some notable conquest; if not, they denie the matter, forget it, excuse it, or shift it off; as that they told another the contrarie in earnest, and spake that but in iest. All these helps might Pharaos iugglers haue, to mainteine their cousenages and illusions, towards the hardening of Pharaos hart.

A slender shift to saue the credit of their cunning.

Hereunto belong all maner of charmes, periapts, amulets, characters, and such other superstitions, both popish and prophane: whereby (if that were true, which either papists, coniurors, or witches

ches vndertake to doo) we might dailie sée the verie miracles wrought indéed, which Pharaos magicians séemed to performe. Howbeit, bicause by all those deuises or cousenages, there cannot be made so much as a nit, so as Iannes and Iambres could haue no helpe that waie, I will speake thereof in place more conuenient.

How some are abused with naturall magike, and sundrie examples thereof when illusion is added therevnto, of Iacobs pied sheepe, and of a blacke Moore.

The xvj. Chapter.

But as these notable and wonderfull experiments and conclusions that are found out in nature it selfe (through wisedome, learning, and industrie) doo greatlie oppose and astonnish the capacitie of man: so (I saie) when deceipt and illusion is annexed therevnto, then is the wit, the faith, & constancie of man searched and tried. For if we shall yéeld that to be diuine, supernaturall, and miraculous, which we cannot comprehend; a witch, a papist, a coniuror, a cousener, and a iuggler may make vs beléeue they are gods: or else with more impietie we shall ascribe such power and omnipotencie vnto them, or vnto the diuell, as onelie and properlie appertaineth to God. As for example. By confederacie or cousenage (as before I haue said) I may séeme to manifest the secret thoughts of the hart, which (as we learne in Gods booke) none knoweth or searcheth, but God himselfe alone. And therfore, whosoeuer beléeueth that I can doo as I may séeme to doo, maketh a god of me, and is an idolater. In which respect, whensoeuer we heare papist, witch, coniuror, or cousener, take vpon him more than lieth in humane power to performe, we may know & boldlie saie it is a knacke of knauerie; and no miracle at all. And further we may know, that when we vnderstand it, it will not be worth the knowing. And at the discouerie of these miraculous toies, we shall leaue to wonder at them, and beginne to wonder at our selues, that could be so abused with bables.

The inconuenience of holding opinion, that whatsoeuer passeth our capacitie, is diuine, supernaturall, &c.

bables. Howbeit, such things as God hath laid vp secretlie in nature are to be weighed with great admiration, and to be searched out with such industrie, as may become a christian man: I meane, so as neither God, nor our neighbour be offended thereby, which respect doubtlesse Iannes and Iambres neuer had. We find in the scriptures diuerse naturall and secret experiments practised; as namelie that of Iacob, for pied shéepe: which are confirmed by prophane authors, and not onelie verified in lambs and shéepe, but in horsses, pecocks, connies, &c. We read also of a woman that brought forth a yong blacke Moore, by meanes of an old blacke Moore who was in hir house at the time of hir conception, whome she beheld in phantasie, as is supposed: howbeit, a gelous husband will not be satisfied with such phantasticall imaginations. For in truth a blacke Moore neuer faileth to beget blacke children, of what colour soeuer the other be: *Et sic è contra.*

I. Bap. Neapol. in natural. mag.

The opinion of witchmongers, that diuels can create bodies, and of Pharaos magicians.

The xvij. Chapter.

IT is affirmed by Iames Sprenger and Henrie Institor, in M. Mal. who cite Albert *In lib. de animalib.* for their purpose, that diuels and witches also can truelie make liuing creatures as well as God; though not at an instant, yet verie suddenlie. Howbeit, all such as are rightlie informed in Gods word, shall manifestlie perceiue and confesse the contrarie, as hath béene by scriptures alreadie prooued, and may be confirmed by places infinite. And therefore I saie Iannes and Iambres, though sathan and also Belzebub had assisted them, could neuer haue made the serpent or the frogs of nothing, nor yet haue changed the waters with words. Neuerthelesse, all the learned expositors of that place affirme, that they made a shew of creation, &c: exhibiting by cunning a resemblance of some of those miracles, which GOD wrought by the hand of Moses. Yea S. Augustine and manie other hold, that they made by art (and that trulie) the serpents, &c.

M. malef. p. 1. q. 10.

John. 1, 3. Colos. 1, 16.

But

But that they may by art approch somewhat neerer to those actions, than hath beene yet declared, shall and may appeere by these and manie other conclusions, if they be true.

How to produce or make monsters by art magike, and why Pharaos magicians could not make lice.

The xviij. Chapter.

Strato, Democritus, Empedocles, and of late, Io.Bap.Neap. teach by what meanes monsters may be produced, both from beast and also from fowle. Aristotle himselfe teacheth to make a chicken haue foure legs, and as manie wings, onlie by a double yolked eg: whereby also a serpent may be made to haue manie legs. Or any thing that produceth egs, may likewise be made double membred, or dismembred: & the viler creature the sooner brought to monstrous deformitie, which in more noble creatures is more hardlie brought to passe. There are also prettie experiments of an eg, to produce anie fowle, without the naturall helpe of the hen: the which is brought to passe, if the eg be laid in the powder of the hens doong, dried and mingled with some of the hens fethers, & stirred euerie fourth houre. You may also produce (as they saie) the most venomous, noisome, and dangerous serpent, called a cockatrice, by melting a litle arsenicke, and the poison of serpents, or some other strong venome, and drowning an eg therein, which there must remaine certeine daies; and if the eg be set upright, the operation will be the better. This may also be doone, if the eg be laid in doong, which of all other things giueth the most singular and naturall heate: and as I.Bap. Neap. saith is* *Mirabilium rerum parens*; who also writeth, that *Crines fœminæ menstruosæ* are turned into serpents within short space: and he further saith, that basill being beaten, and set out in a moist place, betwixt a couple of tiles, dooth ingender scorpions. The ashes of a ducke, being put betwéene two dishes, and set in a moist place, dooth ingender a huge tode: *Quod etiam efficit sanguis menstruosus.* Manie writers conclude, that there be two maner of todes, the one

Naturall conclusiós.

To produce anie fowle out of an eg, without the naturall helpe of the hen.

*The mother of maruels.

one bred by naturall course and order of generation, the other growing of themselues, which are called temporarie, being onlie ingendred of shewers and dust: and (as I.Bap. Neap. saith) they are easie to be made. Plutarch and Heraclides doo saie, that they haue seene these to descend in raine, so as they haue lien and cralled on the tops of houses, &c. Also Aelianus dooth saie, that he sawe frogs and todes, whereof the heads & shoulders were aliue, & became flesh; the hinder parts being but earth, & so cralled on two feete, the other being not yet fashioned or fullie framed. And Macrobius reporteth, that in Aegypt, mice growe of earth and shewers; as also frogs, todes, and serpents in other places. They saie that Danmatus Hispanus could make them when & as manie as he listed. He is no good angler, that knoweth not how soone the entrales of a beast, when they are buried, will engender maggots (which in a ciuiler terme are called gentles) a good bait for small fishes. Whosoeuer knoweth the order of preseruing silkewormes, may perceiue a like conclusion: bicause in the winter, that is a dead seed, which in the summer is a liuelie creature. Such and greater experiments might be knowne to Iannes and Iambres, and serue well to their purpose, especiallie with such excuses, delaies, and cunning, as they could ioine therewithall. But to proceed, and come a little neerer to their feats, and to shew you a knacke beyond their cunning; I can assure you that of the fat of a man or a woman, lice are in verie short space ingendered: and yet I saie, Pharaos magicians could not make them, with all the cunning they had. Whereby you may perceiue, that God indeed performed the other actions, to indurate Pharao, though he thought his magicians did with no lesse dexteritie than Moses worke miracles and wonders. But some of the interpretors of that place excuse their ignorance in that matter, thus; The diuell (saie they) can make no creature vnder the quantitie of a barlie corne, and lice being so little cannot therefore be created by them. As though he that can make the greater, could not make the lesse. A verie grosse absurditie. And as though that he which hath power ouer great, had not the like ouer small.

Two kind of todes, naturall & temporall.

Maggots ingendred of the inwards of a beast are good for angling.

Giles Alley: See the poore mans librarie.

That

That great matters may be wrought by this art, when princes esteeme and mainteine it: of diuers woonderfull experiments, and of strange conclusions in glasses, of the art perspectiue, &c.

The xix. Chapter.

HOwbeit, these are but trifles in respect of other experiments to this effect; speciallie when great princes mainteine & giue countenance to students in those magicall arts, which in these countries and in this age is rather prohibited than allowed, by reason of the abuse commonlie coupled therewith; which in truth is it that mooueth admiration and estimation of miraculous workings. As for example. If I affirme, that with certeine charmes and popish praiers I can set an horsse or an asses head vpon a mans shoulders, I shall not be beléeued; or if I doo it, I shall be thought a witch. And yet if I. Bap. Neap. experiments be true, it is no difficult matter to make it séeme so: and the charme of a witch or papist ioined with the experiment, will also make the woonder séeme to procéed thereof. The words vsed in such case are vncerteine, and to be recited at the pleasure of the witch or cousener. But the conclusion is this: Cut off the head of a horsse or an asse (before they be dead) otherwise the vertue or strength thereof will be the lesse effectuall, and make an earthen vessell of fit capacitie to conteine the same, and let it be filled with the oile and fat therof; couer it close, and dawbe it ouer with lome: let it boile ouer a soft fier thrée daies continuallie, that the flesh boiled may run into oile, so as the bare bones may be séene: beate the haire into powder, and mingle the same with the oile; and annoint the heads of the standers by, and they shall séeme to haue horsses or asses heads. If beasts heads be annointed with the like oile made of a mans head, they shall séeme to haue mens faces, as diuerse authors soberlie affirme. If a lampe be annointed hérewith, euerie thing shall séeme most monstrous. It is also written, that if that which is called *Sperma* in anie beast be burned,

Woonderfull experiments.

To set an horsses or an asses head on a mans neck and shoulders.

ned, and any bodies face therewithall annointed, he shall seeme to haue the like face as the beast had. But if you beate arsenicke verie fine, and boile it with a little sulphur in a couered pot, and kindle it with a new candle, the standers by will seeme to be hedlesse. Aqua composita and salt being fiered in the night, and all other lights extinguished, make the standers by seeme as dead. All these things might be verie well perceiued and knowne, and also practised by Iannes and Iambres. But the woonderous deuises, and miraculous sights and conceipts made and conteined in glasse, doo farre exceed all other; whereto the art perspectiue is verie necessarie. For it sheweth the illusions of them, whose experiments be seene in diuerse sorts of glasses; as in the hallowe, the plaine, the embossed, the columnarie, the pyramidate or piked, the turbinall, the bounched, the round, the cornerd, the inuersed, the euersed, the massie, the regular, the irregular, the coloured and cleare glasses: for you may haue glasses so made, as what image or fauour soeuer you print in your imagination, you shall thinke you see the same therein. Others are so framed, as therein one may see what others doo in places far distant; others, wherby you shall see men hanging in the aire; others, whereby you may perceiue men flieng in the aire; others, wherin you may see one comming, & another going; others, where one image shall seeme to be one hundred, &c. There be glasses also, wherein one man may see another mans image, and not his owne; others, to make manie similitudes; others, to make none at all. Others, contrarie to the vse of all glasses, make the right side turne to the right, and the left side to the left; others, that burne before and behind; others, that represent not the images receiued within them, but cast them farre off in the aire, appearing like aierie images, and by the collection of sunne beames, with great force setteth fier (verie farre off) in euerie thing that may be burned. There be cleare glasses, that make great things seeme little, things farre off to be at hand; and that which is neere, to be far off; such things as are ouer vs, to seeme vnder vs; and those that are vnder vs, to be aboue vs. There are some glasses also, that represent things in diuerse colours, & them most gorgeous, speciallie any white thing. Finally, the thing most worthie of admiration concerning these glasses, is, that the lesser glasse doth lessen the

Strange things to be doone by perspectiue glasses.

Cōcerning these glasses remember that the eiesight is deceiued: for *Non est in speculo res quæ speculatur in eo.*

the shape: but how big so euer it be, it maketh the shape no bigger than it is. And therfore Augustine thinketh some hidden mysterie to be therein. Vitellius, and I. Bap. Neap. write largelie hereof. These I haue for the most part séene, and haue the receipt how to make them: which, if desire of breuitie had not forbidden me, I would here haue set downe. But I thinke not but Pharaos magicians had better experience than I for those and such like deuises. And (as Pompanacius saith) it is most true, that some for these feats haue béene accounted saints, some other witches. And therefore I saie, that the pope maketh rich witches, saints; and burneth the poore witches.

Rash opinion can neuer iudge soundlie.

A comparison betwixt Pharaos magicians and our witches, and how their cunning consisted in iuggling knacks.

The xx. Chapter.

Thus you see that it hath pleased GOD to shew vnto men that séeke for knowledge, such cunning in finding out, compounding, and framing of strange and secret things, as thereby he séemeth to haue bestowed vpon man, some part of his diuinitie. Howbeit, God (of nothing, with his word) hath created all things, and dooth at his will, beyond the power and also the reach of man, accomplish whatsoeuer he list. And such miracles in times past he wrought by the hands of his prophets, as here he did by Moses in the presence of Pharao, which Iannes and Iambres apishlie followed. But to affirme that they by themselues, or by all the diuels in hell, could doo indéed as Moses did by the power of the Holie-ghost, is worsse than infidelitie. If anie obiect and saie, that our witches can doo such feats with words and charms, as Pharaos magicians did by their art, I denie it; and all the world will neuer be able to shew it. That which they did, was openlie done; as our witches and coniurors neuer doo anie thing: so as these cannot doo as they did. And yet (as Caluine saith of them) they were but iugglers. Neither could they doo, as manie suppose.

An apish imitation in Iannes and Iambres of working woonders.

Io. Caluine, lib. institut. 1. cap. 8.
Cle. recog. 3.

suppose. For as Clemens saith; These magicians did rather seeme to doo these woonders, than worke them indeed. And if they made but prestigious shewes of things, I saie it was more than our witches can doo. For witchcrafts (as Erastus himselfe confesseth in drift of argument) are but old wiues fables. If the magicians serpent had beene a verie serpent, it must needs haue beene transformed out of the rod. And therein had beene a double worke of God; to wit, the qualifieng and extinguishment of one substance, and the creation of another. Which are actions beyond the diuels power, for he can neither make a bodie to be no bodie, nor yet no bodie to be a bodie; as to make something nothing, and nothing something; and contrarie things, one: naie, they cannot make one haire either white or blacke. If Pharaos magicians had made verie frogs vpon a sudden, whie could they not driue them awaie againe? If they could not hurt the frogs, whie should we thinke that they could make them? Or that our witches, which cannot doo so much as counterfet them, can kill cattell and other creatures with words or wishes? And therefore I saie with Iamblichus, *Quæ fascinati imaginamur, præter imaginamenta nullã habent actionis & essentiæ veritatem*; Such things as we being bewitched doo imagine, haue no truth at all either of action or essence, beside the bare imagination.

Erast. in disputat. de lamys.

Actions vnpossible to diuels: *Ergo* to witches coniurors, &c.

Iamb. de mysterijs.

That the serpents and frogs were trulie presented, and the water poisoned indeed by Iannes and Iambres, of false prophets, and of their miracles, of Balams asse.

The xxj. Chapter.

TRuelie I thinke there were no inconuenience granted, though I should admit that the serpent and frogs were truelie presented, and the water truelie poisoned by Iannes and Iambres; not that they could execute such miracles of themselues, or by their familiars or diuels: but that God, by the hands of those counterfet couseners, contrarie to their owne expectations, ouertooke them, and compelled them in their ridiculous wickednes to be in-

Pharaos magicians were not maisters of their owne actions.

instruments of his will and vengeance, vpon their maister Pharao: so as by their hands God shewed some miracles, which he himselfe wrought: as appeareth in Exodus. For God did put the spirit of truth into Baalams mouth, who was hiered to cursse his people. And although he were a corrupt and false prophet, and went about a mischæuous enterprise; yet God made him an instrument (against his will) to the confusion of the wicked. Which if it pleased God to doo here, as a speciall worke, whereby to shew his omnipotencie, to the confirmation of his peoples faith, in the doctrine of their Messias deliuered vnto them by the prophet Moses, then was it miraculous and extraordinarie, and not to be looked for now. And (as some suppose) there were then a consort or crew of false prophets, which could also foretell things to come, and worke miracles. I answer, it was extraordinarie and miraculous, & that it pleased God so to trie his people; but he worketh not so in these daies: for the working of miracles is ceased. Likewise in this case it might well stand with Gods glorie, to vse the hands of Pharaos magicians, towards the hardening of their maisters hart; and to make their illusions and ridiculous conceipts to become effectuall. For God had promised and determined to harden the heart of Pharao. As for the miracles which Moses did, they mollified it so, as he alwaies relented vpon the sight of the same. For vnto the greatnesse of his miracles were added such modestie and patience, as might haue mooued euen a heart of steele or flint. But Pharaos frowardnes alwaies grew vpon the magicians actions: the like example, or the resemblance thereof, we find not againe in the scriptures. And though there were such people in those daies suffered and vsed by God, for the accomplishment of his will and secret purpose: yet it followeth not, that now, when Gods will is wholie reuealed vnto vs in his word, and his sonne exhibited (for whome, or rather for the manifestation of whose comming all those things were suffered or wrought) such things and such people should yet continue. So as I conclude, the cause being taken awaie, the thing proceeding thence remaineth not. And to assigne our witches and coniurors their roome, is to mocke and contemne Gods woonderfull works; and to oppose against them cousenages, iuggling knacks, and things of nought. And therefore, as they must

Exod. 10.

God vseth the wicked as instruments to execute his counsels & iudgments.

The contrarie effects that the miracles of Moses and the miracles of the Aegyptian magiciās wroght in the hart of Pharao.

confesse,

confesse, that none in these daies can doo as Moses did: so it may be answered, that none in these daies can doo as Iannes and Iambres did: who, if they had béene false prophets, as they were iugglers, had yet béene more priuileged to excéed our old women or coniurors, in the accomplishing of miracles, or in prophesieng, &c. For who may be compared with Balaam? Naie, I dare saie, that Balaams asse wrought a greater miracle, and more supernaturall, than either the pope or all the coniurors and witches in the world can doo at this daie.

That the art of iuggling is more, or at least no les strange in working miracles than coniuring, witchcraft, &c.

To conclude, it is to be auouched (and there be proofes manifest enough) that our iugglers approch much néerer to resemble Pharaos magicians, than either witches or coniurors, & can make a more liuelie shew of working miracles than anie inchantors can doo: for these practise to shew that in action, which witches doo in words and termes. But that you may thinke I haue reason for the maintenance of mine opinion in this behalfe, I will surcease by multitude of words to amplifie this place, referring you to the tract following of the art of iuggling, where you shall read strange practises and cunning conueiances; which bicause they cannot so conuenientlie be described by phrase of spéech, as that they should presentlie sinke into the capacitie of you that would be practitioners of the same; I haue caused them to be set foorth in forme and figure, that your vnderstanding might be somewhat helped by insturmentall demonstrations. And when you haue perused that whole discouerie of iuggling, compare the wonders thereof with the woonders imputed to coniurors and witches, (not omitting Pharaos sorcerers at anie hand in this comparison) and I beléeue you will be resolued, that the miracles doone in Pharaos sight by them, and the miracles ascribed vnto witches, coniurors, &c: may be well taken for false miracles, méere delusions, &c: and for such actions as are commonlie practised by cunning iugglers; be it either by legierdemaine, confederacie, or otherwise.

The

The art of iuggling discouered, and in what points it dooth principallie consist.

The xxij. Chapter.

NOw because such occasion is ministred, and the matter so pertinent to my purpose, and also the life of witchcraft and cousenage so manifestlie deliuered in the art of iuggling; I thought good to discouer it, together with the rest of the other deceiptfull arts; being sorie that it falleth out to my lot, to laie open the secrets of this mysterie, to the hinderance of such poore men as liue thereby: whose doings herein are not onlie tollerable, but greatlie commendable, so they abuse not the name of God, nor make the people attribute vnto them his power; but alwaies acknowledge wherein the art consisteth, so as thereby the other vnlawfull and impious arts may be by them the rather detected and bewraied.

In what respects iuggling is tollerable and also commendable.

The true art therefore of iuggling consisteth in legierdemaine; to wit, the nimble conueiance of the hand, which is especiallie performed thrée waies. The first and principall consisteth in hiding and conueieng of balles, the second in the alteration of monie, the third in the shuffeling of the cards. He that is expert in these may shew much pleasure, and manie feats, and hath more cunning than all other witches or magicians. All other parts of this art are taught when they are discouered: but this part cannot be taught by any description or instruction, without great exercise and expense of time. And for as much as I professe rather to discouer than teach these mysteries, it shall suffice to signifie vnto you, that the endeuor and drift of iugglers is onelie to abuse mens eies and iudgements. Now therefore my meaning is, in words as plaine as I can, to rip vp certeine proper tricks of that art; whereof some are pleasant and delectable, other some dreadfull and desperate, and all but méere delusions, or counterfet actions, as you shall sóone sée by due obseruation of euerie knacke by me héereafter deciphered.

The three principall points wherein legierdemaine or nimblenes of hand dooth consist.

Of the ball, and the manner of legierdemaine therewith, also notable feats with one or diuerse balles.

The xxiij. Chapter.

Great varietie of plaie with the balles, &c.

CONcerning the ball, the plaies & deuises thereof are infinite, in somuch as if you can by vse handle them well, you may shewe therewith a hundreth feats. But whether you seeme to throw the ball into your left hand, or into your mouth, or into a pot, or vp into the aier, &c: it is to be kept still in your right hand. If you practise first with a leaden bullet, you shall the sooner and better doo it with balles of corke. The first place at your first learning, where you are to bestow a great ball, is in the palme of your hand, with your ringfinger: but a small ball is to be placed with your thombe, betwixt your ringfinger and midlefinger, then are you to practise to doo it betwixt the other fingers, then betwixt the forefinger and the thombe, with the forefinger and midlefinger iointlie, and therein is the greatest and strangest cunning shewed. Lastlie the same small ball is to be practised in the palme of the hand, and by vse you shall not onelie seeme to put anie one ball from you, and yet reteine it in your hand; but you shall keepe foure or fiue as cleanelie and certeinelie as one. This being atteined vnto, you shall worke wonderfull feats: as for example.

These feats are nimbly, cleanly, & swiftly to be conueied; so as the eies of the beholders may not discerne or perceiue the drift.

Laie three or foure balles before you, and as manie small candlesticks, bolles, saltsellers, or saltseller couers, which is the best. Then first seeme to put one ball into your left hand, and therwithall seeme to hold the same fast: then take one of the candlesticks, or anie other thing (hauing a hollow foot, & not being too great) and seeme to put the ball which is thought to be in your left hand, vnderneath the same, and so vnder the other candlesticks seeme to bestow the other balles; and all this while the beholders will suppose each ball to be vnder each candlesticke: this doone, some charme or forme of words is commonlie vsed. Then take vp one candlesticke with one hand, and blow, saieng; Lo, you see that is gone:

gone: & so likewise looke vnder ech candlesticke with like grace and words, & the beholders will woonder where they are become. But if you, in lifting vp the candlesticks with your right hand, leaue all those thrée or foure balles vnder one of them (as by vse you may easilie doo, hauing turned them all downe into your hand, and holding them fast with your little and ringfingers) and take the candlesticke with your other fingers, and cast the balles vp into the hollownes thereof (for so they will not roll so soone awaie) the standers by will be much astonied. But it will séeme woonderfull strange, if also in shewing how there remaineth nothing vnder an other of those candlesticks, taken vp with your left hand, you leaue behind you a great ball, or anie other thing, the miracle will be the greater. For first they thinke you haue pulled awaie all the balles by miracle; then, that you haue brought them all togither againe by like meanes, and they neither thinke nor looke that anie other thing remaineth behind vnder anie of them. And therefore, after manie other feats doone, returne to your candlesticks, remembring where you left the great ball, and in no wise touch the same; but hauing an other like ball about you, séeme to bestow the same in maner and forme aforesaid, vnder a candlesticke which standeth furthest frō that where the ball lieth. And when you shall with* words or charmes séeme to conueie the same ball from vnder the same candlesticke, and afterward bring it vnder the candlesticke which you touched not, it will (I saie) séeme woonderfull strange.

Memorandum that the iuggler must set a good grace on the matter: for that is verie requisite.

*As, Hey, fortuna furie, nunquam credo, passe, passe, when come you sirra: *See pag.147.*

To make a little ball swell in your hand till it be verie great.

TAke a verie great ball in your left hand, or thrée indifferent big balles; and shewing one or thrée little balles, séeme to put them into your said left hand, concealing (as you may well doo) the other balles which were there in before: then vse words, and make them séeme to swell, and open your hand, &c. This plaie is to be varied a hundreth waies: for as you find them all vnder one candlesticke, so may you go to a stander by, and take off his hat or cap, and shew the balles to be there, by conueieng them thereinto, as you turne the bottome vpward.

To consume (or rather to conueie) one or manie balles into nothing.

If you take one ball, or more, & séeme to put it into your other hand, and whilest you vse charming words, you conueie them out of your right hand into your lap; it will séeme strange. For when you open your left hand immediatlie, the sharpest lookers on will saie it is in your other hand, which also then you may open; & when they sée nothing there, they are greatlie ouertaken.

How to rap a wag vpon the knuckles.

But I will leaue to speake anie more of the ball, for herein I might hold you all daie, and yet shall I not be able to teach you to vse it, nor scarslie to vnderstand what I meane or write concerning it: but certeinelie manie are persuaded that it is a spirit or a flie, &c. Memorandum, that alwaies the right hand be kept open and streight, onlie kéepe the palme from view. And therefore you may end with this miracle. ¶ Laie one ball vpon your shoulder, an other on your arme, and the third on the table: which because it is round, and will not easilie lie vpon the point of your knife, you must bid a stander by laie it thereon, saieng that you meane to throwe all those thrée balles into your mouth at once: and holding a knife as a pen in your hand, when he is laieng it vpon the point of your knife, you may easilie with the haft rap him on the fingers, for the other matter wilbe hard to doo.

This feate tendeth cheefelie to the moouing of laughter and mirth.

Of conueiance of monie.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

THE conueieng of monie is not much inferior to the ball, but much easier to doo. The principall place to kéepe a péece of monie is the palme of your hand, the best péece to kéepe is a testor; but with exercise all will be alike, except the mony be verie small, and then it is to be kept betwixt the fingers, almost at the fingers end, whereas the ball is to be kept béelowe néere to the palme.

The monie must not be of too small nor of too large a circumference for hindering of the conueiance.

To

To conueie monie out of one of your hands into the other by legierdemaine.

First you must hold open your right hand, & lay therin a testor, or some big péece of monie: then laie thervpon the top of your long left finger, and vse words, and vpon the sudden slip your right hand from your finger wherwith you held downe the testor, and bending your hand a verie little, you shall reteine the testor still therein: and suddenlie (I saie) drawing your right hand through your left, you shall séeme to haue left the testor there speciallie when you shut in due time your left hand. Which that it may more plainelie appeare to be trulie doone, you may take a knife, and séeme to knocke against it, so as it shall make a great sound: but in stead of knocking the péece in the left hand (where none is) you shall hold the point of the knife fast with the left hand, and knocke against the testor held in the other hand, and it will be thought to hit against the mony in the left hand. Then vse words, and open your hand, and when nothing is séene, it will be wondered at how the testor was remooued.

This is pretie if it be cunninglie handled: for both the eare and the eie is deceiued by this deuise.

To conuert or transubstantiate monie into counters, or counters into monie.

ANother waie to deceiue the lookers on, is to doo as before, with a testor; and keeping a counter in the palme of the left hand secretlie to séeme to put the testor thereinto; which being reteined still in the right hand, when the left hand is opened, the testor will séeme to be transubstantiated into a counter.

To put one testor into one hand, and an other into the other hand, and with words to bring them togither.

HE that hath once atteined to the facilitie of reteining one péece of monie in his right hand, may shew a hundreth pleasant conceipts by that meanes, and may reserue two or thrée as well as one. And lo then may you séeme to put one péece into your left hand, and reteining it still in your right hand, you may togither therewith take vp another like péece, and so with words séeme to bring both péeces togither.

Varietie of trickes may be shewed in iuggling with mony.

To put one testor into a strangers hand, and another into your owne, and to conueie both into the strangers hand with words.

ALso you may take two testors euenlie set togither, and put the same in stead of one testor, into a strangers hand, and then making as though you did put one testor into your left hand, with words you shall make it séeme that you conueie the testor in your hand, into the strangers hand; for when you open your said left hand, there shall be nothing séene; and he opening his hand shall find two, where he thought was but one. By this deuise (I saie) a hundreth conceipts may be shewed.

How to doo the same or the like feate otherwise.

TO keepe a testor, &c: betwixt your finger, serueth speciallie for this and such like purposes. Hold out your hand, and cause one to laie a testor vpon the palme thereof, then shake the same vp almost to your fingers ends, and putting your thombe vpon it; you shall easilie, with a little practise, conueie the edge betwixt the middle and forefinger, whilest you proffer to put it into your other hand (prouided alwaies that the edge appeere not through the fingers on the backside) which being doone, take vp another testor (which you may cause a stander by to laie downe) and put them both together, either closelie in stead of one into a strangers hand, or keepe them still in your owne: & (after words spoken) open your hands, and there being nothing in one, and both peeces in the other, the beholders will wonder how they came togither.

You must take heed that you be close and slie: or else you discredit the art.

To throwe a peece of monie awaie, and to find it againe where you list.

YOu may, with the middle or ringfinger of the right hand, conueie a testor into the palme of the same hand, & séeming to cast it awaie, keepe it still: which with confederacie will séeme strange; to wit, when you find it againe, where another hath bestowed the verie like peece. But these things without exercise cannot be doone, and therefore I will proceed to shew things to be brought

Vse and exercise maketh men readie and practiue.

brought to passe by monie, with lesse difficultie; & yet as strange as the rest: which being vnknowne are maruellouslie commended, but being knowne, are derided, & nothing at all regarded.

With words to make a groat or a testor to leape out of a pot, or to run alongst vpon a table.

YOu shall sée a iuggler take a groat or a testor, and throwe it into a pot, or laie it in the midst of a table, & with inchanting words cause the same to leape out of the pot, or run towards him, or from him ward alongst the table. Which will séeme miraculous, vntill you knowe that it is doone with a long blacke haire of a womans head, fastened to the brim of a groat, by meanes of a little hole driuen through the same with a Spanish néedle. In like sort you may vse a knife, or anie other small thing: but if you would haue it go from you, you must haue a confederate, by which meanes all iuggling is graced and amended.

This feat is the stranger if it be doone by night; a candle placed betweene the lookers on & the iuggler: for by that means their eiesight is hindered from discerning the conceit.

To make a groat or a testor to sinke through a table, and to vanish out of a handkercher verie strangelie.

A Iuggler also sometimes will borrow a groat or a testor, &c: and marke it before you, and séeme to put the same into the middest of a handkercher, and wind it so, as you may the better sée and féele it. Then will he take you the handkercher, and bid you féele whether the groat be there or naie; and he will also require you to put the same vnder a candlesticke, or some such thing. Then will he send for a bason, and holding the same vnder the bord right against the candlesticke, will vse certeine words of inchantments; and in short space you shall heare the groat fall into the bason. This doone, one takes off the candlesticke, and the iuggler taketh the handkercher by a tassell, and shaketh it; but the monie is gone; which séemeth as strange as anie feate whatsoeuer, but being knowne, the miracle is turned to a bable. For it is nothing else, but to sowe a groat into the corner of a handkercher, finelie couered with a péece of linnen, little bigger than your groat: which corner you must conueie in stéed of the groat deliuered to you, into the middle of your handkercher; leauing the other either in your hand or lap, which afterwards you must

A discouerie of this iuggling knacke.

seeme to pull through the bord, letting it fall into a bason, &c.

A notable tricke to transforme a counter to a groat.

TAke a groat, or some lesse peece of monie, and grind it verie thin at the one side; and take two counters, and grind them, the one at the one side, the other on the other side: glew the smooth side of the groat to the smooth side of one of the counters, ioining them so close together as may be, speciallie at the edges, which may be so filed, as they shall seeme to be but one peece; to wit, one side a counter, and the other side a groat. Then take a verie little greene ware (for that is softest and therefore best) and laie it so upon the smooth side of the other counter, as it doo not much discolour the groat: and so will that counter with the groat cleaue togither, as though they were glewed; and being filed euen with the groat and the other counter, it will seeme so like a perfect entire counter, that though a stranger handle it, he shall not bewraie it; then hauing a little touched your forefinger, and the thombe of your right hand with soft ware, take therewith this counterfet counter, and laie it downe openlie upon the palme of your left hand, in such sort as an auditor laieth downe his counters, wringing the same hard, so as you may leaue the glewed counter with the groat apparentlie in the palme of your left hand; and the smooth side of the wared counter will sticke fast upon your thombe, by reason of the war wherwith it is smeered, and so may you hide it at your pleasure. Prouided alwaies, that you laie the wared side downeward, and the glewed side upward: then close your hand, and in or after the closing thereof turne the peece, & so in stead of a counter (which they suppose to be in your hand) you shall seeme to haue a groat, to the astonishment of the beholders, if it be well handled.

The iuggler must haue none of his trinkets wanting: besides that, it behooueth him to be mindfull, least he mistake his trickes.

An excellent feat, to make a two penie peece lie plaine in the palme of your hand, and to be passed from thence when you list.

The xxv. Chapter.

PUt a little red wax (not too thin) vpon the naile of your longest finger, then let a stranger put a two penie peece into the palme of your hand, and shut your fist suddenlie, and conueie the two penie peece vpon the wax, which with vse you may so accomplish, as no man shall perceiue it. Then and in the meane time vse* words of course, and suddenlie open your hand, holding the tippes of your fingers rather lower than higher than the palme of your hand, and the beholders will wonder where it is become. Then shut your hand suddenlie againe, & laie a wager whether it be there or no; and you may either leaue it there, or take it awaie with you at your pleasure. This (if it be will handled) hath more admiration than any other feat of the hand. Memorandum this may be best handled, by putting the wax vpon the two penie peece, but then must you laie it in your hand your selfe.

* As, Ailif, casyl, zaze, hit mel meltat: Saturnus, Iupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercurie, Luna: or such like.

To conueie a testor out of ones hand that holdeth it fast.

STicke a little wax vpon your thombe, and take a stander by by the finger, shewing him the testor, and telling him you will put the same into his hand: then wring it downe hard with your waxed thombe, and vsing many words looke him in the face, & as soone as you perceiue him to looke in your face, or frō your hand, suddenlie take awaie your thombe, & close his hand, and so will it seeme to him that the testor remaineth: euen as if you wring a testor vpon ones forehead, it will seeme to sticke, when it is taken awaie, especiallie if it be wet. Then cause him to hold his hand still, and with speed put into another mans hand (or into your owne) two testors in stead of one, and vse words of course, where-

by you shall make not onelie the beholders, but the holders beleeue, when they open their hands, that by inchantment you haue brought both togither.

To throwe a peece of monie into a deepe pond, and to fetch it againe from whence you list.

In these knacks of confederacie Feats had the name, whilest he liued.

There be a maruellous number of feats to be doone with monie, but if you will worke by priuate confederacie, as to marke a shilling, or any other thing, and throwe the same into a riuer or deepe pond, and hauing hid a shilling before with like marks in some other secret place; bid some go presentlie & fetch it, making them beleeue, that it is the verie same which you threw into the riuer: the beholders will maruell much at it. And of such feats there may be doone a maruellous number; but manie more by publike confederacie, whereby one may tell another how much monie he hath in his pursse, and a hundreth like toies, and all with monie.

To conueie one shilling being in one hand into another, holding your armes abroad like a rood.

A knacke more merrie than maruellous

Evermore it is necessarie to mingle some merie toies among your graue miracles, as in this case of monie, to take a shilling in each hand, and holding your armes abroad, to laie a wager that you will put them both into one hand, without bringing them anie whit neerer togither. The wager being made, hold your armes abroad like a rood, and turning about with your bodie, laie the shilling out of one of your hands vpon the table, and turning to the other side take it vp with the other hand: and so you shall win your wager.

How to rap a wag on the knuckles.

Another to the same purpose read in pag. 324.

Deliuer one peece of monie with the left hand to one, and to a second person another, and offer him that you would rap on the fingers the third; for he (though he be vngratious and subtill) seeing the other receiue monie, will not lightlie refuse it; and when he offereth to take it, you may rap him on the fingers with a knife, or somewhat else held in the right hand, saieng that you knew by your familiar, that he ment to haue kept it from you.

To transforme anie one small thing into anie other forme by folding of paper.

The xxvj. Chapter.

Take a sheete of paper, or a handkercher, and fold or double the same, so as one side be a little longer than an other: then put a counter betweene the two sides or leaues of the paper or handkercher, vp to the middle of the top of the fold, holding the same so as it be not perceiued, and laie a groat on the outside thereof, right against the counter, and fold it downe to the end of the longer side: and when you vnfold it againe, the groat will be where the counter was, and the counter where the groat was; so as some will suppose that you haue transubstantiated the monie into a counter, and with this manie feats may be doone.

The like or rather stranger than it may be done, with two papers thrée inches square a péece, diuided by two folds into thrée equall parts at either side, so as each folded paper remaine one inch square: then glew the backsides of the two papers together as they are folded, & not as they are open, & so shall both papers séeme to be but one; & which side soeuer you open, it shall appeare to be the same, if you hide handsomelie the bottome, as you may well doo with your middle finger, so as if you haue a groat in the one and a counter in the other, you (hauing shewed but one) may, by turning the paper séeme to transubstantiate it. This may be best performed, by putting it vnder a candlesticke, or a hat, &c. and with* words séeme to doo the feat.

* Such as you shall find in pag. 323, & 329. in the marginal notes or some strange terms of your owne deuising.

Of cards, with good cautions how to auoid cousenage therein: speciall rules to conueie and handle the cards, and the maner and order how to accomplish all difficult and strange things wrought with cards.

The xxvij. Chapter.

Hauing now bestowed some waste monie among you, I will set you to cards; by which kind of witchcraft a great number of people haue iuggled awaie not onelie their monie, but also their lands, their

their health, their time, and their honestie. I dare not (as I could) shew the lewd iuggling that chetors practise, least it minister some offense to the well disposed, to the simple hurt and losses, and to the wicked occasion of euill dooing. But I would wish all gamesters to beware, not onlie with what cards and dice they plaie, but speciallie with whome & where they exercise gaming. And to let dice passe (as whereby a man maie be ineuitablie cousened) one that is skilfull to make and vse Bumcards, may vndo a hundreth wealthie men that are giuen to gaming: but if he haue a confederate present, either of the plaiers or standers by, the mischiefe cannot be auoided. If you plaie among strangers, beware of him that seemes simple or drunken; for vnder their habit the most speciall couseners are presented, & while you thinke by their simplicitie and imperfections to beguile them (and therof perchance are persuaded by their confederats, your verie freends as you thinke) you your selfe will be most of all ouertaken. Beware also of bettors by, and lookers on, and namelie of them that bet on your side: for whilest they looke in your game without suspicion, they discouer it by signes to your aduersaries, with whome they bet, and yet are their confederates.

Of dice plaie & the like vnthriftie games, mark these two olde verses: *Ludens taxillis bene respice quid sit in illis, Mors tua sors tua res tua spes tua pendet in illis:* and remember them.

But in shewing feats, and iuggling with cards, the principall point consisteth in shuffling them nimblie, and alwaies keeping one certeine card either in the bottome, or in some knowne place of the stocke, foure or fiue cards from it. Hereby you shall seeme to worke wonders; for it will be easie for you to see or spie one card, which though you be perceiued to doo, it will not be suspected, if you shuffle them well afterwards. And this note I must giue you, that in reseruing the bottome card, you must alwaies (whilest you shuffle) keepe him a little before or a little behind all the cards lieng vnderneath him, bestowing him (I saie) either a little beyond his fellowes before, right ouer the forefinger, or else behind the rest, so as the little finger of the left hand may meete with it: which is the easier, the readier, and the better waie. In the beginning of your shuffling, shuffle as thicke as you can; and in the end throw vpon the stocke the nether card (with so manie mo at the least as you would haue preserued for anie purpose) a little before or behind the rest. Prouided alwaies, that your forefinger, if the packe be laied before, or the little finger, if the packe lie behind,

Note.

hind, créepe vp to méete with the bottome card, and not lie betwixt the cards: and when you féele it, you may there hold it, vntill you haue shuffled ouer the cards againe, still leauing your kept card below. Being perfect herein, you may doo almost what you list with the cards. By this meanes, what packe soeuer you make, though it consist of eight, twelue, or twentie cards, you may kéepe them still together vnseuered next to the nether card, and yet shuffle them often to satisfie the curious beholders. As for example, and for breuities sake, to shew you diuerse feats vnder one.

How to deliuer out foure aces, and to conuert them into foure knaues.

MAke a packe of these eight cards; to wit, foure knaues and foure aces: and although all the eight cards must lie immediatlie together, yet must ech knaue and ace be [redacted] evenlie seuered, and the same eight cards must lie also in the lowest place of the bunch. Then shuffle them so, as alwaies at the second shuffling, or at least wise at the end of your shuffling the said packe, and of the packe one ace may lie nethermost, or so as you may know where he goeth and lieth: and alwaies (I saie) let your foresaid packe with thrée or foure cards more lie vnseparablie together immediatlie vpon and with that ace. Then vsing some spéech or other deuise, and putting your hands with the cards to the edge of the table to hide the action, let out priuilie a péece of the second card, which is one of the knaues, holding forth the stocke in both your hands, and shewing to the standers by the nether card (which is the ace or kept card) couering also the head or péece of the knaue (which is the next card) with your foure fingers, draw out the same knaue, laieng it downe on the table: then shuffle againe, kéeping your packe whole, and so haue you two aces lieng together in the bottome. And therfore, to reforme that disordered card, as also for a grace and countenance to that action, take off the vppermost card of the bunch, and thrust it into the middest of the cards; and then take awaie the nethermost card, which is one of your said aces, and bestow him likewise. Then may you begin as before, shewing an other ace, and in stéed thereof laie downe an other knaue: and so forth, vntill in stéed of foure aces you haue

You must be well aduised in the shuffling of the bunch, least you ouershoot your selfe.

haue laied downe foure knaues. The beholders all this while thinking that there lie foure aces on the table, are greatlie abused, and will maruell at the transformation.

How to tell one what card he seeth in the bottome, when the same card is shuffled into the stocke.

WHen you haue seene a card priuilie, or as though you marked it not, laie the same undermost, and shuffle the cards as before you are taught, till your card lie againe below in the bottome. Then shew the same to the beholders, willing them to remember it: then shuffle the cards, or let anie other shuffle them; for you know the card alreadie, and therefore may at anie time tell them what card they saw: which *neuerthelesse would be done with great circumstance and shew of difficultie.

*For that will drawe the action into the greater admiration.

An other waie to doo the same, hauing your selfe indeed neuer seene the card.

IF you can see no card, or be suspected to haue seene that which you meane to shew, then let a stander by first shuffle, and afterwards take you the cards into your hands, and (hauing shewed and not seene the bottome card) shuffle againe, and keepe the same card, as before you are taught; and either make shift then to see it when their suspicion is past, which maie be done by letting some cards fall, or else laie downe all the cards in heaps, remembring where you laid your bottome card. Then spie how manie cards lie in some one heape, and laie the heape where your bottome card is upon that heape, and all the other heapes upon the same: and so, if there were fiue cards in the heape whereon you laied your card, then the same must be the first card, which now you may throw out, or looke upon without suspicion: and tell them the card they saw.

To tell one without confederacie what card he thinketh.

The eie bewraieth the thought.

LAie three cards on a table, a little waie distant, and bid a stander by be true and not wauer, but thinke one of them three; and by his eie you shall assuredlie perceiue which he both seeth and thinketh. And you shall doo the like, if you cast downe a whole paire

paire of cards with the faces vpward, wherof there will be few or none plainlie perceiued, and they also coate cards. But as you cast them downe suddenlie, so must you take them vp presentlie, marking both his eie and the card whereon he looketh.

How to tell what card anie man thinketh, how to conueie the same into a kernell of a nut or cheristone, &c: and the same againe into ones pocket: how to make one drawe the same or anie card you list, and all vnder one deuise.

The xxviij. Chapter.

Take a nut, or a cheristone, & burne a hole through the side of the top of the shell, and also through the kernell (if you will) with a hot bodkin, or boare it with a nall; and with the eie of a néedle pull out some of the kernell, so as the same may be as wide as the hole of the shell. Then write the number or name of a card in a péece of fine paper one inch or halfe an inch in length, and halfe so much in bredth, and roll it vp hard: then put it into a nut, or cheristone, and close the hole with a little red ware, and rub the same with a litle dust, and it will not be perceiued, if the nut or cheristone be browne or old. Then let your confederate thinke that card which you haue in your nut, &c: and either conueie the same nut or cheristone into some bodies pocket, or laie it in some strange place: then make one drawe the same out of the stocke held in your hand, which by vse you may well doo. But saie not; I will make you perforce draw such a card: but require some stander by to draw a card, saieng that it skils not what card he draw. And if your hand serue you to vse the cards well, you shall prefer vnto him, and he shall receiue (euen though he snatch at an other) the verie card which you kept, and your confederate thought, and is written in the nut, and hidden in the pocket, &c. You must (while you hold the stocke in your hands, tossing the cards to and fro) remember alwaies to keepe your card in your eie, and not to lose the sight thereof. Which feate, till you be perfect in, you may

Tricks with cards, &c: which must be doone with confederacie.

haue

haue the same priuilie marked; and when you perceiue his hand readie to draw, put it a little out towards his hand, nimblie turning ouer the cards, as though you numbred them, holding the same more loose and open than the rest, in no wise suffering him to draw anie other: which if he should doo, you must let thrée or foure fall, that you may beginne againe. ¶ This will séeme most strange, if your said paper be inclosed in a button, and by confederacie sowed vpon the doublet or cote of anie bodie. This tricke they commonlie end with a nut full of inke, in which case some wag or vnhappie boie is to be required to thinke a card; and hauing so doone, let the nut be deliuered him to cracke, which he will not refuse to doo, if he haue séene the other feate plaied before.

A merrie conceipt, the like whereof you shall find in pag. 324, & 330.

Of fast or loose, how to knit a hard knot vpon a handkercher, and to vndoo the same with words.

The xxix. Chapter.

THe Aegyptians iuggling witchcraft or sortilegie standeth much in fast or loose, whereof though I haue written somwhat generallie alreadie, yet hauing such opportunitie I will here shew some of their particular feats; not treating of their common tricks which is so tedious, nor of their fortune telling which is so impious; and yet both of them meere cousenages. ¶ Make one plaine loose knot, with the two corner ends of a handkercher, and seeming to draw the same verie hard, hold fast the bodie of the said handkercher (neere to the knot) with your right hand, pulling the contrarie end with the left hand, which is the corner of that which you hold. Then close vp handsomlie the knot, which will be yet somewhat loose, and pull the handkercher so with your right hand, as the left hand end may be neere to the knot: then will it seeme a true and a firme knot. And to make it appeare more assuredlie to be so indeed, let a stranger pull at the end which you hold in your left hand, whilest you hold fast the other in your right hand: and then holding the knot with your forefinger & thombe, & the nether part of your handkercher with your other fingers,

Fast and loose with a handkercher.

as

verte 2 folia

as you hold a bridle when you would with one hand slip vp the knot and lengthen your reines. This doone, turne your handkercher ouer the knot with the left hand, in dooing whereof you must suddenlie slip out the end or corner, putting vp the knot of your handkercher with your forefinger and thombe, as you would put vp the foresaid knot of your bridle. Then deliuer the same (couered and wrapt in the middest of your handkercher) to one, to hold fast, and so after some words vsed, and wagers laied, take the handkercher and shake it, and it will be lose.

A notable feate of fast or loose; namelie, to pull three beadstones from off a cord, while you hold fast the ends thereof, without remoouing of your hand.

Take two little whipcords of two foote long a peece, double them equallie, so as there may appeare foure ends. Then take thrée great beadstones, the hole of one of them béeing bigger than the rest; and put one beadstone vpon the eie or bowt of the one cord, and an other on the other cord. Then take the stone with the greatest hole, and let both the bowts be hidden therein: which may be the better doone, if you put the eie of the one into the eie or bowt of the other. Then pull the middle bead vpon the same, being doubled ouer his fellow, and so will the beads séeme to be put ouer the two cords without partition. For holding fast in each hand the two ends of the two cords, you may tosse them as you list, and make it séeme manifest to the beholders, which may not see how you haue doone it, that the beadstons are put vpon the two cords without anie fraud. Then must you séeme to adde more effectuall binding of those beadstones to the string, and make one halfe of a knot with one of the ends of each side; which is for no other purpose, but that when the beadstones be taken awaie, the cords may be séene in the case which the beholders suppose them to be in before. For when you haue made your halfe knot (which in anie wise you may not double to make a perfect knot) you must deliuer into the hands of some stander by those two cords; namelie, two ends euenlie set in one hand, and two in the other, and then with a wager, &c: beginne to pull off your beadstones, &c: which if you handle nimblie, and in the end cause him to pull his two ends, the two cords will

Fast or lose with whipcords and beades.

This conueiance must be closelie doone: *Ergo* it must be no bunglers worke.

shew to be placed plainelie, and the beadstones to haue come through the cords. But these things are so hard and long to be described, that I will leaue them; whereas I could shew great varietie.

Iuggling knacks by confederacie, and how to know whether one cast crosse or pile by the ringing.

The xxx. Chapter.

LAie a wager with your confederate (who must seeme simple, or obstinatlie opposed against you) that standing behind a doore, you will (by the sound or ringing of the monie) tell him whether he cast crosse or pile: so as when you are gone, and he hath filliped the monie before the witnesses who are to be cousened, he must saie; What is it, if it be crosse; or What ist, if it be pile: or some other such signe, as you are agreed vpon, and so you need not faile to gesse rightlie. By this meanes (if you haue anie inuention) you may seeme to doo a hundreth miracles, and to discouer the secrets of a mans thoughts, or words spoken a far off.

What is it? What ist? signes of confederacie.

To make a shoale of goslings drawe a timber log.

TO make a shoale of goslings, or (as they saie) a gaggle of geese to seeme to drawe a timber log, is doone by that verie meanes that is vsed, when a cat dooth drawe a foole through a pond or riuer: but handled somewhat further off from the beholders.

To make a pot or anie such thing standing fast on the cupboord, to fall downe thense by vertue of words.

LEt a cupboord be so placed, as your confederate may hold a blacke thred without in the court, behind some window of that roome; and at a certeine lowd word spoken by you, he may pull the same thred, being wound about the pot, &c. And this was the feate of Eleazar, which Iosephus reporteth to be such a miracle.

Eleazers feate of cōfederacie.

To

To make one danse naked.

MAke a poore boie confederate with you, so as after charmes, &c: spoken by you, he vncloth himselfe, and stand naked, seeming (whilest he vndresseth him) to shake, stampe, and crie, still hastening to be vnclothed, till he be starke naked: or if you can procure none to go so far, let him onelie beginne to stampe and shake, &c: and to vncloth him, and then you may (for the reuerence of the companie) seeme to release him.

To transforme or alter the colour of ones cap or hat.

TAke a confederates hat, and vse certeine* words ouer it, and deliuer it to him againe, and let him seeme to be wroth, and cast it backe to you againe, affirming that his was a good new blacke hat, but this is an old blew hat, &c: and then you may seeme to countercharme it, and redeliuer it, to his satisfaction.

*As, Drock myroch, & senaroth betu baroch assmaaroth, roũsee farounsee, hey passe passe, &c: or such like strange words.

How to tell where a stollen horsse is become.

BY meanes of confederacie, Steeuen Tailor and one Pope abused diuers countrie people. For Steeuen Tailor would hide awaie his neighbours horsses, &c: and send them to Pope, (whom he before had told where they were) promising to send the parties vnto him, whome he described and made knowne by diuers signes: so as this Pope would tell them at their first entrance vnto the doore. Wherefore they came, and would saie that their horsses were stollen, but the theefe should be forced to bring backe the horsses, &c: and leaue them within one mile south and bywest, &c: of his house, euen as the plot was laid, and the packe made before by Steeuen and him. This Pope is said of some to be a witch, of others he is accompted a coniuror; but commonlie called a wise man, which is all one with a sothsaier or witch.

Pope and Tailor cõfederates.

Boxes to alter one graine into another, or to consume the graine or corne to nothing.

The. xxxj. Chapter.

THere be diuers iuggling boxes with false bottoms, wherein manie false feats are wrought. First they haue a box couered or rather footed alike at each end, the bottome of the one end being no deeper than as it may conteine one lane of corne or pepper glewed thereupon. Then use they to put into the hollow end thereof some other kind of graine, ground or unground; then doo they couer it, and put it under a hat or candlesticke: and either in putting it therinto, or pulling it thence, they turne the box, and open the contrarie end, wherein is shewed a contrarie graine: or else they shew the glewed end first (which end they suddenlie thrust into a boll or bag of such graine as is glewed alreadie thereupon) and secondlie the emptie box.

Note the maner of this conueiance.

How to conueie (with words or charmes) the corne conteined in one box into an other.

THere is another box fashioned like a bell, wherinto they doo put so much, and such corne or spice as the foresaid hollow box can conteine. Then they stop or couer the same with a péece of lether, as broad as a testor, which being thrust up hard towards the midle part or waste of the said bell, will sticke fast, & beare up the corne. And if the edge of the leather be wet, it will hold the better. Then take they the other box dipped (as is aforesaid) in corne, and set downe the same upon the table, the emptie end upward, saieng that they will conueie the graine therein into the other box or bell: which being set downe somewhat hard upon the table, the leather and the corne therein will fall downe, so as the said bell being taken up from the table, you shall sée the corne lieng thereon, and the stopple will be hidden therwith, & couered: & when you uncouer the other box, nothing shall remaine therein. But presentlie the corne must be swept downe with one hand into the other, or into your lap or hat. Manie feats maie be done with this box, as to put therein a tode, affirming the same to haue béene so turned from corne, &c: and then manie beholders will suppose

You must take heed that when the corne commeth out it couer & hide the leather, &c.

suppose the same to be the iugglers diuell, whereby his feats and miracles are wrought. But in truth, there is more cunning witchcraft vsed in transferring of corne after this sort, than is in the transferring of one mans corne in the grasse into an other mans féeld: which * the lawe of the twelue tables doth so forceablie condemne: for the one is a cousening slight, the other is a false lie.

*See the 12 booke of this discouerie, in the title *Habar*, cap. 4. pag. 220, 221.

Of an other boxe to conuert wheat into flower with words, &c.

There is an other boxe vsuall among iugglers, with a bottome in the middle thereof, made for the like purposes. One other also like a tun, wherin is shewed great varietie of stuffe, as well of liquors as spices, and all by means of an other little tun within the same, wherein and whereon liquors and spices are shewed. But this would aske too long a time of description.

Of diuerse petie iuggling knacks.

There are manie other beggerlie feats able to beguile the simple, as to make an ote stir by spetting thereon, as though it came to passe by words. Item to deliuer meale, pepper, ginger, or anie powder out of the mouth after the eating of bread, &c: which is doone by reteining anie of those things stuffed in a little paper or bladder conueied into your mouth, and grinding the same with your téeth. ¶ Item, a rish through a péece of a trencher, hauing thrée holes, and at the one side the rish appearing, out in the second, at the other side, in the third hole, by reason of a hollow place made betwixt them both, so as the slight consisteth in turning the péece of trencher.

These are such sleights that euen a bungler may doo them: and yet prettie, &c.

To burne a thred, and to make it whole againe with the ashes thereof.

The xxxij. Chapter.

It is not one of the worst feats to burne a thred handsomelie, and to make it whole againe: the order whereof is this. Take two threds, or small laces, of one foote in length a péece: roll vp one of them

Marke the maner of this conceit and deuise.

them round, which will be then of the quantitie of a pease, bestow the same betwéene your left forefinger and your thombe. Then take the other thred, and hold it forth at length, betwixt the forefinger and thombe of each hand, holding all your fingers deintilie, as yong gentlewomen are taught to take vp a morsell of meate. Then let one cut asunder the same thred in the middle. When that is doone, put the tops of your two thombes togither, and so shall you with lesse suspicion receiue the péece of thred which you hold in your right hand into your left, without opening of your left finger and thombe: then holding these two péeces as you did the same before it was cut, let those two be cut also asunder in the middest, and they conueied againe as before, vntill they be cut verie short, and then roll all those ends togither, and kéepe that ball of short threds before the other in your left hand, and with a knife thrust out the same into a candle, where you may hold it vntill the said ball of short threds be burnt to ashes. Then pull backe the knife with your right hand, and leaue the ashes with the other ball betwixt the forefinger and thombe of your left hand, and with the two thombs & two forefingers togither séeme to take paines to frot and rub the ashes, vntill your thred be renewed, and drawe out that thred at length which you kept all this while betwixt your left finger and thombe. This is not inferior to anie iugglers feate if it be well handled, for if you haue legierdemaine to bestowe the same ball of thred, and to change it from place to place betwixt your other fingers (as may easilie be doone) then will it séeme verie strange.

That is, neatlie and deintilie.

A thred cut in manie peeces and burned to ashes made whole againe.

To cut a lace asunder in the middest, and to make it whole againe.

By a deuise not much vnlike to this, you may séeme to cut asunder any lace that hangeth about ones necke, or any point, girdle, or garter, &c: and with witchcraft or coniuration to make it whole and closed together againe. For the accomplishment whereof, prouide (if you can) a péece of the lace, &c: which you meane to cut, or at the least a patterne like the same, one inch and a halfe long, & (kéeping it double priuilie in your left hand, betwixt some of your fingers néere to the tips thereof) take the other lace which you meane to cut, still hanging about ones necke,

The means discouered.

and

and drawe downe your said left hand to the bought thereof: and putting your owne péece a little before the other (the end or rather middle whereof you must hide betwixt your forefinger and thombe) making the eie or bought, which shall be séene, of your owne patterne, let some stander by cut the same asunder, and it will be surelie thought that the other lace is cut; which with words and froting, &c: you shall séeme to renew & make whole againe. This, if it be well handled, will séeme miraculous.

How to pull laces innumerable out of your mouth, of what colour or length you list, and neuer anie thing seene to be therein.

As for pulling laces out of the mouth, it is somewhat a stale iest, whereby iugglers gaine monie among maides, selling lace by the yard, putting into their mouths one round bottome as fast as they pull out an other, and at the iust end of euerie yard they tie a knot, so as the same resteth vpon their téeth: then cut they off the same, and so the beholders are double and treble deceiued, séeing as much lace as will be conteined in a hat, and the same of what colour you list to name, to be drawne by so euen yards out of his mouth, and yet the iuggler to talke as though there were nothing at all in his mouth.

A common iuggling knacke of flat cousenage plaied among the simple, &c.

How to make a booke, wherein you shall shew euerie leafe therein to be white, blacke, blew, red, yellow, greene, &c.

The xxxiij. Chapter.

There are a thousand iugglings, which I am loth to spend time to describe, whereof some be common, and some rare, and yet nothing else but deceipt, cousenage, or confederacie: whereby you may plainelie sée the art to be a kind of witchcraft. I will end therfore with one deuise, which is not common, but was speciallie vsed by Clarvis, whome though I neuer saw to exercise the feat, yet am I sure I conceiue aright of that inuention. He had (they saie)

Iuggling a kind of witchcraft.

The inuention of Clarvis.

sate) a booke, whereof he would make you thinke first, that euerie leafe was cleane white paper: then by vertue of words he would shew you euerie leafe to be painted with birds, then with beasts, then with serpents, then with angels, &c: the deuise thereof is this. ¶ Make a booke seuen inches long, and fiue inches broad, or according to that proportion: and let there be xlix. leaues; to wit, seuen times seuen conteined therin, so as you may cut vpon the edge of each leafe six notches, each notch in depth halfe a quarter of an inch, and one inch distant. Paint euerie foureteenth and fifteenth page (which is the end of euerie sixt leafe, & the beginning of euerie seuenth) with like colour, or one kind of picture. Cut off with a paire of sheares euerie notch of the first leafe, leauing onlie one inch of paper in the vppermost place vncut, which will remaine almost halfe a quarter of an inch higher than anie part of that leafe. Leaue an other like inch in the second place of the second leafe, clipping away one inch of paper in the highest place immediatlie aboue it, and all the notches below the same, and so orderlie to the third, fourth, &c: so as there shall rest vpon each leafe one onlie inch of paper aboue the rest. One high vncut inch of paper must answer to the first, directlie, in euerie seuenth leafe of the booke: so as when you haue cut the first seuen leaues, in such sort as I first described, you are to begin in the selfe same order at the eight leafe, descending in such wise in the cutting of seuen other leaues, and so againe at the fifteenth, to xxi, &c: vntill you haue passed through euerie leafe, all the thicknes of your booke.

This knack is sooner learned by demonstratiue means, than taught by words of instruction.

Now you shall vnderstand, that after the first seuen leaues, euerie seuenth leafe in the booke is to be painted, sauing one seuen leaues, which must remaine white. Howbeit you must obserue, that at each Bumleafe or high inch of paper, seuen leaues distant, opposite one directlie and lineallie against the other, through the thicknesse of the booke, the same page with the page precedent so to be painted with the like colour or picture; and so must you passe through the booke with seuen seuerall sorts of colours or pictures: so as, when you shall rest your thombe vpon anie of those Bumleaues, or high inches, and open the booke, you shall sée in each page one colour or picture through out the booke; in an other rowe, an other colour, &c. To make that matter more plaine vnto you, let this be the description hereof. Hold the booke

This will seem strãge to the beholders.

with your left hand, and (betwixt your forefinger and thombe of your right hand) slip ouer the booke in what place you list, and your thombe will alwaies rest at the seuenth leafe; to wit, at the Bumleafe or high inch of paper from whence when your booke is streined, it will fall or slip to the next, &c. Which when you hold fast, & open the booke, the beholders seeing each leafe to haue one colour or picture with so manie varieties, all passing continuallie & directlie through the whole booke, will suppose that with words you can discolour the leaues at your pleasure. But because perhaps you will hardlie conceiue herof by this description, you shall (if you be disposed) see or buie for a small value the like booke, at the shop of W. Brome in Powles churchyard, for your further instruction. ¶ There are certeine feats of actiuitie, which beautifie this art exceedinglie: howbeit euen in these, some are true, and some are counterfet; to wit, some done by practise, and some by confederacie. ¶ There are likewise diuers feats arythmeticall & geometricall: for them read Gemma Phrysius, and Record, &c. which being exercised by iugglers ad credit to their art. ¶ There are also (besides them which I haue set downe in this title of *Hartumim*) sundrie strange experiments reported by Plinie, Albert, Ioh. Bap. Port. Neap. and Thomas Lupton, wherof some are true, and some false: which being knowne to Iannes and Iambres, or else to our iugglers, their occupation is the more magnified, and they thereby more reuerenced. ¶ Here is place to discouer the particular knaueries of casting of lots, and drawing of cuts (as they terme it) whereby manie cousenages are wrought: so as I dare not teach the sundrie deuises thereof, least the vngodlie make a practise of it in the commonwealth, where manie things are decided by those meanes, which being honestlie meant may be lawfullie vsed. But I haue said alreadie somewhat hereof in generall, and therefore also the rather haue suppressed the particularities, which (in truth) are meere iuggling knackes: whereof I could discouer a great number.

Wher such bookes may be gotten.

See more hereof in the 11. booke of this discouerie, in the title *Nahas*, cap. 10. pag. 197, 198.

Desperate

Desperate or dangerous iuggling knacks, wherein the simple are made to thinke, that a seelie iuggler with words can hurt and helpe, kill and reuiue anie creature at his pleasure: and first to kill anie kind of pullen, and to giue it life againe.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

Take a hen, a chicke, or a capon, and thrust a nall or a fine sharpe pointed knife through the midst of the head thereof, the edge towards the bill, so as it may seeme impossible for hir to scape death: then vse words, and pulling out the knife, laie otes before hir, &c: and she will eate and liue, being nothing at all greeued or hurt with the wound; bicause the * braine lieth so far behind in the head as it is not touched, though you thrust your knife betweene the combe and it: and after you haue doone this, you may conuert your speach and actions to the greeuous wounding and present recouering of your owne selfe.

* The naturall cause why a hen thrust thorough the head with a bodkin dooth liue notwithstanding.

To eate a knife, and to fetch it out of anie other place.

Take a knife, and conteine the same within your two hands, so as no part be seene thereof but a little of the point, which you must so bite at the first, as noise may be made therewith. Then seeme to put a great part thereof into your mouth, and letting your hand slip downe, there will appeare to haue beene more in your mouth than is possible to be conteined therein. Then send for drinke, or vse some other delaie, vntill you haue let the said knife slip into your lap, holding both your fists close together as before, and then raise them so from the edge of the table where you sit (for from thence the knife may most priuilie slip downe into your lap) and in steed of biting the knife, knable a little vpon your naile, and then seeme to thrust the knife into your mouth, opening the hand next vnto it, and thrust vp the other, so as it may appeare to the standers by, that you haue deliuered your hands

It must be cleanelie conueied in any case.

hands therof, and thrust it into your mouth: then call for drinke, after countenance made of pricking and danger, &c. Lastlie, put your hand into your lap, and taking that knife in your hand, you may séeme to bring it out from behind you, or from whence you list. ¶ But if you haue another like knife and a confederate, you may doo twentie notable woonders hereby: as to send a stander by into some garden or orchard, describing to him some trée or herbe, vnder which it sticketh; or else some strangers sheath or pocket, &c.

To thrust a bodkin into your head without hurt.

TAke a bodkin so made, as the haft being hollowe, the blade thereof may slip thereinto as soone as you hold the point vpward: and set the same to your forehead, and seeme to thrust it into your head, and so (with a little sponge in your hand) you may wring out bloud or wine, making the beholders thinke the bloud or the wine (whereof you may saie you haue drunke verie much) runneth out of your forehead. Then, after countenance of paine and greefe, pull awaie your hand suddenlie, holding the point downeward; and it will fall so out, as it will seeme neuer to haue beene thrust into the haft: but immediatlie thrust that bodkin into your lap or pocket, and pull out an other plaine bodkin like the same, sauing in that conceipt.

The maner & meanes of this action

To thrust a bodkin through your toong, and a knife through your arme: a pittifull sight, without hurt or danger.

MAke a bodkin, the blade therof being sundred in the middle, so as the one part be not néere to the other almost by thrée quarters of an inch, each part being kept a sunder with one small bought or crooked peece of iron, of the fashion described hereafter in place conuenient. Then thrust your toong betwixt the foresaid space; to wit, into the bought left in the bodkin blade, thrusting the said bought behind your téeth, and biting the same: and then shall it séeme to sticke so fast in and through your toong, as that one can hardlie pull it out. ¶ Also the verie like may be doone with a knife so made, and put vpon your arme: and the wound will appeare the more terrible, if a little bloud be powred there-

A forme or patterne of this bodkin and knife you shal see described if you turne ouer a few leaues forward.

therevpon.

To thrust a peece of lead into one eie, and to driue it about (with a sticke) betweene the skin and flesh of the forehead, vntill it be brought to the other eie, and there thrust out.

PUt a péece of lead into one of the nether lids of your eie, as big as a tag of a point, but not so long (which you may doo without danger) and with a little iuggling sticke (one end therof being hollow) seeme to thrust the like peece of lead vnder the other eie lid; but conueie the same in déed into the hollownes of the sticke, the stopple or peg whereof may be priuilie kept in your hand vntill this feate be doone. Then séeme to driue the said péece of lead, with the hollow end of the said sticke, from the same eie: and so with the end of the said sticke, being brought along vpon your forhead to the other eie, you maie thrust out the péece of lead, which before you had put thereinto; to the admiration of the beholders. ¶ Some eat the lead, and then shoue it out at the eie: and some put it into both, but the first is best.

To cut halfe your nose asunder, and to heale it againe presentlie without anie salue.

This is easilie doone, howbeit being clenlie handled it will deceiue the sight of the beholders.

TAke a knife hauing a round hollow gap in the middle, and laie it vpon your nose, and so shall you seeme to haue cut your nose halfe asunder. Prouided alwaies, that in all these you haue an other like knife without a gap, to be shewed vpon the pulling out of the same, and words of inchantment to speake, bloud also to béraie the wound, and nimble conueiance.

To put a ring through your cheeke.

THere is an other old knacke, which séemeth dangerous to the chéeke. For the accomplishing whereof you must haue two rings, of like colour and quantitie; the one filed asunder, so as you may thrust it vpon your chéeke; the other must be whole, and conueied vpon a sticke, holding your hand there vpon in the middle of the sticke, deliuering each end of the same sticke to be holden fast by a stander by. Then conueieng the same cleanlie into your hand, or (for lacke of good conueiance) into your lap or pocket,

pocket, pull awaie your hand from the sticke: and in pulling it awaie, whirle about the ring, and so will it be thought that you haue put thereon the ring which was in your chéeke.

To cut off ones head, and to laie it in a platter, &c: which the iugglers call the decollation of Iohn Baptist.

TO shew a most notable execution by this art, you must cause a boord, a cloth, and a platter to be purposelie made, and in each of them holes fit for a boies necke. The boord must be made of two planks, the longer and broader the better: there must be left within halfe a yard of the end of each planke halfe a hole; so as both planks being thrust togither, there may remaine two holes, like to the holes in a paire of stocks: there must be made likewise a hole in the tablecloth or carpet. A platter also must be set directlie ouer or vpon one of them, hauing a hole in the midle thereof, of the like quantitie, and also a péece cut out of the same, so big as his necke, through which his head may be conueied into the middest of the platter: and then sitting or knéeling vnder the boord, let the head onlie remaine vpon the boord in the same. Then (to make the sight more dredfull) put a little brimstone into a chafing dish of coles, setting it before the head of the boie, who must gaspe two or thrée times, so as the smoke enter a little into his nostrils and mouth (which is not vnholsome) and the head presentlie will appeare starke dead; if the boie set his countenance accordinglie: and if a little bloud be sprinkled on his face, the sight will be the stranger.

This was dóone by one Kingsfield of London, at a Bartholomewtide, An. 1582. in the sight of diuerse that came to view this spectacle.

This is commonlie practised with a boie instructed for that purpose, who being familiar and conuersant with the companie, may be knowne as well by his face, as by his apparell. In the other end of the table, where the like hole is made, an other boie of the bignesse of the knowne boie must be placed, hauing vpon him his vsuall apparell: he must leane or lie vpon the boord, and must put his head vnder the boord through the said hole, so as his bodie shall séeme to lie on the one end of the boord, and his head shall lie in a platter on the other end. ¶ There are other things which might be performed in this action, the more to astonish the beholders, which because they offer long descriptions, I omit: as to put about his necke a little dough kneded with bul-

Necessarie obseruations to astonish the beholders.

locks bloud, which being cold will appeare like dead flesh; & being pricked with a sharpe round hollow quill, will bléed, and séeme verie strange, &c. ¶ Manie rules are to be obserued herein, as to haue the table cloth so long and wide as it may almost touch the ground. ¶ Not to suffer the companie to staie too long in the place, &c.

To thrust a dagger or bodkin into your guts verie strangelie, and to recouer immediatlie.

ANother miracle may be shewed touching counterfet executions; namelie, that with a bodkin or a dagger you shall séeme to kill your selfe, or at the least make an vnrecouerable wound in your bellie: as (in truth) not long since a iuggler caused himselfe to be killed at a tauerne in cheapside, from whence he presentlie went into Powles churchyard and died. Which misfortune fell vpon him through his owne follie, as being then drunken, and hauing forgotten his plate, which he should haue had for his defense. The deuise is this. ¶ You must prepare a paste bord, to be made according to the fashion of your bellie and brest: the same must by a painter be coloured cunninglie, not onelie like to your flesh, but with pappes, nauill, haire, &c: so as the same (being handsomelie trussed vnto you) may shew to be your naturall bellie. Then next to your true bellie you may put a linnen cloth, and therevpon a double plate (which the iuggler that killed himselfe forgot, or wilfullie omitted) ouer and vpon the which you may place the false bellie. Prouided alwaies, that betwixt the plate & the false bellie you place a gut or bladder of bloud, which bloud must be of a calfe or of a shéepe; but in no wise of an oxe or a cow, for that will be too thicke. Then thrust, or cause to be thrust into your brest a round bodkin, or the point of a dagger, so far as it may pearse through your gut or bladder: which being pulled out againe, the said bloud will spin or spirt out a good distance from you, especiallie if you straine your bodie to swell, and thrust therewith against the plate. You must euer remember to vse (with words, countenance, and gesture) such a grace, as may giue a grace to the action, and moue admiration in the beholders.

Of a iuggler that failing in the feats of his art lost his life.

But herein see you be circumspect

To

To drawe a cord through your nose, mouth or [redacted], tongue so sensiblie as is woonderfull to see.

There is an other iuggling knacke, which they call the bridle, being made of two elder sticks, through the hollownes thereof is placed a cord, the same being put on the nose like a paire of tongs or pinsars; and the cord, which goeth round about the same, being drawne to and fro, the beholders will thinke the cord to go through your nose verie dangerouslie. The knots at the end of the cord, which doo staie the same from being drawne out of the sticke, may not be put out at the verie top (for that must be stopped vp) but halfe an inch beneath each end: and so I saie, when it is pulled, it will seeme to passe through the nose; and then may you take a knife, and seeme to cut the cord asunder, and pull the bridle from your nose.

A forme or patterne of this bridle you shall see described if you turne ouer a few leaues.

The conclusion, wherin the reader is referred to certeine patterns of instruments wherewith diuerse feats heere specified are to be executed.

Herein I might wade infinitelie, but I hope it sufficeth, that I haue deliuered vnto you the principles, and also the principall feats belonging to this art of iuggling; so as any man conceiuing throughlie hereof may not onlie doo all these things, but also may deuise other as strange, & varie euerie of these deuises into other formes as he can best conceiue. And so long as the power of almightie God is not transposed to the iuggler, nor offense ministred by his vncomlie speach and behauiour, but the action performed in pastime, to the delight of the beholders, so as alwaies the iuggler confesse in the end that these are no supernaturall actions, but deuises of men, and nimble conueiances, let all such curious conceipted men as cannot afford their neighbors anie comfort or commoditie, but such as pleaseth their melancholike dispositions, say what they list, for this will not onelie be found among indifferent actions, but such as greatlie aduance the power and glorie of God, discouering their pride and falshood that take vpon them to worke miracles, and to be the mightie power of God, as Iannes and Iambres and also Simon Magus did.

Among what actions iuggling is to be counted.

If anie man doubt of these things, as whether they be not as strange

strange to behold as I haue reported, or thinke with Bodin that these matters are performed by familiars or diuels; let him go into S. Martins, and inquire for one John Cautares (a French man by birth, in conuersation an honest man) and he will shew as much and as strange actions as these, who getteth not his liuing hereby, but laboureth for the same with the sweat of his browes, and neuerthelesse hath the best hand and conueiance (I thinke) of anie man that liueth this daie.

A matchles fellowe for legierdemaine.

Neither doo I speake (as they saie) without booke herein. For if time, place, and occasion serue, I can shew so much herein, as I am sure Bodin, Spinæus, and Vairus, would sweare I were a witch, and had a familiar diuell at commandement. But truelie my studie and trauell herein hath onelie béene emploied to the end I might proue them fooles, and find out the fraud of them that make them fooles, as whereby they may become wiser, and God may haue that which to him belongeth.

And bicause the maner of these iuggling conueiances are not easilie conceiued by discourse of words; I haue caused to be set downe diuerse formes of instruments vsed in this art; which may serue for patternes to them that would throughlie sée the secrets thereof, and make them for their owne priuate practises, to trie the euent of such deuises, as in this tract of legierdemaine are shewed. Where note, that you shall find euerie instrument that is most necessarilie occupied in the working of these strange feats, to beare the iust and true number of the page, where the vse thereof is in ample words declared.

Touching the patternes of diuerse iuggling instruments.

Now will I procéed with another cousening point of witchcraft, apt for the place, necessarie for the time, and in mine opinion méet to be discouered, or at the least to be defaced among deceitfull arts. And bicause manie are abused héereby to their vtter vndooing, for that it hath had passage vnder the protection of learning, wherby they pretend to accomplish their works, it hath gone fréelie without generall controlment through all ages, nations & people.

¶ *Heere*

¶ The xiiij. Booke.

Of the art of Alcumystrie, of their woords of art and deuises to bleare mens eies, and to procure credit to their profession.

The first Chapter.

HEre I thought it not impertinent to saie somewhat of the art or rather the craft of Alcumystrie, otherwise called Multiplication; which Chaucer, of all other men, most liuelie deciphereth. In the bowels herof dooth both witchcraft and coniuration lie hidden, as whereby some cousen others, and some are cousened themselues. For by this mysterie (as it is said in the chanons mans prolog)

Alcumystrie a craft, not an art.

They take vpon them to turne vpside downe,
All the earth betwixt Southwarke & Canturburie towne,
And to paue it all of siluer and gold, &c.
But euer they lacke of their conclusion,
And to much folke they doo illusion.
For their stuffe slides awaie so fast,
That it makes them beggers at the last,
And by this craft they doo neuer win,
But make their pursse emptie, and their wits thin.

G.Chaucer in the Chanons mans prolog.

And bicause the practisers héereof would be thought wise, learned, cunning, and their crafts maisters, they haue deuised words of art, sentences and epithets obscure, and confectious so innumerable

merable (which are also compounded of strange and rare simples) as confound the capacities of them that are either set on worke héerein, or be brought to behold or expect their conclusions. For what plaine man would not beléeue, that they are learned and iollie fellowes, that haue in such readinesse so many mysticall termes of art: as (for a tast) their subliming, amalgaming, engluting, imbibing, incorporating, cementing, ritrination, terminations, mollifications, and indurations of bodies, matters combust and coagulat, ingots, tests, &c. Or who is able to conceiue (by reason of the abrupt confusion, contrarietie, and multitude of drugs, simples, and confections) the operation and mysterie of their stuffe and workemanship. For these things and many more, are of necessitie to be prepared and vsed in the execution of this indeuor; namelie orpiment, sublimed Mercurie, iron squames, Mercurie crude, groundlie large, bole armoniake, verdegrece, borace, boles, gall, arsenicke, sal armoniake, brimstone, salt, paper, burnt bones, vnsliked lime, claie, saltpeter, vitriall, saltartre, alcalie, sal preparat, claie made with horsse dong, mans haire, oile of tartre, allum, glasse, woort, yest, argoll, resagor, gleir of an eie, powders, ashes, dong, pisse, &c. Then haue they waters corosiue and lincall, waters of albification, and waters rubifieng, &c. Also oiles, ablutions, and metals fusible. Also their lamps, their vrinalles, discensories, sublimatories, alembecks, viols, croslets, cucurbits, stillatories, and their fornace of calcination: also their soft and subtill fiers, some of wood, some of cole, composed speciallie of béech, &c. And bicause they will not séeme to want anie point of cousenage to astonish the simple, or to moue admiration to their enterprises, they haue (as they affirme) foure spirits to worke withall, whereof the first is, orpiment; the second, quicksiluer; the third, sal armoniake; the fourth, brimstone. Then haue they seuen celestiall bodies; namelie, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurie, Saturne, Iupiter, and Venus; to whome they applie seuen terrestriall bodies; to wit, gold, siluer, iron, quickesiluer, lead, tinne, and copper, attributing vnto these the operation of the other; speciallie if the terrestriall bodies be qualified, tempered, and wrought in the houre and daie according to the seats of the celestiall bodies: with more like vanitie.

The termes of the art alcumystical deuised of purpose to bring credit to cousenage.

The Alcumysters drift, the Chanons yeomans tale, of alcumysticall stones and waters.

The second Chapter.

NOw you must understand that the end and drift of all their worke, is, to atteine vnto the composition of the philosophers stone, called Alixer, and to the stone called Titanus; and to Magnatia, which is a water made of the foure elements, which (they saie) the philosophers are sworne neither to discouer, nor to write of. And by these they mortifie quicke siluer, and make it malleable, and to hold touch: héereby also they conuert any other mettall (but speciallie copper) into gold. This science (forsooth) is the secret of secrets; euen as Salomons coniuration is said among the coniurors to be so likewise. And thus, when they chance to méete with yong men, or simple people, they boast and brag, and saie with Simon Magus, that they can worke miracles, and bring mightie things to passe. In which respect Chaucer truelie héereof saith: Acts.8.

G.Chaucer in the Chanons mans tale.

Each man is as wise as Salomon,
When they are togither euerichone:
But he that seemes wisest, is most foole in preese,
And he that is truest, is a verie theefe.
They seeme friendlie to them that knowe nought,
But they are feendlie both in word and thought,
Yet many men ride and seeke their acquaintance,
Not knowing of their false gouernance.

He also saith, and experience verifieth his assertion, that they looke ill fauouredlie, & are alwaies beggerlie attired: his words are these:

Idem, ibid.

These fellowes looke ill fauouredlie,
And are alwaies tired beggerlie,

So as by smelling and thredbare araie,
These folke are knowne and discerned alwaie.
But so long as they haue a sheet to wrap them in by
Or a rag to hang about them in the day light, (night,
They will it spend in this craft,
They cannot stint till nothing be last.
Here one may learne if he haue ought,
To multiplie and bring his good to naught.
But if a man aske them priuilie,
Whie they are clothed so vnthriftilie,
They will round him in the eare and saie,
If they espied were, men would them slaie,
And all bicause of this noble science:
Lo thus these folke beetraien innocence.

The tale of the chanons yeoman published by Chaucer, dooth make (by waie of example) a perfect demonstration of the art of Alcumystrie or multiplication: the effect whereof is this. A chanon being an Alcumyster or cousenor, espied a couetous preest, whose pursse he knew to be well lined, whome he assaulted with flatterie and subtill speach, two principall points belonging to this art. At the length he borrowed monie of the preest, which is the third part of the art, without the which the professors can doo no good, nor indure in good estate. Then he at his daie repaied the monie, which is the most difficult point in this art, and a rare experiment. Finallie, to requite the preests courtesie, he promised vnto him such instructions, as wherby with expedition he should become infinitelie rich, and all through this art of multiplication. And this is the most common point in this science; for herein they must be skilfull before they can be famous, or atteine to anie credit. The preest disliked not his proffer; speciallie bicause it tended to his profit, and embraced his courtesie. Then the chanon willed him forthwith to send for three ownces of quicke siluer, which he said he would transubstantiate (by his art) into perfect siluer. The preest thought that a man of his profession could not dissemble, and therefore with great ioy and hope accomplished his request.

The points or parts of the art Alcumysticall which may be called the mystie or smokie science.

And now (forsooth) goeth this iollie Alcumyst about his busines and worke of multiplication, and causeth the preest to make a fier of coles, in the bottome whereof he placeth a croslet; and pretending onelie to helpe the preest to laie the coles handsomelie, he foisteth into the middle ward or lane of coles, a beechen cole, within the which was conueied an ingot of perfect siluer, which (when the cole was consumed) slipt downe into the croslet, that was (I saie) directlie vnder it. The preest perceiued not the fraud, but receiued the ingot of siluer, and was not a little ioyfull to see such certeine successe proceed from his owne handie worke wherein could be no fraud (as he surelie conceiued) and therefore verie willinglie gaue the cannon fortie pounds for the receipt of this experiment, who for that summe of monie taught him a lesson in Alcumystrie, but he neuer returned to heare repetitions, or to see how he profited.

The Alcumysts bait to catch a foole.

Of a yeoman of the countrie cousened by an Alcumyst.

The third Chapter.

I Could cite manie Alcumysticall cousenages wrought by Doctor Burcot, Feates, and such other; but I will passe them ouer, and onelie repeate three experiments of that art; the one practised vpon an honest yeoman in the countie of Kent, the other vpon a mightie prince, the third vpon a couetous preest. And first touching the yeoman, he was ouertaken and vsed in maner and forme following, by a notable cousening varlot, who professed Alcumystrie, iuggling, witchcraft, and coniuration: and by meanes of his companions and confederats discussed the simplicitie and abilitie of the said yeoman, and found out his estate and humor to be conuenient for his purpose; and finallie came a wooing (as they saie) to his daughter, to whome he made loue cunninglie in words, though his purpose tended to another matter. And among other illusions and tales, concerning his owne

commendation, for welth, parentage, inheritance, alliance, actiuitie, learning, pregnancie, and cunning, he boasted of his knowledge and experience in Alcumystrie; making the simple man beléeue that he could multiplie, and of one angell make two or thrée. Which séemed strange to the poore man, in so much as he became willing enough to sée that conclusion: whereby the Alcumyster had more hope and comfort to atteine his desire, than if his daughter had yéelded to haue maried him. To be short, he in the presence of the said yeoman, did include within a little ball of virgine wax, a couple of angels; and after certeine ceremonies and coniuring words he séemed to deliuer the same vnto him: but in truth (through legierdemaine) he conueied into the yeomans hand another ball of the same scantling, wherein were inclosed manie more angels than were in the ball which he thought he had receiued. Now (forsooth) the Alcumyster bad him laie vp the same ball of wax, and also vse certeine ceremonies (which I thought good héere to omit.) And after certeine daies, houres, and minuts they returned togither, according to the appointment, and found great gaines by the multiplication of the angels. Insomuch as he, being a plaine man, was héereby persuaded, that he should not onelie haue a rare and notable good sonne in lawe; but a companion that might helpe to adde vnto his welth much treasure, and to his estate great fortune and felicitie. And to increase this opinion in him, as also to winne his further fauour; but speciallie to bring his cunning Alcumystrie, or rather his lewd purpose to passe; he told him that it were follie to multiplie a pound of gold, when as easilie they might multiplie a millian: and therefore counselled him to produce all the monie he had, or could borrowe of his neighbours and fréends; and did put him out of doubt, that he would multiplie the same, and redouble it excéedinglie, euen as he sawe by experience how he delt with the small summe before his face. This yeoman, in hope of gaines and preferment, &c: consented to this swéete motion, and brought out and laid before his féete, not the one halfe of his goods, but all that he had, or could make or borrowe anie maner of waie. Then this iuggling Alcumyster, hauing obteined his purpose, folded the same in a ball, in quantitie farre bigger than the other, and conueieng the same into his bosome

Note the cousening conueiance of this alcumystical practitioner.

A notable foole.

bosome or pocket, deliuered another ball (as before) of the like quantitie vnto the yeoman, to be reserued and safelie kept in his chest; whereof (bicause the matter was of importance) either of them must haue a key, and a seuerall locke, that no interruption might be made to the ceremonie, nor abuse by either of them, in defrauding ech other. Now (forsooth) these circumstances and ceremonies being ended, and the Alcumysters purpose therby performed; he told the yeoman that (vntill a certeine daie and houre limitted to returne) either of them might emploie themselues about their busines, and necessarie affaires; the yeoman to the plough, and he to the citie of London, and in the meane time the gold shuld multiplie, &c. But the Alcumyster (belike) hauing other matters of more importance came not iust at the houre appointed, nor yet at the daie, nor within the yeare: so as, although it were somewhat against the yeomans conscience to violate his promise, or breake the league; yet partlie by the longing he had to sée, and partlie the desire he had to enioie the fruit of that excellent experiment, hauing (for his owne securitie) and the others satisfaction, some testimonie at the opening thereof, to witnesse his sincere dealing, he brake vp the coffer, and lo he soone espied the ball of wax, which he himselfe had laid vp there with his owne hand. So as he thought (if the hardest should fall) he should find his principall: and whie not as good increase hereof now, as of the other before. But alas! when the wax was broken, and the metall discouered, the gold was much abased, and béecame perfect lead.

A cousening deuise by running awaie to saue the credit of the art.

Now who so list to vtter his follie,
Let him come foorth, and learne to multiplie;
And euerie man that hath ought in his cofer,
Let him appeare, and waxe a philosopher,
In learning of this eluish nice lore,
All is in vaine, and pardee much more
Is to learne a lewd man this sutteltee,
Fie, speake not thereof it woll not bee:
For he that hath learning, and he that hath none,
Conclude alike in multiplicatione.

G. Chaucer in the tale of the chanons yeoman.

A certeine king abused by an Alcumyst, and of the kings foole a pretie iest.

The fourth Chapter.

A king cousened by Alcumystrie.

THe second example is of another Alcumyst that came to a certeine king, promising to worke by his art manie great things, as well in compounding and transubstantiating of mettals, as in executing of other exploites of no lesse admiration. But before he beganne, he found the meanes to receiue by vertue of the kings warrant, a great summe of monie in prest, assuring the king and his councell, that he would shortlie returne, and accomplish his promise, &c. Soone after, the kings foole, among other iestes, fell into a discourse and discouerie of fooles, and handled that common place so pleasantlie, that the king began to take delight therein, & to like his merrie veine. Whervpon he would néedes haue the foole deliuer vnto him a schedull or scroll, conteining the names of all the most excellent fooles in the land.

So he caused the kings name to be first set downe, and next him all the names of the lords of his priuie councell. The king séeing him so sawcie and malepert, ment to haue had him punished: but some of his councell, knowing him to be a fellow pleasantlie conceipted, besought his maiestie rather to demand of him a reason of his libell, &c: than to procéed in extremitie against him. Then the foole being asked why he so sawcilie accused the king and his councell of principall follie, answered; Bicause he sawe one foolish knaue beguile them all, and to cousen them of so great a masse of monie, and finallie to be gone out of their reach. Why (said one of the councell) he maie returne and performe his promise, &c. Then (quoth the foole) I can helpe all the matter easilie. How (said the king) canst thou doo that? Marie sir (said he) then I will blotte out your name, and put in his, as the most foole in the world. Manie other practises of the like nature might be herevnto annexed, for the detection of their knauerie

A wise foole.

nerie and deceipts whereupon this art dependeth, whereby the readers maie be more delighted in reading, than the practisers benefited in simplie vsing the same. For it is an art consisting wholie of subtiltie and deceipt, whereby the ignorant and plaine minded man through his to much credulitie is circumuented, and the humor of the other slie cousener satisfied.

A notable storie written by Erasmus of two Alcumysts, also of longation and curtation.

The fift Chapter.

THe third example is reported by Erasmus, whose excellent learning and wit is had to this daie in admiration. He in a certeine dialog intituled *Alcumystica* doth finelie bewraie the knauerie of this craftie art; wherein he proposeth one Balbine, a verie wise, learned, and deuout préest, howbeit such a one as was bewitched, and mad vpon the art of Alcumystrie. Which thing another cousening préest perceiued, and dealt with him in maner and forme following.

Eras. in colloq. de arte alcumystica.

M. Doctor Balbine (said he) I being a stranger vnto you maie séeme verie saucie to trouble your worship with my bold sute, who alwaies are busied in great and diuine studies. To whome Balbine, being a man of few words, gaue a nodde: which was more than he vsed to euerie man. But the préest knowing his humor, said; I am sure sir, if you knew my sute, you would pardon mine importunitie. I praie thée good sir Iohn (said Balbine) shew me thy mind, and be bréefe. That shall I doo sir (said he) with a good will. You know M. Doctor, through your skill in philosophie, that euerie mans destinie is not alike; and I for my part am at this point, that I cannot tell whether I maie be counted happie or infortunate. For when I weigh mine owne case, or rather my state, in part I séeme fortunate, and in part miserable. But Balbine being a man of some surlinesse, alwaies willed him to draw his matter to a more compendious forme: which thing the préest

A flattering & clawing preamble.

said

said he would doo, and could the better performe; bicause Balbine himselfe was so learned and expert in the verie matter he had to repeat, and thus he began.

I haue had, euen from my childhood, a great felicitie in the art of Alcumystrie, which is the verie marrow of all philosophie. Balbine at the naming of the word Alcumystrie, inclined and yeelded himselfe more attentiuelie to hearken vnto him: marie it was onelie in gesture of bodie; for he was spare of speech, and yet he bad him proceed with his tale. Then said the preest, Wretch that I am, it was not my lucke to light on the best waie: for you M. Balbine know (being so vniversallie learned) that in this art there are two waies, the one called longation, the other curtation; and it was mine ill hap to fall vpon longation. When Balbine asked him the difference of those two waies; Oh sir said the preest, you might count me impudent, to take vpon me to tell you, that of all other are best learned in this art, to whome I come, most humblie to beseech you to teach me that luckie waie of curtation. The cunninger you are, the more easilie you maie teach it me: and therefore hide not the gift that God hath giuen you, from your brother, who maie perish for want of his desire in this behalfe; and doubtlesse Jesus Christ will inrich you with greater blessings and endowments.

Longation and curtation in Alcumystrie.

Balbine being abashed partlie with his importunitie, and partlie with the strange circumstance, told him that (in truth) he neither knew what longation or curtation meant; and therefore required him to expound the nature of those words. Well (quoth the preest) since it is your pleasure, I will doo it, though I shall thereby take vpon me to teach him that is indeed much cunninger than my selfe. And thus he began: Oh sir, they that haue spent all the daies of their life in this diuine facultie, doo turne one nature and forme into another, two waies, the one is verie breefe, but somewhat dangerous; the other much longer, marie verie safe, sure, and commodious. Howbeit, I thinke my selfe most vnhappie that haue spent my time and trauell in that waie which vtterlie misliketh me, and neuer could get one to shew me the other that I so earnestlie desire. And now I come to your worship, whom I know to be wholie learned and expert herein, hoping that you will (for charities sake) comfort your brother, whose

Note how the cousener circumuenteth Balbine.

whose felicitie and well doing now resteth onelie in your hands; and therefore I beséech you relèeue me with your counsell.

By these and such other words when this cousening varlot had auoided suspicion of guile, and assured Balbine that he was perfect and cunning in the other waie: Balbine his fingers itched, and his hart tickled; so as he could hold no longer, but burst out with these words: Let this curtation go to the diuell, whose name I did neuer so much as once heare of before, and therefore doo much lesse vnderstand it. But tell me in good faith, doo you exactlie vnderstand longation? Yea said the préest, doubt you not hereof: but I haue no fansie to that waie, it is so tedious. Why (quoth Balbine) what time is required in the accomplishment of this worke by waie of longation? Too too much said the Alcumyster, euen almost a whole yéere: but this is the best, the surest, and the safest waie, though it be for so manie moneths prolonged, before it yéeld aduantage for cost and charges expended thereabouts. Set your hart at rest (said Balbine) it is no matter, though it were two yéeres, so as you be well assured to bring it then to passe.

Faire words make fooles faine, and large offers blind the wise.

Finallie, it was there and then concluded, that presentlie the préest should go in hand with the worke, and the other should beare the charge, the gaines to be indifferentlie diuided betwixt them both, and the worke to be doone priuilie in Balbins house. And after the mutuall oth was taken for silence, which is vsuall and requisite alwaies in the beginning of this mysterie, Balbine deliuered monie to the Alcumyster for bottes, glasses, coles, &c: which should serue for the erection and furniture of the forge. Which monie the Alcumyster had no sooner fingered, but he ran merilie to the dice, to the alehouse, & to the stewes, and who there so lustie as cousening sir Iohn: who indéed this waie made a kind of alcumysticall transformation of monie. Now Balbine vrged him to go about his businesse, but the other told him, that if the matter were once begun, it were halfe ended: for therein consisted the greatest difficultie.

Well, at length he began to furnish the fornace, but now forsooth a new supplie of gold must be made, as the séed and spawne of that which must be ingendred and grow out of this worke of Alcumystrie. For euen as a fish is not caught without a bait, no more

more is gold multiplied without some parcels of gold: and therfore gold must be the foundation and groundworke of that art, or else all the fat is in the fier. But all this while Balbine was occupied in calculating, and musing vpon his accompt; casting by arythmetike, how that if one ownce yéelded fiftéene, then how much gaines two thousand ownces might yéeld: for so much he determined to emploie that waie.

When the Alcumyst had also consumed this monie, shewing great trauell a moneth or twaine, in placing the bellowes, the coles, and such other stuffe, and no whit of profit procéeding or comming thereof: Balbine demanded how the world went, our Alcumyst was as a man amazed. Howbeit he said at length; Forsooth euen as such matters of importance commonlie doo go forward, wherevnto there is alwaies verie difficult accesse. There was (saith he) a fault (which I haue now found out) in the choice of the coles, which were of oke, and should haue béene of béech. One hundreth duckets were spent that waie, so as the dising house and the stewes were partakers of Balbines charges. But after a new supplie of monie, better coles were prouided, and matters more circumspectlie handled. Howbeit, when the forge had trauelled long, and brought foorth nothing, there was another excuse found out; to wit, that the glasses were not tempered as they ought to haue béene. But the more monie was disbursed hereabouts, the woorsse willing was Balbine to giue ouer, according to the disers veine, whome fruteles hope bringeth into a fooles paradise.

Balbine was bewitched with desire of gold, &c.

The Alcumyst, to cast a good colour vpon his knauerie, tooke on like a man moonesicke, and protested with great words full of forgerie and lies, that he neuer had such lucke before. But hauing found the error, he would be sure enough neuer hereafter to fall into the like ouersight, and that henceforward all should be safe and sure, and throughlie recompensed in the end with large increase. Herevpon the workehouse is now the third time repaired, and a new supplie yet once againe put into the Alcumysts hand; so as the glasses were changed. And now at length the Alcumyst vttered another point of his art and cunning to Balbine; to wit, that those matters would procéed much better, if he sent our Ladie a few French crownes in reward: for the art

Notable cousenage.

being

being holie, the matter cannot prosperouslie proceed, without the fauour of the saints. Which counsell exceedinglie pleased Balbine, who was so deuout and religious, that no daie escaped him but he said our Ladie mattens.

Now our Alcumyster hauing receiued the offering of monie, goeth on his holie pilgrimage, euen to the next village, & there consumeth it euerie penie, among bawds and knaues. And at his returne, he told Balbine that he had great hope of good lucke in his businesse; the holie virgine gaue such fauourable countenance, and such attentiue eare vnto his praiers and vowes. But after this, when there had beene great trauell bestowed, and not a dram of gold yeelded nor leuied from the forge; Balbine began to expostulate and reason somewhat roundlie with the cousening fellowe; who still said he neuer had such filthie lucke in all his life before, and could not deuise by what meanes it came to passe, that things went so ouerthwartlie. But after much debating betwixt them vpon the matter, at length it came into Balbines head to aske him if he had not foreslowed to heare masse, or to saie his houres: which if he had doone, nothing could prosper vnder his hand. Without doubt (said the cousener) you haue hot the naile on the head. Wretch that I am! I remember once or twise being at a long feast, I omitted to saie mine *Aue Marie* after dinner. So so (said Balbine) no maruell then that a matter of such importance hath had so euill successe. The Alcumyster promised to doo penance; as to heare twelue masses for two that he had foreslowed; and for euerie *Aue* ouerslipped, to render and repeate twelue to our Ladie.

The Alcumyster bringeth Balbin into a fooles paradise.

Soone after this, when all our Alcumysters monie was spent, & also his shifts failed how to come by any more, he came home with this deuise, as a man woonderfullie fraied and amazed, pitiouslie crieng and lamenting his misfortune. Whereat Balbine being astonished, desired to knowe the cause of his complaint. Oh (said the Alcumyster) the courtiers haue spied our enterprise; so as I for my part looke for nothing but present imprisonment. Whereat Balbine was abashed, bicause it was flat fellonie to go about that matter, without speciall licence. But (quoth the Alcumyster) I feare not to be put to death, I would it would fall out so: marrie I feare least I shall be shut vp in some

Here the Alcumyster vttereth a notorious point of cousening knauerie.

castell

castell or towre, and there shall be forced to tug about this worke and broile in this businesse all the daies of my life.

Now the matter being brought to consultation, Balbine, bicause he was cunning in the art of rhetorike, and not altogither ignorant in lawe, beat his braines in deuising how the accusation might be answered, and the danger auoided. Alas (said the Alcumyster) you trouble your selfe all in vaine, for you sée the crime is not to be denied, it is so generallie bruted in court: neither can the fact be defended, bicause of the manifest lawe published against it. To be short, when manie waies were deuised, and diuerse excuses alledged by Balbine, and no sure ground to stand on for their securitie; at length the Alcumyster hauing present want and néed of monie, framed his spéech in this sort; Sir said he to Balbine, we vse slowe counsell, and yet the matter requireth hast. For I thinke they are comming for me yer this time to hale me awaie to prison; and I sée no remedie but to die valiantlie in the cause. In good faith (said Balbine) I knowe not what to saie to the matter. No more do I said the Alcumyster, but that I sée these courtiers are hungrie for monie, and so much the readier to be corrupted & framed to silence. And though it be a hard matter, to giue those rakehels till they be satisfied: yet I sée no better counsell or aduise at this time. No more could Balbine, who gaue him thirtie ducats of gold to stop their mouthes, who in an honest cause would rather haue giuen so manie téeth out of his head, than one of those péeces out of his pouch. This coine had the Alcumyster, who for all his pretenses & gaie gloses was in no danger, other than for lacke of monie to léese his lemon or concubine, whose acquaintance he would not giue ouer, nor forbeare hir companie, for all the goods that he was able to get, were it by neuer such indirect dealing and vnlawfull meanes.

Marke how this Alcumyster goeth frō one degree of cousenage to another.

Well, yet now once againe dooth Balbine newlie furnish the forge, a praier being made before to our Ladie to blesse the enterprise. And all things being prouided and made readie according to the Alcumysters owne asking, & all necessaries largelie ministred after his owne liking; a whole yeare being likewise now consumed about this bootlesse businesse, and nothing brought to passe; there fell out a strange chance, and that by this meanes insuing, as you shall heare.

Our

Our Alcumyster forsooth vsed a little extraordinarie lewd cõpanie with a courtiers wife, whiles he was from home, who suspecting the matter, came to the doore vnlooked for, and called to come in, threatning them that he would breake open the doores vpon them. Some present deuise (you sée) was now requisite, and there was none other to be had, but such as the oportunitie offered; to wit, to leape out at a backe window: which he did, not without great hazard, and some hurt. But this was soone blazed abroad, so as it came to Balbines eare, who shewed in countenance that he had heard héereof, though he said nothing. But the Alcumyster knew him to be deuout, & somewhat superstitious: and such men are easie to be intreated to forgiue, how great soeuer the fault be, and deuised to open the matter in maner and forme following. The mildest and softest nature is cõmonlie soonest abused.

O Lord (saith he before Balbine) how infortunatlie goeth our businesse forward! I maruell what should be the cause. Whereat Balbine, being one otherwise that séemed to haue vowed silence, tooke occasion to speake, saieng; It is not hard to knowe the impediment and stop héereof: for it is sinne that hindereth this matter; which is not to be dealt in but with pure hands. Whereat the Alcumyster fell vpon his knées, beating his breast, & lamentablie cried, saieng; Oh maister Balbine, you saie most trulie, it is sinne that hath doone vs all this displeasure; not your sinne sir, but mine owne, good maister Balbine. Neither will I be ashamed to discouer my filthinesse vnto you, as vnto a most holy and ghostlie father. The infirmitie of the flesh had ouercome me, and the diuell had caught me in his snare. Oh wretch that I am! Of a préest I am become an adulterer. Howbeit, the monie that erstwhile was sent to our Ladie, was not vtterlie lost: for if she had not béene, I had certeinlie béene slaine. For the good man of the house brake open the doore, and the windowe was lesse than I could get out thereat. And in that extremitie of danger it came into my mind to fall downe prostrate to the virgine; beséeching hir (if our gift were acceptable in hir sight) that she would, in consideration thereof, assist me with hir helpe. And to be short, I ran to the windowe, and found it bigge enough to leape out at. Which thing Balbine did not onelie beléeue to be true, but in respect therof forgaue him, religiouslie admonishing *En immensa caui spirant mendacia folles.*

him

him to shew himselfe thankfull to that pitifull and blessed Ladie.

Now once againe more is made a new supplie of monie, and mutuall promise made to handle this diuine matter hence forward purelie and holilie. To be short, after a great number of such parts plaied by the Alcumyster; one of Balbins acquaintance espied him, that knew him from his childhood to be but a cousening merchant; and told Balbine what he was, and that he would handle him in the end, euen as he had vsed manie others: for a knaue he euer was, and so he would proue. But what did Balbine, thinke you? Did he complaine of this counterfet, or cause him to be punished? No, but he gaue him monie in his pursse, and sent him awaie; desiring him, of all courtesie, not to blab abroad how he had cousened him. And as for the knaue Alcumyster, he needed not care who knew it, or what came of it: for he had nothing in goods or fame to be lost. And as for his cunning in Alcumystrie, he had as much as an asse. By this discourse Erasmus would giue vs to note, that vnder the golden name of Alcumystrie there lieth lurking no small calamitie; wherein there be such seuerall shifts and sutes of rare subtilties and deceipts, as that not onelie welthie men are thereby manie times impouerished, and that with the sweete allurement of this art, through their owne couetousnesse; as also by the flattering baits of hoped gaine: but euen wise and learned men hereby are shamefullie ouershot, partlie for want of due experience in the wiles and subtilties of the world, and partlie through the softenesse and pliablenesse of their good nature, which cousening knaues doo commonlie abuse to their owne lust and commoditie, and to the others vtter vndooing.

Balbine is ashamed that he should be ouershot and ouerscene in a case of flat cousenage.

The opinion of diuerse learned men touching the follie of Alcumystrie.

The sixt Chapter.

Albert in his booke of minerals reporteth, that Auicenna treating of Alcumystrie, saith; Let the dealers in Alcumystrie vnderstand, that the verie nature and kind of things cannot be changed, but

The substances of things are not transmutable.

but rather made by art to resemble the same in shew and likenesse: so that they are not the verie things indéed, but séeme so to be in appearance: as castels and towers do séeme to be built in the clouds, whereas the representations there shewed, are nothing else but the resemblance of certeine obiects béelow, caused in some bright and cléere cloud, when the aire is void of thicknes and grossenes. A sufficient proofe hereof maie be the looking glasse. And we sée (saith he) that yellow or orenge colour laid vpon red, séemeth to be gold. Francis Petrarch treating of the same matter in forme of a dialogue, introduceth a disciple of his, who fansied the foresaid fond profession and practise, saieng; I hope for prosperous successe in Alcumystrie. Petrarch answereth him; It is a wonder from whence that hope should spring, sith the frute thereof did neuer yet fall to thy lot, nor yet at anie time chance to anie other; as the report commonlie goeth, that manie rich men, by this vanitie and madnes haue béene brought to beggerie, whiles they haue wearied themselues therewith, weakened their bodies, and wasted their wealth in trieng the means to make gold ingender gold. I hope for gold according to the workemans promise, saith the disciple. He that hath promised thée gold, will runne awaie with thy gold, and thou neuer the wiser, saith Petrarch. He promiseth mée great good, saith the disciple. He will first serue his owne turne, and reléeue his priuate pouertie, saith Petrarch; for Alcumysters are a beggerlie kind of people, who though they confesse themselues bare and néedie, yet will they make others rich and welthie: as though others pouertie did more molest and pitie them than their owne. These be the words of Petrarch, a man of great learning and no lesse experience; who as in his time he sawe the fraudulent fetches of this compassing craft: so hath there béene no age, since the same hath béene broched, wherein some few wisemen haue not smelt out the euill meaning of these shifting merchants, and bewraied them to the world.

Franc. Petrarch. lib. de remed. vtr. fort. 1. cap. 10.

An ancient writer of a religious order, who liued aboue a thousand yeares since, discouering the diuersities of theeves, after a long enumeration, bringeth in Alcumysters, whom he calleth *Falsificantes metallorum & mineralium*, witches and counterfeters of metals and minerals; and setteth them as déepe in the

Goschalcus Boll. ordinis S. August. in suo praeceptorio, fol. 244. col. b. c. d. & 1.

degrée of théeues, as anie of the rest, whose iniurious dealings are brought to open arreignment. It is demanded (saith he) why the art of Alcumystrie doth neuer proue that in effect, which it pretendeth in precept and promise. The answer is readie; that if by art gold might be made, then were it behoouefull to know the maner and procéeding of nature in generation; sith art is said to imitate and counterfet nature. Againe, it is bicause of the lamenesse and vnperfectnesse of philosophie, speciallie concerning minerals: no such manner of procéeding being set downe by consent and agréement of philosophers in writing, touching the true and vndoubted effect of the same. Where vpon one supposeth that gold is made of one kind of stuffe this waie, others of another kind of stuffe that waie. And therefore it is a chance if anie atteine to the artificiall applieng of the actiues and passiues of gold and siluer. Moreouer, it is certeine, that quicke siluer and sulphur are the materials (as they terme them) of mettals, and the agent is heate, which directeth: howbeit it is verie hard to know the due proportion of the mixture of the materials; which proportion the generation of gold doth require. And admit that by chance they atteine to such proportion; yet can they not readilie resume or doo it againe in another worke, bicause of the hidden diuersities of materials, and the vncerteintie of applieng the actiues and passiues.

No certein ground in the art Alcumysticall.

Idem ibid.

The same ancient author concluding against this vaine art, saith, that of all christian lawmakers it is forbidden, and in no case tollerable in anie commonwelth: first bicause it presumeth to forge idols for couetousnes, which are gold and siluer; wherevpon saith the apostle, Couetousenesse is idolworship: secondlie, for that (as Aristotle saith) coine should be skant and rare, that it might be déere; but the same would waxe vile, and of small estimation, if by the art of Alcumystrie gold and siluer might be multiplied: thirdlie, bicause (as experience proueth) wisemen are thereby bewitched, couseners increased, princes abused, the rich impouerished, the poore beggered, the multitude made fooles, and yet the craft and craftesmaisters (oh madnes!) credited. Thus far he. Whereby in few words he discountenanceth that profession, not by the imaginations of his owne braine, but by manifold circumstances of manifest proofe. Touching the which practise I thinke

Auaritia idolorum cultus.

thinke inough hath béene spoken, and more a great deale than néeded; sith so plaine and demonstrable a matter requireth the lesse trauell in confutation.

That vaine and deceitfull hope is a great cause why men are seduced by this alluring art, and that there labours therein are bootelesse, &c.

The seuenth Chapter.

Hitherto somewhat at large I haue detected the knauerie of the art Alcumysticall, partlie by reasons, and partlie by examples: so that the thing it selfe maie no lesse appeare to the iudiciall eie of the considerers; than the bones and sinewes of a bodie anatomized, to the corporall eie of the beholders. Now it shall not be amisse nor impertinent, to treate somewhat of the nature of that vaine and fruteless hope, which induceth and draweth men forward as it were with chordes, not onelie to the admiration, but also to the approbation of the same: in such sort that some are compelled rufullie to sing (as one in old time did, whether in token of good or ill lucke, I do not now well remember) *Spes & fortuna valete*; Hope and good hap adieu. Of vaine hope.

No meruell then though Alcumystrie allure men so swéetlie, and intangle them in snares of follie; sith the baits which it vseth is the hope of gold, the hunger wherof is by the poet termed *Sacra*, which some do English, Holie; not vnderstanding that it is rather to be interpreted, * Cursed or detestable, by the figure Acyron, when a word of an vnproper signification is cast in a clause as it were a cloud: or by the figure Antiphrasis, when a word importeth a contrarie meaning to that which it commonlie hath. For what reason can there be, that the hunger of gold should be counted holie, the same hauing (as depending vpon it) so manie milians of mischéefes and miseries: as treasons, theftes, adulteries, manslaughters, trucebreakings, periuries, cousenages, and a great troope of other enormities, which were here too long to

** I. Cal. in Comment. vpon Deut. serm. 127. pa.781. col.1. number.40.*

A maxime. to rehearse. And if the nature of euerie action be determinable by the end thereof, then cannot this hunger be holie, but rather accursed, which pulleth after it as it were with iron chaines such a band of outrages and enormities, as of all their labor, charge, care and cost, &c: they haue nothing else left them in lieu of lucre, but onlie some few burned brickes of a ruinous fornace, a pecke or two of ashes, and such light stuffe, which they are forced peraduenture in fine to sell, when beggerie hath arrested and laid his mace on their shoulders. As for all their gold, it is resolued *In primam materiam,* or rather *In leuem quendam fumulum,* into a light smoke or fumigation of vapors, than the which nothing is more light, nothing lesse substantiall, spirits onelie excepted, out of whose nature and number these are not to be exempted.

A continuation of the former matter, with a conclusion of the same.

The eight Chapter.

That which I haue declared before, by reasons, examples, and authorities, I will now prosecute and conclude by one other example; to the end that we, as others in former ages, maie iudge of vaine hope accordinglie, and be no lesse circumspect to auoid the inconueniences thereof, than Vlysses was warie to escape the incantations of Circes that old transforming witch. Which example of mine is drawne from Lewes the French king, the eleuenth of that name, who being on a time at Burgundie, fell acquainted by occasion of hunting with one Conon, a clownish but yet an honest and hartie good fellow. For princes and great men delight much in such plaine clubhutchens. The king oftentimes, by meanes of his game, vsed the countrimans house for his refreshing; and as noble men sometimes take pleasure in homelie and course things, so the king did not refuse to eate turnips and rape rootes in Conons cotage. Shortlie after king Lewes being at his pallace, void of troubles and disquietnesse, Conons wife

Erasmus in colloq. cui titulus Conuiuium fabulosum.

wild

wild him to repaire to the court, to shew himselfe to the king, to put him in mind of the old intertainement which he had at his house, and to present him with some of the fairest and choisest rape rootes that she had in store. Conon seemed loth, alledging that he should but lose his labour: for princes (saith he) haue other matters in hand, than to intend to thinke of such trifeling courtesies. But Conons wife ouercame him, and persuaded him in the end, choosing a certeine number of the best and goodliest rape rootes that she had: which when she had giuen hir husband to carrie to the court, he set forward on his iournie a good trudging pase. But Conon being tempted by the waie, partlie with desire of eating, and partlie with the toothsomnes of the meate which he bare, that by little and little he deuoured vp all the roots sauing one, which was a verie faire and a goodlie great one indeed. Now when Conon was come to the court, it was his lucke to stand in such a place, as the king passing by, and spieng the man, did well remember him, and commanded that he should be brought in. Conon verie cheerelie followed his guide hard at the heeles, and no sooner sawe the king, but bluntlie comming to him, reached out his hand, and presented the gift to his maiestie. The king receiued it with more cheerefulnes than it was offered, and bad one of those that stood next him, to take it, and laie it vp among those things which he esteemed most, & had in greatest accompt. Then he bad Conon to dine with him, and after dinner gaue the countriman great thanks for his rape roote; who made no bones of the matter, but boldlie made challenge and claime to the kings promised courtesie. Whereupon the king commanded, that a thousand crownes should be giuen him in recompense for his roote.

A hungrie bellie will not be brideled.

A princelie largesse.

The report of this bountifulnes was spred in short space ouer all the kings houshold: in so much as one of his courtiers, in hope of the like or a larger reward gaue the king a verie proper ginnet. Whose drift the king perceiuing, and iudging that his former liberalitie to the clowne, prouoked the courtier to this couetous attempt, tooke the ginnet verie thankefullie: and calling some of his noble men about him, began to consult with them, what mends he might make his seruant for his horsse. Whiles this was a dooing, the courtier conceiued passing good

hope of some princelie largesse, calculating and casting his cards in this maner; If his maiestie rewarded a sillie clowne so bountifullie for a simple rape roote, what will he doo to a iollie courtier for a gallant gennet? Whiles the king was debating the matter, and one said this, another that, and the courtier trauelled all the while in vaine hope, at last saith the king, euen vpon the sudden; I haue now bethought me what to bestowe vpon him: and calling one of his nobles to him, whispered him in the eare, and willed him to fetch a thing, which he should find in his chamber wrapped vp in silke. The roote is brought wrapped in silke, which the king with his owne hands gaue to the courtier, vsing these words therewithall, that he sped well, in so much as it was his good hap to haue for his horsse a iewell that cost him a thousand crownes. The courtier was a glad man, and at his departing longed to be looking what it was, and his hart dansed for ioy. In due time therefore he vnwrapped the silke (a sort of his fellow courtiers flocking about him to testifie his good lucke) and hauing vnfolded it, he found therein a drie and withered rape roote. Which spectacle though it set the standers about in a lowd laughter, yet it quailed the courtiers courage, and cast him into a shrewd fit of pensifenes. Thus was the confidence of this courtier turned to vanitie, who vpon hope of good speed was willing to part from his horsse for had I wist.

Sic ars deluditur arte.

The morall of the præmisses.

This storie dooth teach vs into what follie and madnes vaine hope may driue vndiscreete and vnexpert men. And therefore no meruell though Alcumysters dreame and dote after double aduantage, faring like Aesops dog, who greedilie coueting to catch and snatch at the shadowe of the flesh which he carried in his mouth ouer the water, lost both the one and the other: as they doo their increase and their principall. But to breake off abruptlie from this matter, and to leaue these hypocrits (for whie may they not be so named, who as Homer, speaking in detestation of such rakehelles, saith verie diuinelie and trulie;

Homer.

Odi etenim seu claustra Erebi, quicúnque loquuntur
Ore aliud, tacitóque aliud sub pectore claudunt:

I

I hate euen as the gates of hell,
Those that one thing with toong doo tell,
And notwithstanding closelie keepe,
Another thing in hart full deepe)

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

To leaue these hypocrits (I saie) in the dregs of their dishonestie, I will conclude against them peremptorilie, that they, with the rable aboue rehearsed, and the rowt hereafter to be mentioned, are ranke cousceners, and consuming cankers to the common wealth, and therefore to be reiected and excommunicated from the fellowship of all honest men. For now their art, which turneth all kind of metals that they can come by into mist and smoke, is no lesse apparent to the world, than the cléere sunnie raies at noone sted; in so much that I may saie with the poet,

Hos populus ridet, multúmque torosa iuuentus
Ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos:

Aul. Persius, satyr. 3.

All people laugh them now to scorne,
each strong and lustie blood
Redoubleth quauering laughters lowd
with wrinkled nose a good.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

So that, if anie be so addicted vnto the vanitie of the art Alcumysticall (as euerie foole will haue his fansie) and that (beside so manie experimented examples of diuers, whose wealth hath vanished like a vapor, whiles they haue béene ouer rash in the practise hereof) this discourse will not moue to desist from such extreame dotage, I saie to him or them and that aptlie,

——————— *dicítque facítque quod ipse*
Non sani esse hominis non sanus iuret Orestes:

Idem, ibid.

He saith and dooth that verie thing,
which mad Orestes might
With oth auerre beecame a man
beereft of reason right.

By Ab. Fleming.

¶ *The xv. Booke.*

The exposition of Iidoni, and where it is found, whereby the whole art of coniuration is deciphered.

The first Chapter.

THis word Iidoni is deriued of Iada, which properlie signifieth to knowe: it is sometimes translated, *Diuinus*, which is a diuinor or soothsaier, as in Deut. 18. Leuit. 20: sometimes *Ariolus*, which is one that also taketh vpon him to foretell things to come, and is found Leuit. 19. 2. Kings. 23. Esai. 19. To be short, the opinion of them that are most skilfull in the toongs, is, that it comprehendeth all them, which take vpon them to knowe all things past and to come, and to giue answers accordinglie. It alwaies followeth the word *ob*, and in the scriptures is not named seuerallie from it, and differeth little from the same in sense, and doo both concerne oracles vttered by spirits, possessed people, or cousoners. What will not couseners or witches take vpon them to doo? Wherein will they professe ignorance? Aske them anie question, they will vndertake to resolue you, euen of that which none but God knoweth. And to bring their purposes the better to passe, as also to winne further credit vnto the counterfet art which they professe, they procure confederates, whereby they worke wonders. And when they haue either learning, eloquence, or nimblenesse of hands to accompanie their confederacie, or ra-

The large signification of the word Iidoni.

ther

ther knauerie, then (forsooth) they passe the degrée of witches, and intitle themselues to the name of coniurors. And these deale with no inferiour causes: these fetch diuels out of hell, and angels out of heauen; these raise vp what bodies they list, though they were dead, buried, and rotten long before; and fetch soules out of heauen or hell with much more expedition than the pope bringeth them out of purgatorie. These I saie (among the simple, and where they feare no law nor accusation) take vpon them also the raising of tempests, and earthquakes, and to doo as much as God himselfe can doo. These are no small fooles, they go not to worke with a baggage tode, or a cat, as witches doo; but with a kind of maiestie, and with authoritie they call vp by name, and haue at their commandement seuentie and nine principall and princelie diuels, who haue vnder them, as their ministers, a great multitude of legions of pettie diuels; as for example.

Vide Philast. Brix. episc. haeres. on catal. de phitonissa.

I. Wierus in Pseudomonarchia daemonum.

An inuentarie of the names, shapes, powers, gouernement, and effects of diuels and spirits, of their seuerall segniories and degrees: a strange discourse woorth the reading.

The second Chapter.

Their first and principall king (which is of the power of the east) is called Baëll; who when he is coniured vp, appeareth with thrée heads; the first, like a tode; the second, like a man; the third, like a cat. He speaketh with a hoarse voice, he maketh a man go inuisible, he hath vnder his obedience and rule sixtie and six legions of diuels.

Salomons notes of coniuration. *Baell.*

The first duke vnder the power of the east, is named Agares, he commeth vp mildlie in the likenes of a faire old man, riding vpon a crocodile, and carrieng a hawke on his fist; hée teacheth presentlie all maner of toongs, he fetcheth backe all such as runne awaie, and maketh them runne that stand still; he ouerthroweth all dignities supernaturall and temporall, hée maketh earthquakes,

Agares.

quakes, and is of the order of vertues, hauing vnder his regiment thirtie one legions.

Marbas. Marbas, *alias* Barbas is a great president, and appeareth in the forme of a mightie lion; but at the commandement of a coniuror commeth vp in the likenes of a man, and answereth fullie as touching anie thing which is hidden or secret: he bringeth diseases, and cureth them, he promoteth wisedome, and the knowledge of mechanicall arts, or handicrafts; he changeth men into other shapes, and vnder his presidencie or gouernement are thirtie six legions of diuels conteined.

Amon. Amon, or Aamon, is a great and mightie marques, and commeth abroad in the likenes of a woolfe, hauing a serpents taile, spetting out and breathing flames of fier; when he putteth on the shape of a man, he sheweth out dogs téeth, and a great head like to a mightie rauen; he is the strongest prince of all other, and understandeth of all things past and to come, he procureth fauor, and reconcileth both fréends and foes, and ruleth fourtie legions of diuels.

Barbatos. Barbatos, a great countie or earle, and also a duke, he appeareth in *Signo sagittarij sylvestris*, with foure kings, which bring companies and great troopes. He vnderstandeth the singing of birds, the barking of dogs, the lowings of bullocks, and the voice of all liuing creatures. He detecteth treasures hidden by magicians and inchanters, and is of the order of vertues, which in part beare rule: he knoweth all things past, and to come, and reconcileth fréends and powers; and gouerneth thirtie legions of diuels by his authoritie.

Buer. Buer is a great president, and is séene in this signe; he absolutelie teacheth philosophie morall and naturall, and also logicke, and the vertue of herbes: he giueth the best familiars, he can heale all diseases, speciallie of men, and reigneth ouer fiftie legions.

Gusoin. Gusoin is a great duke, and a strong, appearing in the forme of a *Xenophilus*, he answereth all things, present, past, and to come, expounding all questions. He reconcileth fréendship, and distributeth honours and dignities, and ruleth ouer fourtie legions of diuels.

Botis. Botis, otherwise Otis, a great president and an earle he commeth

meth foorth in the shape of anouglie viper, and if he put on humane shape, he sheweth great teeth, and two hornes, carrieng a sharpe swoord in his hand: he giueth answers of things present, past, and to come, and reconcileth friends, and foes, ruling sixtie legions.

Bathin, sometimes called Mathim, a great duke and a strong, he is seene in the shape of a verie strong man, with a serpents taile, sitting on a pale horsse, understanding the vertues of hearbs and pretious stones, transferring men suddenlie from countrie to countrie, and ruleth thirtie legions of diuels. *Bathin.*

Purson, *alias* Curson, a great king, he commeth foorth like a man with a lions face, carrieng a most cruell viper, and riding on a beare; and before him go alwaies trumpets, he knoweth things hidden, and can tell all things present, past, and to come: he bewraieth treasure, he can take a bodie either humane or aierie; he answereth truelie of all things earthlie and secret, of the diuinitie and creation of the world, and bringeth foorth the best familiars; and there obeie him two and twentie legions of diuels, partlie of the order of vertues, & partlie of the order of thrones. *Purson.*

Eligor, *alias* Abigor, is a great duke, and appeereth as a goodlie knight, carrieng a lance, an ensigne, and a scepter: he answereth fullie of things hidden, and of warres, and how souldiers should meete: he knoweth things to come, and procureth the fauour of lords and knights, gouerning sixtie legions of diuels. *Eligor.*

Leraie, *alias* Oray, a great marquesse, shewing himselfe in the likenesse of a galant archer, carrieng a bowe and a quiuer, he is author of all battels, he doth putrifie all such wounds as are made with arrowes by archers, *Quos optimos obijcit tribus diebus*, and he hath regiment ouer thirtie legions. *Leraie.*

Valefar, *alias* Malephar, is a strong duke, comming foorth in the shape of a lion, and the head of a theefe, he is verie familiar with them to whom he maketh himselfe acquainted, till he hath brought them to the gallowes, and ruleth ten legions. *Valefar.*

Morax, *alias* Foraij, a great earle and a president, he is seene like a bull, and if he take unto him a mans face, he maketh men wonderfull cunning in astronomie, & in all the liberall sciences: he giueth good familiars and wise, knowing the power & vertue of hearbs and stones which are pretious, and ruleth thirtie six legions. *Morax.*

gions.

Ipos. Ipos, *alias* Ayporos, is a great earle and a prince, appéering in the shape of an angell, and yet indéed more obscure and filthie than a lion, with a lions head, a gooses féet, and a hares taile: he knoweth things to come and past, he maketh a man wittie, and bold, and hath vnder his iurisdiction thirtie six legions.

Naberius. Naberius, *alias* Cerberus, is a valiant marquesse, shewing himselfe in the forme of a crowe, when he speaketh with a hoarse voice: he maketh a man amiable and cunning in all arts, and speciallie in rhetorike, he procureth the losse of prelacies and dignities: ninetéene legions heare and obeie him.

Glasya Labolas. Glasya Labolas, *alias* Caacrinolaas, or Caassimolar, is a great president, who commeth forth like a dog, and hath wings like a griffen, he giueth the knowledge of arts, and is the captaine of all mansleiers: he vnderstandeth things present and to come, he gaineth the minds and loue of fréends and foes, he maketh a man go inuisible, and hath the rule of six and thirtie legions.

Zepar. Zepar is a great duke, appearing as a souldier, inflaming women with the loue of men, and when he is bidden he changeth their shape, vntill they maie enioie their beloued, he also maketh them barren, and six and twentie legions are at his obeie and commandement.

Bileth. Bileth is a great king and a terrible, riding on a pale horsse, before whome go trumpets, and all kind of melodious musicke. When he is called vp by an exorcist, he appeareth rough and furious, to deceiue him. Then let the exorcist or coniuror take héed to himself, and to allaie his courage, let him hold a hazell bat in his hand, wherewithall he must reach out toward the east and south, and make a triangle without besides the circle; but if he hold not out his hand vnto him, and he bid him come in, and he still refuse the bond or chaine of spirits; let the coniuror procéed to reading, and by and by he will submit himselfe, and come in, and doo whatsoeuer the exorcist commandeth him, and he shalbe safe. If Bileth the king be more stubborne, and refuse to enter into the circle at the first call, and the coniuror shew himselfe fearfull, or if he haue not the chaine of spirits, certeinelie he will neuer feare nor regard him after. Also, if the place be vnapt for a triangle to be made without the circle, then set there a boll of wine, and the exorcist

orcist shall certeinlie knowe when he commeth out of his house, with his fellowes, and that the foresaid Bileth will be his helper, his friend, and obedient vnto him when he commeth foorth. And when he commeth, let the exorcist receiue him courteouslie, and glorifie him in his pride, and therfore he shall adore him as other kings doo, bicause he saith nothing without other princes. Also, if he be cited by an exorcist, alwaies a siluer ring of the middle finger of the left hand must be held against the exorcists face, as they doo for Amaimon. And the dominion and power of so great a prince is not to be pretermitted; for there is none vnder the power & dominion of the coniuror, but he that deteineth both men and women in doting loue, till the exorcist hath had his pleasure. He is of the orders of powers, hoping to returne to the seauenth throne, which is not altogether credible, and he ruleth eightie fiue legions. *Vide Amaimon.*

Sitri, *alias* Bitru, is a great prince, appéering with the face of a leopard, and hauing wings as a griffen: when he taketh humane shape, he is verie beautifull, he inflameth a man with a womans loue, and also stirreth vp women to loue men, being commanded he willinglie deteineth secrets of women, laughing at them and mocking them, to make them luxuriouslie naked, and there obeie him sixtie legions. *Sitri* a bawdie diuell.

Paimon is more obedient to Lucifer than other kings are. Lucifer is héere to be vnderstood he that was drowned in the depth of his knowledge: he would néeds be like God, and for his arrogancie was throwne out into destruction, of whome it is said; Euerie pretious stone is thy couering. Paimon is constrained by diuine vertue to stand before the exorcist; where he putteth on the likenesse of a man: he sitteth on a beast called a dromedarie, which is a swift runner, and weareth a glorious crowne, and hath an effeminate countenance. There goeth before him an host of men with trumpets and well sounding cymbals, and all musicall instruments. At the first he appéereth with a great crie and roring, as in *Circulo Salomonis*, and in the art is declared. And if this Paimon speake sometime that the coniuror vnderstand him not, let him not therefore be dismaied. But when he hath deliuered him the first obligation, to obserue his desire, he must bid him also answer him distinctlie and plainelie to the questions *Paimon.* Ezech.28.

ons he shall aske you, of all philosophie, wisedome, and science, and of all other secret things. And if you will knowe the disposition of the world, and what the earth is, or what holdeth it vp in the water, or any other thing, or what is Abyssus, or where the wind is, or from whence it commeth, he will teach you abundantlie. Consecrations also as well of sacrifices as otherwise may be reckoned. He giueth dignities and confirmations; he bindeth them that resist him in his owne chaines, and subiecteth them to the coniuror; he prepareth good familiars, and hath the vnderstanding of all arts. Note, that at the calling vp of him, the exorcist must looke towards the northwest, bicause there is his house. When he is called vp, let the exorcist receiue him constantlie without feare, let him aske what questions or demands he list, and no doubt he shall obteine the same of him. And the exorcist must beware he forget not the creator, for those things, which haue beene rehearsed before of Paimon, some saie he is of the order of dominations; others saie, of the order of cherubim. There follow him two hundred legions, partlie of the order of angels, and partlie of potestates. Note that if Paimon be cited alone by an offering or sacrifice, two kings followe him; to wit, Beball & Abalam, & other potentates: in his host are twentie fiue legions, bicause the spirits subiect to them are not alwaies with them, except they be compelled to appeere by diuine vertue.

Cautions for the Exorcist or coniuror.

The fall of Beliall.

Some saie that the king Beliall was created immediatlie after Lucifer, and therefore they thinke that he was father and seducer of them which fell being of the orders. For he fell first among the worthier and wiser sort, which went before Michael and other heauenlie angels, which were lacking. Although Beliall went before all them that were throwne downe to the earth, yet he went not before them that tarried in heauen. This Beliall is constrained by diuine vertue, when he taketh sacrifices, gifts, and offerings, that he againe may giue vnto the offerers true answers. But he tarrieth not one houre in the truth, except he be constrained by the diuine power, as is said. He taketh the forme of a beautifull angell, sitting in a firie chariot; he speaketh faire, he distributeth preferments of senatorship, and the fauour of friends, and excellent familiars: he hath rule ouer eightie legions, partlie of the order of vertues, partlie of angels; he

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is found in the forme of an exorcist in the bonds of spirits. The exorcist must consider, that this Beliall doth in euerie thing assist his subiects. If he will not submit himselfe, let the bond of spirits be read: the spirits chaine is sent for him, wherewith wise Salomon gathered them togither with their legions in a brasen vessell, where were inclosed among all the legions seuentie two kings, of whome the chéefe was Bileth, the second was Beliall, the third Asmoday, and aboue a thousand thousand legions. Without doubt (I must confesse) I learned this of my maister Salomon; but he told me not why he gathered them together, and shut them vp so: but I beléeue it was for the pride of this Beliall. Certeine nigromancers doo saie, that Salomon, being on a certeine daie seduced by the craft of a certeine woman, inclined himselfe to praie before the same idoll, Beliall by name: which is not credible. And therefore we must rather thinke (as it is said) that they were gathered together in that great brasen vessell for pride and arrogancie, and throwne into a déepe lake or hole in Babylon. For wise Salomon did accomplish his workes by the diuine power, which neuer forsoke him. And therefore we must thinke he worshiped not the image Beliall; for then he could not haue constrained the spirits by diuine vertue: for this Beliall, with thrée kings were in the lake. But the Babylonians wondering at the matter, supposed that they should find therein a great quantitie of treasure, and therefore with one consent went downe into the lake, and vncouered and brake the vessell, out of the which immediatlie flew the capteine diuels, and were deliuered to their former and proper places. But this Beliall entred into a certeine image, and there gaue answer to them that offered and sacrificed vnto him: as Tocz. in his sentences reporteth, and the Babylonians did worship and sacrifice thereunto.

Salomon gathered al the diuels togither in a brasen vessell.

The Babylonians disappointed of their hope.

Bune is a great and a strong Duke, he appeareth as a dragon with thrée heads, the third whereof is like to a man; he speaketh with a diuine voice, he maketh the dead to change their place, and diuels to assemble vpon the sepulchers of the dead: he greatlie inricheth a man, and maketh him eloquent and wise, answering trulie to all demands, and thirtie legions obeie him. *Bune.*

Forneus is a great marquesse, like vnto a monster of the sea, he maketh men wonderfull in rhetorike, he adorneth a man *Forneus.*

with a good name, and the knowledge of tongs, and maketh one beloued as well of foes as friends: there are vnder him nine and twentie legions, of the order partlie of thrones, and partlie of angels.

Ronoue. Ronoue a marquesse and an earle, he is resembled to a monster, he bringeth singular vnderstanding in rhetorike, faithfull seruants, knowledge of tongs, fauour of friends and foes; and ninetéene legions obeie him.

Berith a golden diuell. Berith is a great and a terrible duke, and hath thrée names. Of some he is called Beall; of the Jewes Berith; of Nigromancers Bolfry: he commeth foorth as a red souldier, with red clothing, and vpon a horsse of that colour, and a crowne on his head. He answereth trulie of things present, past, and to come. He is compelled at a certeine houre, through diuine vertue, by a ring of art magicke. He is also a lier, he turneth all mettals into gold, he adorneth a man with dignities, and confirmeth them, he speaketh with a cleare and a subtill voice, and six and twentie legions are vnder him.

Astaroth. Astaroth is a great and a strong duke, comming foorth in the shape of a fowle angell, sitting vpon an infernall dragon, and carrieng on his right hand a viper: he answereth trulie to matters present, past, and to come, and also of all secrets. He talketh willinglie of the creator of spirits, and of their fall, and how they sinned and fell: he saith he fell not of his owne accord. He maketh a man wonderfull learned in the liberall sciences, he ruleth fourtie legions. Let euerie exorcist take héed, that he admit him not too néere him, bicause of his stinking breath. And therefore let the coniuror hold néere to his face a magicall ring, and that shall defend him.

Foras. Foras, *alias* Forcas is a great president, and is séene in the forme of a strong man, and in humane shape, he vnderstandeth the vertue of hearbs and pretious stones: he teacheth fullie logicke, ethicke, and their parts: he maketh a man inuisible, wittie, eloquent, and to liue long; he recouereth things lost, and discouereth treasures, and is lord ouer nine and twentie legions.

Furfur. Furfur is a great earle, appearing as an hart, with a firie taile, he lieth in euerie thing, except he be brought vp within a triangle; being bidden, he taketh angelicall forme, he speaketh

with a hoarse voice, and willinglie maketh loue betwéene man and wife; he raiseth thunders and lightnings, and blasts. Where he is commanded, he answereth well, both of secret and also of diuine things, and hath rule and dominion ouer six and twentie legions.

Marchosias is a great marquesse, he sheweth himselfe in the shape of a cruell shée woolfe, with a griphens wings, with a serpents taile, and spetting I cannot tell what out of his mouth. When he is in a mans shape, he is an excellent fighter, he answereth all questions trulie, he is faithfull in all the coniurors businesse, he was of the order of dominations, vnder him are thirtie legions: he hopeth after 1200. yeares to returne to the seuenth throne, but he is deceiued in that hope. *Marchosias.*

Malphas is a great president, he is séene like a crowe, but being cloathed with humane image, speaketh with a hoarse voice, he buildeth houses and high towres wonderfullie, and quicklie bringeth artificers togither, he throweth downe also the enimies edifications, he helpeth to good familiars, he receiueth sacrifices willinglie, but he deceiueth all the sacrificers, there obeie him fourtie legions. *Malphas.*

Vepar, *alias* Separ, a great duke and a strong, he is like a mermaid, he is the guide of the waters, and of ships laden with armour; he bringeth to passe (at the commandement of his master) that the sea shalbe rough and stormie, and shall appeare full of shippes; he killeth men in thrée daies, with putrifieng their wounds, and producing maggots into them; howbeit, they maie be all healed with diligence, he ruleth nine and twentie legions. *Vepar.*

Sabnacke, *alias* Salmac, is a great marquesse and a strong, he commeth foorth as an armed soldier with a lions head, sitting on a pale horsse, he doth maruelouslie change mans forme and fauor, he buildeth high towres full of weapons, and also castels and cities; he inflicteth men thirtie daies with wounds both rotten and full of maggots, at the exorcists commandement, he prouideth good familiars, and hath dominion ouer fiftie legions. *Sabnacke.*

Sidonay, *alias* Asmoday, a great king, strong and mightie, he is séene with thrée heads, whereof the first is like a bull, the second like a man, the third like a ram, he hath a serpents taile, he belcheth flames out of his mouth, he hath féete like a goose, he sitteth *Sidonay.*

on an infernall dragon, he carrieth a lance and a flag in his hand, he goeth before others, which are vnder the power of Amaymon. When the coniuror exerciseth this office, let him be abroad, let him be warie and standing on his feete; if his cap be on his head, he will cause all his doings to be bewraied, which if he doo not, the exorcist shalbe deceiued by Amaymon in euerie thing. But so soone as he seeth him in the forme aforesaid, he shall call him by his name, saieng; Thou art Asmoday: he will not denie it, and by and by he boweth downe to the ground; he giueth the ring of vertues, he absolutelie teacheth geometrie, arythmetike, astronomie, and handicrafts. To all demands he answereth fullie and trulie, he maketh a man inuisible, he sheweth the places where treasure lieth, and gardeth it, if it be among the legions of Amaymon, he hath vnder his power seuentie two legions.

Gaap.

Gaap, *alias* Tap, a great president and a prince, he appeareth in a meridionall signe, and when he taketh humane shape he is the guide of the foure principall kings, as mightie as Bileth. There were certeine necromancers that offered sacrifices and burnt offerings vnto him; and to call him vp, they exercised an art, saieng that Salomon the wise made it. Which is false: for it was rather Cham, the sonne of Noah, who after the floud began first to inuocate wicked spirits. He inuocated Bileth, and made an art in his name, and a booke which is knowne to manie mathematicians. There were burnt offerings and sacrifices made, and gifts giuen, and much wickednes wrought by the exorcists, who mingled therewithall the holie names of God, the which in that art are euerie where expressed. Marie there is an epistle of those names written by Salomon, as also write Helias Hierosolymitanus and Helisæus. It is to be noted, that if anie exorcist haue the art of Bileth, and cannot make him stand before him, nor see him, I may not bewraie how and declare the meanes to conteine him, bicause it is abhomination, and for that I haue learned nothing from Salomon of his dignitie and office. But yet I will not hide this; to wit, that he maketh a man woonderfull in philosophie and all the liberall sciences: he maketh loue, hatred, insensibilitie, inuisibilitie, consecration, and consecration of those things that are belonging vnto the domination of Amaymon, and deliuereth familiars out of the possession of o-

Who was the first necromancer.

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ther coniurors, answering truly and perfectly of things present, past, & to come, & transferreth men most spéedilie into other nations, he ruleth sixtie six legions, & was of the order of potestats.

Shax, *alias* Scox, is a darke and a great marquesse, like unto a storke, with a hoarse and subtill voice: he doth maruellouslie take awaie the sight, hearing, and understanding of anie man, at the commandement of the coniuror: he taketh awaie monie out of euerie kings house, and carrieth it backe after 1200. yeares, if he be commanded, he is a horssestealer, he is thought to be faithfull in all commandements: and although he promise to be obedient to the coniuror in all things; yet is he not so, he is a lier, except he be brought into a triangle, and there he speaketh diuinelie, and telleth of things which are hidden, and not kept of wicked spirits, he promiseth good familiars, which are accepted if they be not deceiuers, he hath thirtie legions. *Shax.*

Procell is a great and a strong duke, appearing in the shape of an angell, but speaketh verie darklie of things hidden, he teacheth geometrie and all the liberall arts, he maketh great noises, and causeth the waters to rore, where are none, he warmeth waters, and distempereth bathes at certeine times, as the exorcist appointeth him, he was of the order of potestats, and hath fourtie eight legions under his power. *Procell.*

Furcas is a knight and commeth foorth in the similitude of a cruell man, with a long beard and a hoarie head, he sitteth on a pale horsse, carrieng in his hand a sharpe weapon, he perfectlie teacheth practike philosophie, rhetorike, logike, astronomie, chiromancie, pyromancie, and their parts: there obeie him twentie legions. *Furcas.*

Murmur is a great duke and an earle, appearing in the shape of a souldier, riding on a griphen, with a dukes crowne on his head; there go before him two of his ministers, with great trumpets, he teacheth philosophie absolutelie, he constraineth soules to come before the exorcist, to answer what he shall aske them, he was of the order partlie of thrones, and partlie of angels, and ruleth thirtie legions. *Murmur.*

Caim is a great president, taking the forme of a thrush, but when he putteth on mans shape, he answereth in burning ashes, carrieng in his hand a most sharpe swoord, he maketh the best *Caim.*

disputers, he giueth men the vnderstanding of all birds, of the lowing of bullocks, and barking of dogs, and also of the sound and noise of waters, he answereth best of things to come, he was of the order of angels, and ruleth thirtie legions of diuels.

Raum. Raum, or Raim is a great earle, he is séene as a crowe, but when he putteth on humane shape, at the commandement of the exorcist, he stealeth woonderfullie out of the kings house, and carrieth it whether he is assigned, he destroieth cities, and hath great despite vnto dignities, he knoweth things present, past, and to come, and reconcileth fréends and foes, he was of the order of thrones, and gouerneth thirtie legions.

Halphas. Halphas is a great earle, and commeth abroad like a storke, with a hoarse voice, he notablie buildeth vp townes full of munition and weapons, he sendeth men of warre to places appointed, and hath vnder him six and twentie legions.

Focalor. Focalor is a great duke comming foorth as a man, with wings like a griphen, he killeth men, and drowneth them in the waters, and ouerturneth ships of warre, commanding and ruling both winds and seas. And let the coniuror note, that if he bid him hurt no man, he willinglie consenteth thereto: he hopeth after 1000. yeares to returne to the seuenth throne, but he is deceiued, he hath thrée legions.

Vine. Vine is a great king and an earle, he sheweth himselfe as a lion, riding on a blacke horsse, and carrieth a viper in his hand, he gladlie buildeth large towres, he throweth downe stone walles, and maketh waters rough. At the commandement of the exorcist he answereth of things hidden, of witches, and of things present, past, and to come.

Bifrons. Bifrons is séene in the similitude of a monster, when he taketh the image of a man, he maketh one woonderfull cunning in astrologie, absolutelie declaring the mansions of the planets, he dooth the like in geometrie, and other admesurements, he perfectlie vnderstandeth the strength and vertue of hearbs, pretious stones, and woods, he changeth dead bodies from place to place, he séemeth to light candles vpon the sepulchres of the dead, and hath vnder him six and twentie legions.

Gamigin. Gamigin is a great marquesse, and is séene in the forme of a little horsse, when he taketh humane shape he speaketh with a

hoarse

hoarse voice, disputing of all liberall sciences; he bringeth also to passe, that the soules, which are drowned in the sea, or which dwell in purgatorie (which is called Cartagra, that is, affliction of soules) shall take aierie bodies, and euidentlie appeare and answer to interrogatories at the coniurors commandement; he tarrieth with the exorcist, untill he haue accomplished his desire, and hath thirtie legions under him.

Zagan is a great king and a president, he commeth abroad like a bull, with griphens wings, but when he taketh humane shape, he maketh men wittie, he turneth all mettals into the coine of that dominion, and turneth water into wine, and wine into water, he also turneth bloud into wine, & wine into bloud, & a foole into a wise man, he is head of thirtie and thrée legions. *Zagan.*

Orias is a great marquesse, and is séene as a lion riding on a strong horsse, with a serpents taile, and carrieth in his right hand two great serpents hissing, he knoweth the mansion of planets, and perfectlie teacheth the vertues of the starres, he transformeth men, he giueth dignities, prelacies, and confirmations, and also the fauour of fréends and foes, and hath under him thirtie legions. *Orias.*

Valac is a great president, and commeth abroad with angels wings like a boie, riding on a twoheaded dragon, he perfectlie answereth of treasure hidden, and where serpents may be séene, which he deliuereth into the coniurors hands, void of anie force or strength, and hath dominion ouer thirtie legions of diuels. *Valac.*

Gomory a strong and a mightie duke, he appeareth like a faire woman, with a duchesse crownet about hir midle, riding on a camell, he answereth well and truelie of things present, past, and to come, and of treasure hid, and where it lieth: he procureth the loue of women, especiallie of maids, and hath six and twentie legions. *Gomory.*

Decarabia or Carabia, he commeth like a ⋆ and knoweth the force of herbes and pretious stones, and maketh all birds flie before the exorcist, and to tarrie with him, as though they were tame, and that they shall drinke and sing, as their maner is, and hath thirtie legions. *Decarabia.*

Amduscias a great and a strong duke, he commeth foorth as an unicorne, when he standeth before his maister in humane *Amduscias.*

shape, being commanded, he easilie bringeth to passe, that trumpets and all musicall instruments may be heard and not séene, and also that trées shall bend and incline, according to the coniurors will, he is excellent among familiars, and hath nine and twentie legions.

Andras. Andras is a great marquesse, and is séene in an angels shape with a head like a blacke night rauen, riding vpon a blacke and a verie strong woolfe, flourishing with a sharpe sword in his hand, he can kill the maister, the seruant, and all assistants, he is author of discords, and ruleth thirtie legions.

Andrealphus. Andrealphus is a great marquesse, appearing as a pecocke, he raiseth great noises, and in humane shape perfectlie teacheth geometrie, and all things belonging to admeasurements, he maketh a man to be a subtill disputer, and cunning in astronomie, and transformeth a man into the likenes of a bird, and there are vnder him thirtie legions.

Ose. Ose is a great president, and commeth foorth like a leopard, and counterfeting to be a man, he maketh one cunning in the liberall sciences, he answereth truelie of diuine and secret things, he transformeth a mans shape, and bringeth a man to that madnes, that he thinketh himselfe to be that which he is not; as that he is a king or a pope, or that he weareth a crowne on his head, *Durátque id regnum ad horam.*

Aym. Aym or Haborim is a great duke and a strong, he commeth foorth with thrée heads, the first like a serpent, the second like a a man hauing two * the third like a cat, he rideth on a viper, carrieng in his hand a light fierbrand, with the flame whereof castels and cities are fiered, he maketh one wittie euerie kind of waie, he answereth truelie of priuie matters, and reigneth ouer twentie six legions.

Orobas. Orobas is a great prince, he commeth foorth like a horsse, but when he putteth on him a mans idol, he talketh of diuine vertue, he giueth true answers of things present, past, and to come, and of the diuinitie, and of the creation, he deceiueth none, nor suffereth anie to be tempted, he giueth dignities and prelacies, and the fauour of fréends and foes, and hath rule ouer twentie legions.

Vapula. Vapula is a great duke and a strong, he is séene like a lion

with

with griphens wings, he maketh a man subtill and wonderfull in handicrafts, philosophie, and in sciences conteined in bookes, and is ruler ouer thirtie six legions.

Cimeries is a great marquesse and a strong, ruling in the parts of Aphrica; he teacheth perfectlie grammar, logicke, and rhetorike, he discouereth treasures and things hidden, he bringeth to passe, that a man shall seeme with expedition to be turned into a soldier, he rideth upon a great blacke horsse, and ruleth twentie legions. *Cimeries.*

Amy is a great president, and appeareth in a flame of fier, but hauing taken mans shape, he maketh one maruelous in astrologie, and in all the liberall sciences, he procureth excellent familiars, he bewraieth treasures preserued by spirits, he hath the gouernement of thirtie six legions, he is partlie of the order of angels, partlie of potestats, he hopeth after a thousand two hundreth yeares to returne to the seuenth throne: which is not credible. *Amy.*

Flauros a strong duke, is seene in the forme of a terrible strong leopard, in humane shape, he sheweth a terrible countenance, and fierie eies, he answereth trulie and fullie of things present, past, and to come; if he be in a triangle, he lieth in all things and deceiueth in other things, and beguileth in other busines, he gladlie talketh of the diuinitie, and of the creation of the world, and of the fall; he is constrained by diuine vertue, and so are all diuels or spirits, to burne and destroie all the coniurors aduersaries. And if he be commanded, he suffereth the coniuror not to be tempted, and he hath twentie legions under him. *Flauros.*

Balam is a great and a terrible king, he commeth foorth with three heads, the first of a bull, the second of a man, the third of a ram, he hath a serpents taile, and flaming eies, riding upon a furious beare, and carrieng a hawke on his fist, he speaketh with a hoarse voice, answering perfectlie of things present, past, and to come, hee maketh a man inuisible and wise, hee gouerneth fourtie legions, and was of the order of dominations. *Balam.*

Allocer is a strong duke and a great, he commeth foorth like a soldier, riding on a great horsse, he hath a lions face, verie red, and with flaming eies, he speaketh with a big voice, he maketh a *Allocer.*

man woonderfull in astronomie, and in all the liberall sciences, he bringeth good familiars, and ruleth thirtie six legions.

Saleos. Saleos is a great earle, he appeareth as a gallant soldier, riding on a crocodile, and weareth a dukes crowne, peaceable, &c.

Vuall. Vuall is a great duke and a strong, he is séene as a great and terrible dromedarie, but in humane forme, he soundeth out in a base voice the Ægyptian toong. This man aboue all other procureth the especiall loue of women, and knoweth things present, past, and to come, procuring the loue of fréends and foes, he was of the order of potestats, and gouerneth thirtie seuen legions.

Haagenti. Haagenti is a great president, appearing like a great bull, hauing the wings of a griphen, but when he taketh humane shape, he maketh a man wise in euerie thing, he changeth all mettals into gold, and changeth wine and water the one into the other, and commandeth as manie legions as Zagan.

Phœnix. Phœnix is a great marquesse, appearing like the bird Phœnix, hauing a childs voice: but before he standeth still before the coniuror, he singeth manie swéet notes. Then the exorcist with his companions must beware he giue no eare to the melodie, but must by and by bid him put on humane shape; then will he speake maruellouslie of all woonderfull sciences. He is an excellent poet, and obedient, he hopeth to returne to the seuenth throne after a thousand two hundreth yeares, and gouerneth twentie legions.

Stolas. Stolas is a great prince, appearing in the forme of a nightrauen, before the exorcist, he taketh the image and shape of a man, and teacheth astronomie, absolutelie understanding the vertues of herbes and pretious stones; there are vnder him twentie six legions.

¶ Note that a legion is *6666.* and now by multiplication count how manie legions doo arise out of euerie particular.

✠ Secre-

✠ Secretum secretorum,
The secret of secrets;
Tu operans sis secretus horum,
Thou that workst them, be secret in them.

This was the work of one T. R. written in faire letters of red & blacke vpō parchment, and made by him, Ann. 1570. to the maintenance of his liuing, the edifieng of the poore, and the glorie of gods holie name: as he himselfe saith.

The houres wherin principall diuels may be bound, to wit, raised and restrained from dooing of hurt.

The third Chapter.

Amaymon king of the east, Gorson king of the south, Zimimar king of the north, Goap king and prince of the west, may be bound from the third houre, till noone, and from the ninth houre till euening. Marquesses may be bound from the ninth houre till compline, and from compline till the end of the daie. Dukes may be bound from the first houre till noone; and cleare wether is to be obserued. Prelates may be bound in anie houre of the daie. Knights from daie dawning, till sunne rising; or from euensong, till the sunne set. A President may not be bound in anie houre of the daie, except the king, whome he obeieth, be inuocated; nor in the shutting of the euening. Counties or erles may be bound at anie houre of the daie, so it be in the woods or féelds, where men resort not.

The forme of adiuring or citing of the spirits aforesaid to arise and appeare.

The fourth Chapter.

When you will haue anie spirit, you must know his name and office; you must also fast, and be cleane from all pollusion, thrée or foure daies before; so will the spirit be the more obedient vnto you. Then make a circle, and call vp the spirit with great intention, and holding a ring in your hand, rehearse in your owne name, and your companions (for one must alwaies be with you) this praier

praier following, and so no spirit shall annoie you, and your purpose shall take effect. And note how this agreeth with popish charmes and coniurations.

In the name of our Lord Iesus Christ the ✠ father ✠ and the sonne ✠ and the Holie-ghost ✠ holie trinitie and unseparable unitie, I call upon thee, that thou maiest be my saluation and defense, and the protection of my bodie and soule, and of all my goods through the vertue of thy holie crosse, and through the vertue of thy passion, I beseech thee O Lord Iesus Christ, by the merits of thy blessed mother S. Marie, and of all thy saints, that thou giue me grace and diuine power ouer all the wicked spirits, so as which of them soeuer I doo call by name, they may come by and by from euerie coast, and accomplish my will, that they neither be hurtfull nor fearefull unto me, but rather obedient and diligent about me. And through thy vertue streightlie commanding them, let them fulfill my commandements, Amen. Holie, holie, holie, Lord God of sabboth, which wilt come to iudge the quicke and the dead, thou which art A and Ω, first and last, King of kings and Lord of lords, Ioth, Aglanabrath, El, Abiel, Anathiel, Amazim, Sedomel, Gayes, Heli, Messias, Tolimi, Elias, Ischiros, Athanatos, Imas. By these thy holie names, and by all other I doo call upon thee, and beseech thee O Lord Iesus Christ, by thy natiuitie and baptisme, by thy crosse and passion, by thine ascension, and by the comming of the Holie-ghost, by the bitternesse of thy soule when it departed from thy bodie, by thy fiue wounds, by the bloud and water which went out of thy bodie, by thy vertue, by the sacrament which thou gauest thy disciples the daie before thou sufferedst, by the holie trinitie, and by the inseparable unitie, by blessed Marie thy mother, by thine angels, archangels, prophets, patriarchs, and by all thy saints, and by all the sacraments which are made in thine honour, I doo worship and beseech thee, I blesse and desire thee, to accept these praiers, coniurations, and words of my mouth, which I will use. I require thee O Lord Iesus Christ, that thou giue me thy vertue & power ouer all thine angels (which were throwne downe from heauen to deceiue mankind) to drawe them to me, to tie and bind them, & also to loose them, to gather them togither before me, & to command them to doo all that they can, and that by no meanes they contemne

Note what names are attributed vnto Christ by the coniuror in this his exorcising exercise.

temne

temne my voice, or the words of my mouth; but that they obeie me and my saiengs, and feare me. I beséech thée by thine humanitie, mercie and grace, and I require thée Adonay, Amay, Horta, Vege dora, Mitai, Hel, Suranat, Ysion, Ysesy, and by all thy holie names, and by all thine holie he saints and she saints, by all thine angels and archangels, powers, dominations, and vertues, and by that name that Salomon did bind the diuels, and shut them up, Elhrach, Ebanher, Agle, Goth, Ioth, Othie, Venoch, Nabrat, and by all thine holie names which are written in this booke, and by the vertue of them all, that thou enable me to congregate all thy spirits throwne downe from heauen, that they may giue me a true answer of all my demands, and that they satisfie all my requests, without the hurt of my bodie or soule, or any thing else that is mine, through our Lord Jesus Christ thy sonne, which liueth and reigneth with thée in the unitie of the Holie-ghost, one God world without end.

What wonderfull force coniurors doo beleeue cõsisteth in these forged names of Christ.

Oh father omnipotent, oh wise sonne, oh Holie-ghost, the searcher of harts, oh you thrée in persons, one true godhead in substance, which didst spare Adam and Eue in their sins; and oh thou sonne, which diedst for their sinnes a most filthie death, susteining it upon the holie crosse; oh thou most mercifull, when I flie unto thy mercie, and beséech thée by all the means I can, by these the holie names of thy sonne; to wit, A and Ω, and all other his names, grant me thy vertue and power, that I may be able to cite before me, thy spirits which were throwne downe from heauen, & that they may speake with me, & dispatch by & by without delaie, & with a good will, & without the hurt of my bodie, soule, or goods, &c: as is conteined in the booke called *Annulus Salomonis*.

Oh great and eternall vertue of the highest, which through disposition, these being called to iudgement, Vaicheon, Stimulamaton, Esphares, Tetragrammaton, Olioram, Cryon, Esytion, Existion, Eriona, Onela, Brasim, Noym, Messias, Soter, Emanuel, Sabboth, Adonay, I worship thée, I inuocate thée, I imploie thée with all the strength of my mind, that by thée, my present praiers, consecrations, and coniurations be hallowed: and wheresoeuer wicked spirits are called, in the vertue of thy names, they may come togither from euerie coast, and diligentlie fulfill the will of me the exorcist. *Fiat, fiat, fiat, Amen.*

A confutation of the manifold vanities conteined in the precedent chapters, speciallie of commanding of diuels.

The fift Chapter.

HE that can be persuaded that these things are true, or wrought indeed according to the assertion of couseners, or according to the supposition of witchmongers & papists, may soone be brought to beleeue that the moone is made of greene cheese. You see in this which is called Salomons coniuration, there is a perfect inuentarie registred of the number of diuels, of their names, of their offices, of their personages, of their qualities, of their powers, of their properties, of their kingdomes, of their gouernments, of their orders, of their dispositions, of their subiection, of their submission, and of the waies to bind or loose them; with a note what wealth, learning, office, commoditie, pleasure, &c: they can giue, and may be forced to yeeld in spight of their harts, to such (forsooth) as are cunning in this art: of whome yet was neuer seene any rich man, or at least that gained any thing that waie; or any unlearned man, that became learned by that meanes; or any happie man, that could with the helpe of this art either deliuer himselfe, or his freends, from aduersitie, or adde unto his estate any point of felicitie: yet these men, in all worldlie happinesse, must needs exceed all others; if such things could be by them accomplished, according as it is presupposed. For if they may learne of Marbas, all secrets, and to cure all diseases; and of Furcas, wisedome, and to be cunning in all mechanicall arts; and to change anie mans shape, of Zepar: if Bune can make them rich and eloquent, if Beroth can tell them of all things, present, past, and to come; if Asmodaie can make them go inuisible and shew them all hidden treasure; if Salmacke will afflict whom they list, & Allocer can procure them the loue of any woman; if Amy can prouide them excellent familiars, if Caym can make them understand the voice of all birds and beasts, and Buer and Bifrons can make them liue long; and finallie, if Orias could

This is contrarie to the scripture, which saith that euerie good gift commeth from the father of light, &c.

A breuiarie of the inuentarie of spirits.

could

could procure vnto them great friends, and reconcile their enimies, & they in the end had all these at commandement; should they not liue in all worldlie honor and felicitie? whereas contrariwise they lead their liues in all obloquie, miserie, and beggerie, and in fine come to the gallowes; as though they had chosen vnto themselues the spirit Valefer, who they saie bringeth all them with whom he entreth into familiaritie, to no better end than the gibet or gallowes. But before I procéed further to the confutation of this stuffe, I will shew other coniurations, deuised more latelie, and of more authoritie; wherein you shall sée how fooles are trained to beléeue these absurdities, being woone by little and little to such credulitie. For the author héereof beginneth, as though all the cunning of coniurors were deriued and fetcht from the planetarie motions, and true course of the stars, celestiall bodies, &c.

The authors further purpose in the detection of cõiuring.

The names of the planets, their characters, togither with the twelue signes of the zodiake, their dispositions, aspects, and gouernment, with other obseruations.

The vj. Chapter.

Coniunction ☌ Sextile ✱ Quadrat □	♄ ♃ ♂ ☉ ♀ ☿ ☽. the characters of the planets.	Satur. Iupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mer. Luna.
Trine △ Opposition ☍		Satur. Iupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercu. Luna.

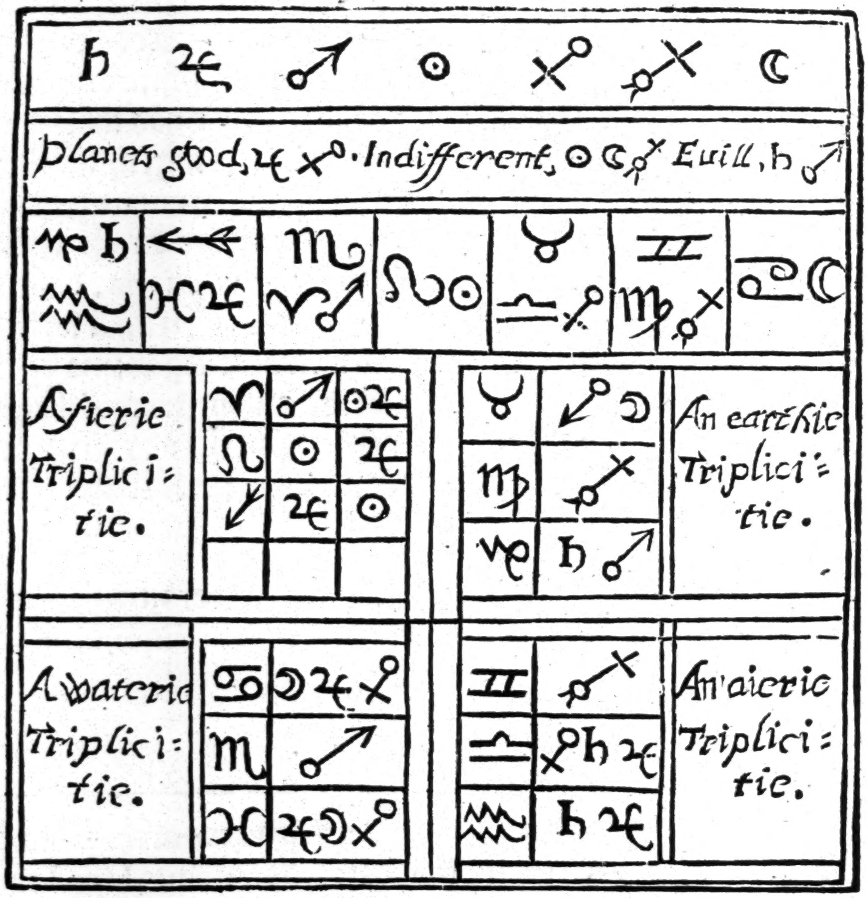
The twelue signes of the zodiake, their characters and denominations, &c.

♈	♉	♊	♋	♌	♍
Aries	Taurus	Gemini	Cancer	Leo	Virgo
♎	♏	♐	♑	♒	♓
Libra	Scorpio	Sagittarius	Capricornus	Aquarius	Pisces.

Their dispositions or inclinations.

♈ ♋ ♉ ♓ ♐ Good signes.	♎ ♏ ♑ ♒ ♊ Euill signes	♒ ♏ ♋ ♓ ♍ Signes indifferent.
♈ ♎ ♐ Verie good signes.	♑ ♊ ♌ ♉ Verie euill signes.	

The disposition of the planets.



The aspects of the planets.

The fiue planetarie aspects: Coniunct. Sextil. Trine. Quartil. Opposit.

☌ Is the best aspect, with good planets, and worst with euill.
∗ Is a meane aspect in goodnesse or badnesse.
△ Is verie good in aspect to good planets, & hurteth not in euill.
□ This aspect is of enimitie not full perfect.
☍ This aspect is of enimitie most perfect.

How the daie is diuided or distinguished.

A daie naturall is the space of foure and twentie houres, accounting the night withall, and beginneth at one of the clocke after midnight.

An artificiall daie is that space of time, which is betwixt the rising and falling of the ☉ &c. All the rest is night, & beginneth at the ☉ rising.

Hereafter followeth a table, shewing how the daie and the night is diuided by houres, and reduced to the regiment of the planets.

The diuision of the daie, and the planetarie regiment.

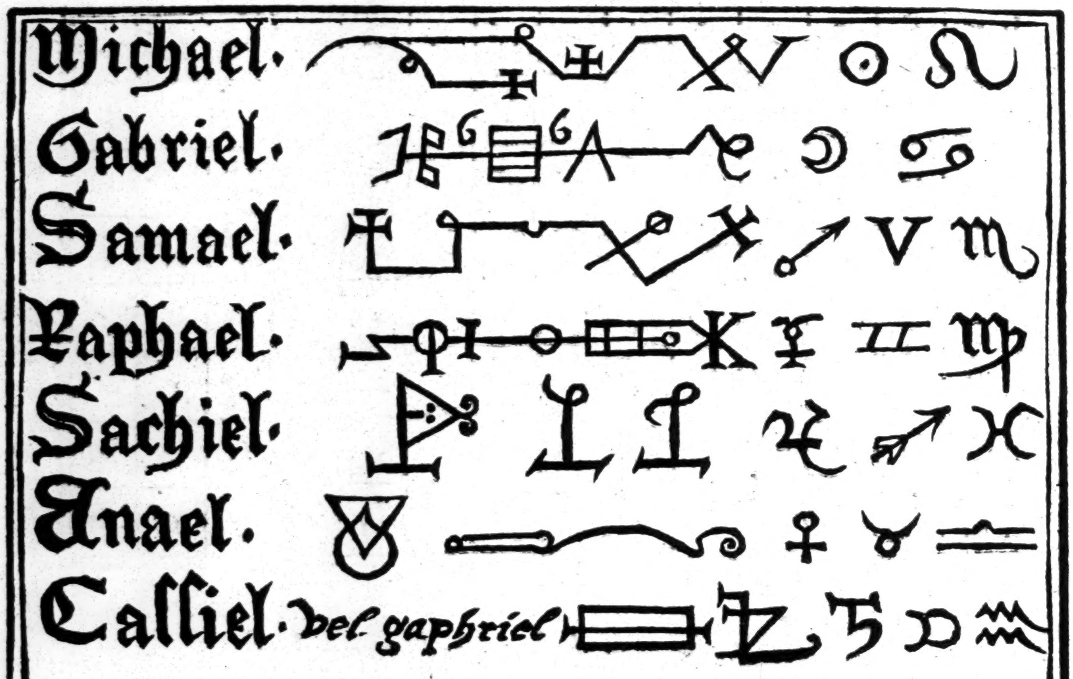
day	Lord	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
day	Lord	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄
day	Lord	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉
day	Lord	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	☿	♀	☽
day	Lord	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂
day	Lord	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿
day	Lord	☿	♀	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃
day	Lord	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀

The diuision of the night, and the planetarie regiment.

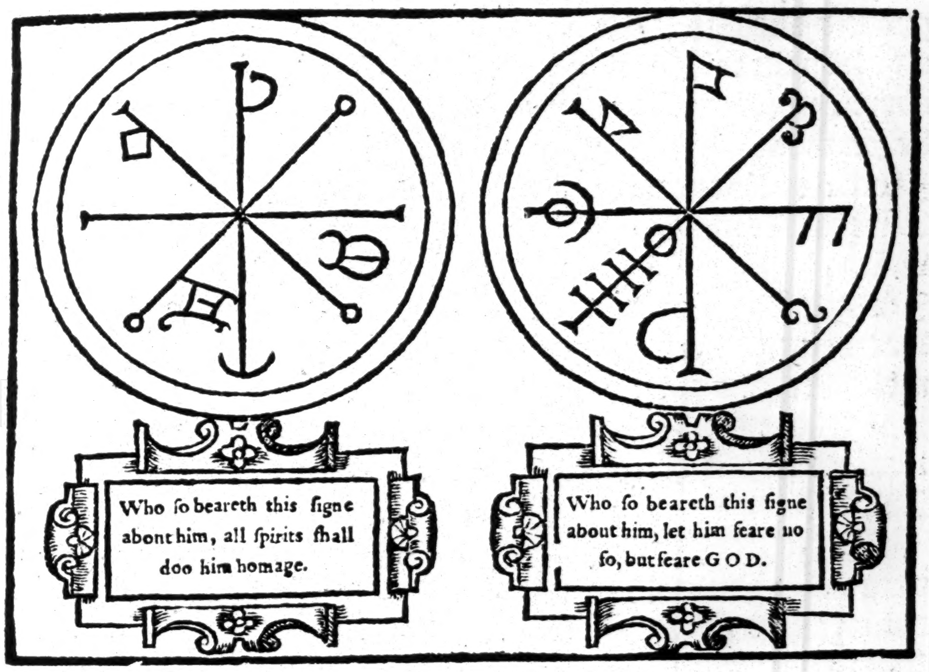
Night	Lord	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Night	Lord	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿
Night	Lord	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃
Night	Lord	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀
Night	Lord	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄
Night	Lord	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉
Night	Lord	♂	☉	☿	☽	♄	♂	♃	☉	♀	☽	♀	☿
Night	Lord	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂	☉	♀	☿	☽	♄	♃	♂

The characters of the angels of the ſeauen daies, with their names: of figures, ſeales and periapts.

The ſeuenth Chapter.



These figures are called the ſeales of the earth, without the which no ſpirit will appeere, except thou haue them with thee.



An experiment of the dead.

The eight Chapter.

First fast and praie thrée daies, and absteine thée from all filthinesse; go to one that is new buried, such a one as killed himselfe, or destroied himselfe wilfullie: or else get thée promise of one that shalbe hanged, and let him sweare an oth to thée, after his bodie is dead, that his spirit shall come to thée, and doo thée true seruice, at thy commandements, in all daies, houres, and minuts. And let no persons sée thy doings, but *thy fellow. And about eleuen a clocke in the night, go to the place where he was buried, and saie with a bold faith & hartie desire, to haue the spirit come that thou doost call for, thy fellow hauing a candle in his left hand, and in his right hand a christall stone, and saie these words following, the maister hauing a hazell wand in his right hand, and these names of God written therevpon, Tetragrammaton ✠ Ado-

Coniuring for a dead spirit.

*For the cousenor (the coniuror I should saie) can do nothing to any purpose without his cōfederate.

Note that numerus ternarius, which is counted mysticall, be obserued

Adonay ✠ Agla ✠ Craton ✠ Then strike thrée strokes on the ground, and saie; Arise N. Arise N. Arise N. I coniure thée spirit N. by the resurrection of our Lord Jesu Christ, that thou doo obey to my words, and come vnto me this night verelie and trulie, as thou beléeuest to be saued at the daie of iudgement. And I will sweare to thée an oth, by the perill of my soule, that if thou wilt come to me, and appeare to me this night, and shew me true visions in this christall stone, and fetch me the fairie Sibylia, that I may talke with hir visiblie, and she may come before me, as the coniuration leadeth: and in so dooing, I will giue thée an almesse déed, and praie for thée N. to my Lord God, wherby thou maiest be restored to thy saluation at the resurrection daie, to be receiued as one of the elect of God, to the euerlasting glorie, Amen.

Ex inferno nulla redemptio, saith the scripture: *Ergo* you lie quoth Nota

The maister standing at the head of the graue, his fellow hauing in his hands the candle and the stone, must begin the coniuration as followeth, and the spirit will appeare to you in the christall stone, in a faire forme of a child of twelue yeares of age. And when he is in, féele the stone, and it will be hot; and feare nothing, for he or shée will shew manie delusions, to driue you from your worke. Feare God, but feare him not. This is to constraine him, as followeth.

I coniure thée spirit N. by the liuing God, the true God, and by the holie God, and by their vertues and powers which haue created both thée and me, and all the world. I coniure thée N. by these holie names of God, Tetragrammaton ✠ Adonay ✠ Algramay ✠ Saday ✠ Sabaoth ✠ Planaboth ✠ Panthon ✠ Craton ✠ Neupmaton ✠ Deus ✠ Homo ✠ Omnipotens ✠ Sempiternus ✠ Ysus ✠ Terra ✠ Vnigenitus ✠ Saluator ✠ Via ✠ Vita ✠ Manus ✠ Fons ✠ Origo ✠ Filius ✠ And by their vertues and powers, and by all their names, by the which God gaue power to man, both to speake or thinke; so by their vertues and powers I coniure thée spirit N. that now immediatlie thou doo appeare in this christall stone, visiblie to me and to my fellow, without anie tarrieng or deceipt. I coniure thée N. by the excellent name of Jesus Christ A and Ω. the first and the last. For this holie name of Jesus is aboue all names: for in this name of Jesus euerie knée doth bow and obeie, both of heauenlie things,

Note what these great words may doo.

things, earthlie things, and infernall. And euerie toong doth confesse, that our Lord Jesus Christ is in the glorie of the father: neither is there anie other name giuen to man, whereby he must be saued. Therefore in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and by his natiuitie, resurrection, and ascension, and by all that apperteineth vnto his passion, and by their vertues and powers I coniure thee spirit N. that thou doo appeare visiblie in this christall stone to me, and to my fellow, without anie dissimulation. I coniure thee N. by the bloud of the innocent lambe Jesus Christ, which was shed for vs vpon the crosse: for all those that* doo beleeue in the vertue of his bloud, shalbe saued. I coniure thee N. by the vertues and powers of all the riall names and words of the liuing God of me pronounced, that thou be obedient vnto me and to my words rehearsed. If thou refuse this to doo, I by the holie trinitie, and their vertues and powers doo condemne thee thou spirit N. into the place where there is no hope of remedie or rest, but euerlasting horror and paine there dwelling, and a place where is paine vpon paine, dailie, horriblie, and lamentablie, thy paine to be there augmented as the starres in the heauen, and as the grauell or sand in the sea: except thou spirit N. doo appeare to me and to my fellow visiblie, immediatlie in this christall stone, and in a faire forme and shape of a child of twelue yeares of age, and that thou alter not thy shape, I charge thee vpon paine of euerlasting condemnation. I coniure thee spirit N. by the golden girdle, which girded the loines of our Lord Jesus Christ: so thou spirit N. be thou bound into the perpetuall paines of hell fier, for thy disobedience and vnreuerent regard, that thou hast to the holie names and words, and his precepts. I coniure thee N. by the two edged sword, which Iohn sawe proceed out of the mouth of the almightie; and so thou spirit N. be torne and* cut in peeces with that sword, and to be condemned into euerlasting paine, where the fier goeth not out, and where the worme dieth not. I coniure thee N. by the heauens, and by the celestiall citie of Ierusalem, and by the earth and the sea, and by all things conteined in them, and by their vertues & powers. I coniure thee spirit N. by the obedience that thou doost owe vnto the principall prince. And except thou spirit N. doo come and appeare in this christall stone visiblie in my presence, here immediatlie

Dæmones credendo contremiscunt.

A heauie sentence denounced of the coniuror against the spirit in case of disobedience, contempt, or negligence.

How can that be, when a spirit hath neither flesh, bloud, nor bones?

diatlie as it is aforesaid. Let the great cursse of God, the anger of God, the shadowe and darknesse of death, and of eternall condemnation be vpon thée spirit N. for euer and euer; bicause thou hast denied thy faith, thy health, & saluation. For thy great disobedience, thou art worthie to be condemned. Therefore let the diuine trinitie, thrones, dominions, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and all the soules of saints, both of men and women, condemne thée for euer, and be a witnesse against thée at the daie of iudgement, bicause of thy disobedience. And let all creatures of our Lord Jesus Christ, saie thereunto; *Fiat, fiat, fiat:* Amen.

And when he is appeared in the christall stone, as is said before, bind him with this bond as followeth; to wit, I coniure thée spirit N. that art appeared to me in this christall stone, to me and to my fellow; I coniure thée by* all the riall words aforesaid, the which did constraine thée to appeare therein, and their vertues; I charge thée spirit by them all, that thou shalt not depart out of this christall stone, vntill my will being fulfilled, thou be licenced to depart. I coniure and bind thée spirit N. by that omnipotent God, which commanded the angell S. Michael to driue Lucifer out of the heauens with a sword of vengeance, and to fall from ioy to paine; and for dread of such paine as he is in, I charge thée spirit N. that thou shalt not go out of the christall stone; nor yet to alter thy shape at this time, except I command thée otherwise; but to come vnto me at all places, and in all houres and minuts, when and wheresoeuer I shall call thée, by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, or by anie coniuration of words that is written in this booke, and to shew me and my fréends true visions in this christall stone, of anie thing or things that we would sée, at anie time or times: and also to go and to fetch me the fairie Sibylia, that I may talke with hir in all kind of talke, as I shall call hir by anie coniuration of words conteined in this booke. I coniure thée spirit N. by the great wisedome and diuinitie of his godhead, my will to fulfill, as is aforesaid: I charge thée vpon paine of condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come, *Fiat, fiat, fiat:* Amen.

*The coniuror imputeth the appearing of a spirit by constraint vnto words quoth Nota

This done, go to a place fast by, and in a faire parlor or chamber, make a circle with chalke, as hereafter followeth: and make another

another circle for the fairie Sibylia to appeare in, foure foote from the circle thou art in, & make no names therein, nor cast anie holie thing therein, but make a circle round with chalke; & let the maister and his fellowe sit downe in the first circle, the maister hauing the booke in his hand, his fellow hauing the christall stone in his right hand, looking in the stone when the fairie dooth appeare. The maister also must haue vpon his brest this figure

here written in parchment, and beginne to worke in the new of the ☽ and in the houre of ♃ the ☉ and the ☽ to be in one of inhabiters signes, as ♋ ♐ ♓. This bond as followeth, is to cause the spirit in the christall stone, to fetch vnto thee the fairie Sibylia. All things fulfilled, beginne this bond as followeth, and be bold, for doubtles they will come before thee, before the coniuration be read seuen times.

I coniure thee spirit N. in this christall stone, by God the father, by God the sonne Iesus Christ, and by God the Holie-ghost, three persons and one God, and by their vertues. I coniure thee spirit, that thou doo go in peace, and also to come againe to me quicklie, and to bring with thee into that circle appointed, Sibylia fairie, that I may talke with hir in those matters that shall be to hir honour and glorie; and so I charge thee declare vnto hir. I coniure thee spirit N. by the bloud of the innocent lambe, the which redeemed all the world; by the vertue thereof I charge thee thou spirit in the christall stone, that thou doo declare vnto hir this message. Also I coniure thee spirit N. by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I coniure thee N. that thou doo depart with speed, and also to come againe with speed, and to bring with thee the fairie Sibylia, to appeare in that circle, before I doo read the coniuration in this booke seuen times. Thus I charge thee my will to be fulfilled, vpon paine of euerlasting condemnation: *Fiat, fiat, fiat*; Amen.

And whie might not he doo it himselfe, as well as madam *Sibylia*.

Then the figure aforesaid pinned on thy brest, rehearse the words therein, and saie, ✠ Sorthie ✠ Sorthia ✠ Sorthios ✠ then beginne your coniuration as followeth here, and saie; I con-

coniure thée Sibylia, O gentle virgine of fairies, by the mercie of the Holie-ghost, and by the dreadfull daie of doome, and by their vertues and powers; I coniure thée Sibylia, O gentle virgine of fairies, and by all the angels of ♃ and their characters and vertues, and by all the spirits of ♃ and ♀ and their characters and vertues, and by all the characters that be in the firmament, and by the king and quéene of fairies, and their vertues, and by the faith and obedience that thou bearest vnto them. I coniure thée Sibylia by the bloud that ranne out of the side of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, and by the opening of heauen, and by the renting of the temple, and by the darkenes of the sunne in the time of his death, and by the rising vp of the dead in the time of his resurrection, and by the virgine Marie mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the vnspeakeable name of God, Tetragrammaton. I coniure thée O Sibylia, O blessed and beautifull virgine, by all the riall words aforesaid; I coniure thée Sibylia by all their vertues to appeare in that circle before me visible, in the forme and shape of a beautifull woman in a bright and vesture white, adorned and garnished most faire, and to appeare to me quicklie without deceipt or tarrieng, and that thou faile not to fulfill my will & desire effectuallie. For I will chose thée to be my blessed virgine, & will haue common copulation with thée. Therfore make hast & spéed to come vnto me, and to appeare as I said before: to whome be honour and glorie for euer and euer, Amen.

The fairie Sibylia coniured to appeare, &c.

The which doone and ended, if shée come not, repeate the coniuration till they doo come: for doubtles they will come. And when she is appeared, take your censers, and incense hir with frankincense, then bind hir with the bond as followeth. ¶ I doo coniure thée Sibylia, by God the Father, God the sonne, and God the Holie-ghost, thrée persons and one God, and by the blessed virgine Marie mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by all the whole and holie companie of heauen, and by the dreadfull daie of doome, and by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principates, potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and their vertues and powers. I coniure thée, and bind thée Sibylia, that thou shalt not depart out of the circle wherein thou art appeared, nor yet to alter thy shape, except I giue thée licence to depart. I coniure thée Sibylia by the bloud that ranne out of the side

The maner of binding the fairie Sibylia at hir appearing.

of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified, and by the vertue hereof I coniure thée Sibylia to come to me, and to appeare to me at all times visiblie, as the coniuration of words leadeth, written in this booke. I coniure thée Sibylia, O blessed virgine of fairies, by the opening of heauen, and by the renting of the temple, and by the darknes of the sunne at the time of his death, and by the rising of the dead in the time of his glorious resurrection, and by the vnspeakable name of God ✠ Tetragrammaton ✠ and by the king and quéene of fairies, & by their vertues I coniure thée Sibylia to appeare, before the coniuration be read ouer foure times, and that visiblie to appeare, as the coniuration leadeth written in this booke, and to giue me good counsell at all times, and to come by treasures hidden in the earth, and all other things that is to doo me pleasure, and to fulfill my will, without anie deceipt or tarrieng; nor yet that thou shalt haue anie power of my bodie or soule, earthlie or ghostlie, nor yet to perish so much of my bodie as one haire of my head. I coniure thée Sibylia by all the riall words aforesaid, and by their vertues and powers, I charge and bind thée by the vertue thereof, to be obedient vnto me, and to all the words aforesaid, and this bond to stand betwéene thée and me, vpon paine of euerlasting condemnation, *Fiat, fiat, fiat*, Amen.

If all this will not fetch hir vp the diuell is a knaue.

A licence for Sibylia to go and come by at all times.

The ninth Chapter.

I Coniure thee Sibylia, which art come hither before me, by the commandement of thy Lord and mine, that thou shalt haue no powers in thy going or comming vnto me, imagining anie euill in anie maner of waies, in the earth or vnder the earth, of euill doings, to anie person or persons. I coniure and command thée Sibylia by all the riall words and vertues that be written in this booke, that thou shalt not go to the place from whence thou camest, but shalt remaine peaceablie inuisiblie, and looke thou be readie to come vnto me, when thou art called by anie coniuration of words that be written in this booke, to come (I saie) at my commandement, and to answer vnto me truelie

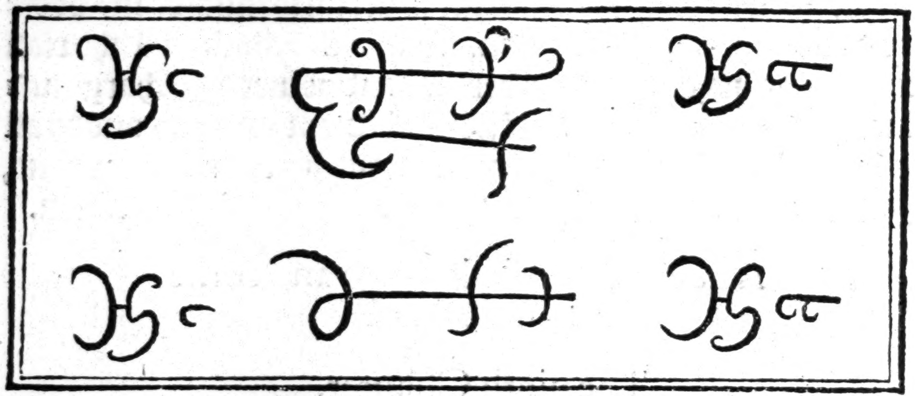
anddnelie of all things, my will quicklie to be fulfilled. *Vade in pace, in nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti.* And the holie ✠ crosse ✠ be betwéene thée and me, or betwéene vs and you, and the lion of Iuda, the roote of Iesse, the kindred of Dauid, be betwéene thée & me ✠ Christ commeth ✠ Christ commandeth ✠ Christ giueth power ✠ Christ defend me ✠ and his innocent bloud ✠ from all perils of bodie and soule, sléeping or waking: *Fiat, fiat,* Amen.

To know of treasure hidden in the earth.

The tenth Chapter.

This would be much practised if it were not a cousening knacke.

WRite in paper these characters following, on the saturdaie, in the houre of ☽, and laie it where thou thinkest treasure to be: if there be anie, the paper will burne, else not. And these be the characters.



This is the waie to go inuisible by these three sisters of fairies.

IN the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holie ghost. First go to a faire parlor or chamber, & an euen ground, and in no loft, and from people nine daies; for it is the better: and let all thy clothing be cleane and swéete. Then make a candle of virgine waxe, and light it, and make a faire fier of charcoles, in a faire place, in the middle of the parlor or chamber. Then take faire cleane water, that runneth against the east, and set it vpon the fier: and yer thou washest thy selfe, saie these words, going about the fier, thrée times, holding the candle in the right hand ✠ Panthon ✠ Craton ✠ Muriton ✠ Bisecognaton ✠ Siston ✠ Diaton

Diaton ✠ Maton ✠ Tetragrammaton ✠ Agla ✠ Agarion ✠ Tegra ✠ Pentessaron ✠ Tendicata ✠ Then reherse these names ✠ Sorthic ✠ Sorthia ✠ Sorthios ✠ Milia ✠ Achilia ✠ Sibylia ✠ *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti,* Amen. I coniure you thrée sisters of fairies, Milia, Achilia, Sibylia, by the father, by the sonne, and by the Holie-ghost, and by their vertues and powers, and by the most mercifull and liuing God, that will command his angell to blowe the trumpe at the daie of iudgement; and he shall saie, Come, come, come to iudgement; and by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I coniure you thrée sisters, by the vertue of all the riall words aforesaid: I charge you that you doo appeare before me visiblie, in forme and shape of faire women, in white vestures, and to bring with you to me, the ring of inuisibilitie, by the which I may go inuisible at mine owne will and pleasure, and that in all houres and minuts: *In nomine patris, & filij, & spiritus sancti,* Amen. ✠ Being appeared, saie this bond following.

The three sisters of the fairies, Milia, Achilia, and Sibylia.

O blessed virgins ✠ Milia ✠ Achilia ✠ I coniure you in the name of the father, in the name of the sonne, and in the name of the Holie-ghost, and by their vertues I charge you to depart from me in peace, for a time. And Sibylia, I coniure thée, by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the vertue of his flesh and pretious bloud, that he tooke of our blessed ladie the virgine, and by all the holie companie in heauen: I charge thée Sibylia, by all the vertues aforesaid, that thou be obedient vnto me, in the name of God; that when, and at what time and place I shall call thée by this foresaid coniuration written in this booke, looke thou be readie to come vnto me, at all houres and minuts, and to bring vnto me the ring of inuisibilitie, whereby I may go inuisible at my will and pleasure, and that at all houres and minuts; *Fiat, fiat,* Amen.

The ring of inuisibilitie.

And if they come not the first night, then doo the same the second night, and so the third night, vntill they doo come: for doubtles they will come, and lie thou in thy bed, in the same parlor or chamber. And laie thy right hand out of the bed, and looke thou haue a faire silken kercher bound about thy head, and be not afraid, they will doo thée no harme. For there will come before thée thrée faire women,

women, and all in white clothing; and one of them will put * a ring vpon thy finger, wherwith thou shalt go inuisible. Then with spéed bind them with the bond aforesaid. When thou hast this ring on thy finger, looke in a glasse, and thou shalt not sée thy selfe. And when thou wilt go inuisible, put it on thy finger, the same finger that they did put it on, and euerie new ☽ renew it againe. For after the first time thou shalt euer haue it, and euer beginne this worke in the new of the ☽ and in the houre of ♃ and the ☽ in ♋ ♐ ♓.

* Such a ring it was that aduanced Giges to the kingdome of Lydia: *Plato. lib. 2. de iusto.*

An experiment following, of Citrael, &c: *angeli diei dominici.*

The eleuenth Chapter.

¶ Saie first the praiers of the angels euerie daie, for the space of seauen daies.

Michael.	☉
Gabriel.	☽
Samael.	♂
Raphael.	☿
Sachiel.	♃
Anael.	♀
Cassiel.	♄

O Ye glorious angels written in this square, be you my coadiutors & helpers in all questions and demands, in all my busines, and other causes, by him which shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier.

O angeli gloriosi in hac quadra scripti, estote coadiutores & auxiliatores in omnibus quæstionibus & interrogationibus, in omnibus negotijs, cæterísque causis, per eum qui venturus est iudicare viuos & mortuos, & mundum per ignem.

¶ Saie this praier fasting, called * *Regina lingua.*

* O queene or gouernesse of the toong.

✠ *Lemaac* ✠ *solmaac* ✠ *elmay* ✠ *gezagra* ✠ *raamaasin* ✠ *ezierego* ✠ *mial* ✠ *egziephiaz* ✠ *Iosamin* ✠ *sabach* ✠ *ha* ✠ *aem* ✠ *re* ✠ *b* ✠ *e sepha* ✠ *sephar* ✠ *ramar* ✠ *semoit* ✠ *lemaio* ✠ *pheralon* ✠ *amic* ✠ *phin* ✠ *gergoin* ✠ *letos* ✠ *Amin* ✠ *amin* ✠.

In the name of the most pitifullest and mercifullest God of Israel and of paradise, of heauen and of earth, of the seas and of

the

the infernalles, by thine omnipotent helpe may performe this worke, which liuest and reignest euer one God world without end, Amen.

O most strongest and mightiest God, without beginning or ending, by thy clemencie and knowledge I desire, that my questions, worke, and labour may be fullie and trulie accomplished, through thy worthines, good Lord, which liuest and reignest, euer one God, world without end, Amen.

O holie, patient, and mercifull great God, and to be worshipped, the Lord of all wisedome, cleare and iust; I most hartilie desire thy holines and clemencie, to fulfill, performe and accomplish this my whole worke, thorough thy worthines, and blessed power: which liuest and reignest, euer one God, *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, Amen.

How to enclose a spirit in a christall stone.

The twelfe Chapter.

This operation following, is to haue a spirit inclosed into a christall stone or berill glasse, or into anie other like instrument, &c. ¶ First thou in the new of the ☽ being clothed with all new, and fresh, & cleane araie, and shauen, and that day to fast with bread and water, and being cleane confessed, saie the seauen psalmes, and the letanie, for the space of two daies, with this praier following.

Obseruations of clenlinesse, abstinence, and deuotion.

I desire thee O Lord God, my mercifull and most louing God, the giuer of all graces, the giuer of all sciences, grant that I thy welbeloued N. (although vnworthie) may knowe thy grace and power, against all the deceipts and craftines of diuels. And grant to me thy power, good Lord, to constraine them by this art: for thou art the true, and liuelie, and eternall GOD, which liuest and reignest euer one GOD through all worlds, Amen.

Thou must doo this fiue daies, and the first daie haue in a redines, fiue bright swords: and in some secret place make one circle, with one of the said swords. And then write this name, Sitrael: which doone, standing in the circle, thrust in thy sword into that name. And write againe Malanthon, with another sword; and

An obseruation touching the vse of the fiue swords.

Thamaor, with another; and Falaur, with another; and Sitrami, with another: and do as ye did with the first. All this done, turne thée to Sitrael, and knéeling saie thus, hauing the christall stone in thine hands.

O Sitrael, Malantha, Thamaor, Falaur, and Sitrami, written in these circles, appointed to this worke, I do coniure and I do exorcise you, by the father, by the sonne, and by the Holy-ghost, by him which did cast you out of paradise, and by him which spake the word and it was done, and by him which shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, that all you fiue infernall maisters and princes do come vnto me, to accomplish and to fulfill all my desire and request, which I shall command you. Also I coniure you diuels, and command you, I bid you, and appoint you, by the Lord Jesus Christ, the sonne of the most highest God, and by the blessed and glorious virgine Marie, and by all the saints, both of men and women of God, and by all the angels, archangels, patriarches, and prophets, apostles, euangelists, martyrs, and confessors, virgins, and widowes, and all the elect of God. Also I coniure you, and euerie of you, ye infernall kings, by heauen, by the starres, by the ☉ and by the ☽ and by all the planets, by the earth, fier, aier, and water, and by the terrestriall paradise, and by all things in them conteined, and by your hell, and by all the diuels in it, and dwelling about it, and by your vertue and power, and by all whatsoeuer, and with whatsoeuer it be, which maie constreine and bind you. Therefore by all these foresaid vertues and powers, I do bind you and constreine you into my will and power; that you being thus bound, may come vnto me in great humilitie, and to appeare in your circles before me visiblie, in faire forme and shape of mankind kings, and to obeie vnto me in all things, whatsoeuer I shall desire, and that you may not depart from me without my licence. And if you do against my precepts, I will promise vnto you that you shall descend into the profound déepenesse of the sea, except that you do obeie vnto me, in the part of the liuing sonne of God, which liueth and reigneth in the vnitie of the Holie-ghost, by all world of worlds, Amen.

A weightie charge of coniuration vpon the fiue K. of the north.

A penaltie for not appearing, &c.

Saie this true coniuration fiue courses, and then shalt thou sée come out of the northpart fiue kings, with a maruelous companie:

panie: which when they are come to the circle, they will allight downe off from their horsses, and will knéele downe before thée, saieng: Maister, command vs what thou wilt, and we will out of hand be obedient vnto thée. Unto whome thou shalt saie; Sée that ye depart not from me, without my licence; and that which I will command you to doo, let it be done trulie, surelie, faithfullie, and essentiallie. And then they all will sweare vnto thée to doo all thy will. And after they haue sworne, saie the coniuration immediatlie following.

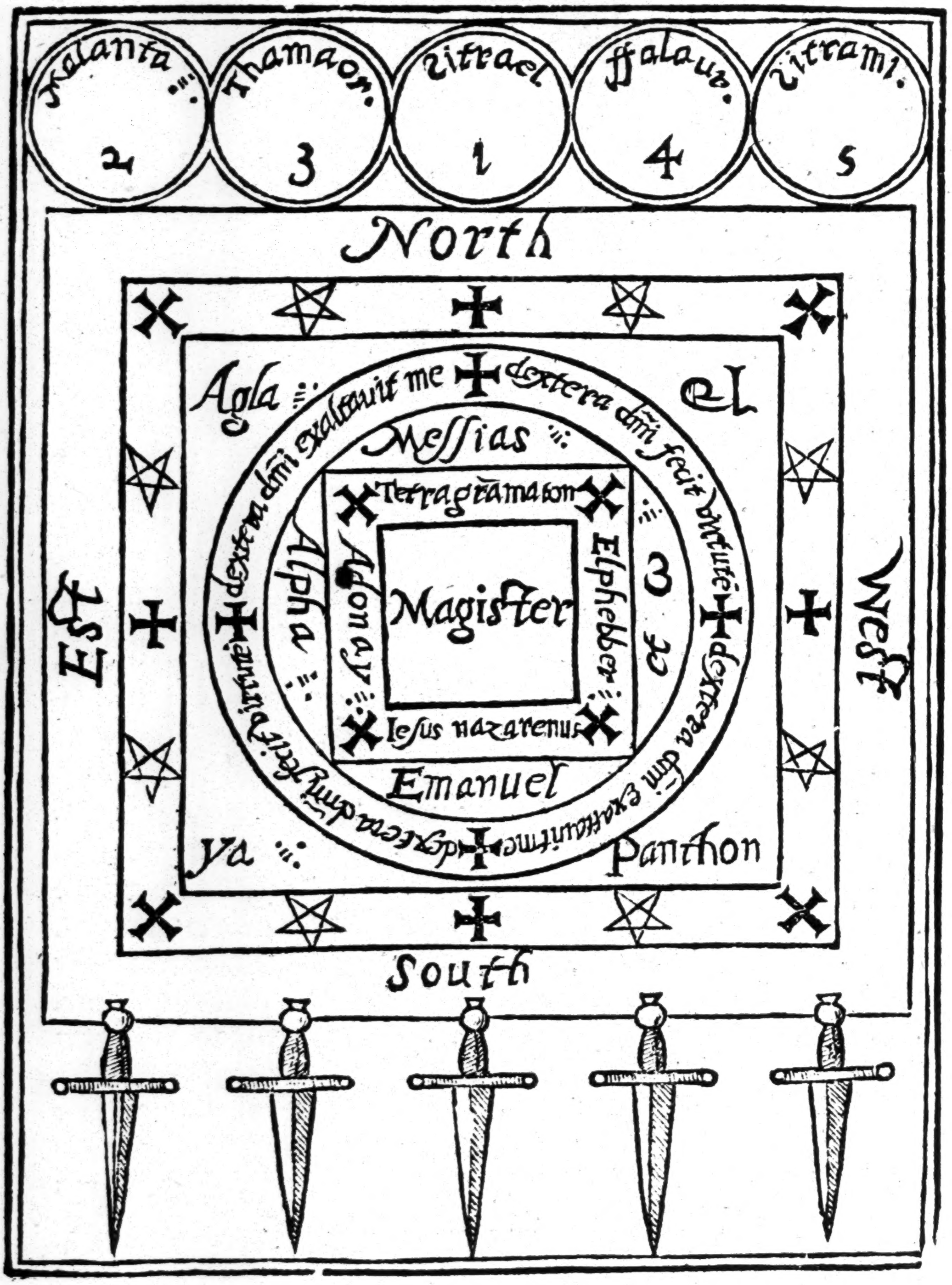
I coniure, charge, and command you, and euerie of you, Sirrael, Malanthan, Thamaor, Falaur, and Sitrami, you infernall kings, to put into this christall stone one spirit learned and expert in all arts and sciences, by the vertue of this name of God Tetragrammaton, and by the crosse of our Lord Jesu Christ, and by the bloud of the innocent lambe, which redéemed all the world, and by all their vertues & powers I charge you, ye noble kings, that the said spirit may teach, shew, and declare vnto me, and to my fréends, at all houres and minuts, both night and daie, the truth of all things, both bodilie and ghostlie, in this world, whatsoeuer I shall request or desire, declaring also to me my verie name. And this I command in your part to doo, and to obeie thereunto, as vnto your owne lord and maister. That done, they will call a certeine spirit, whom they will command to enter into the centre of the circled or round christall. Then put the christall betwéene the two circles, and thou shalt sée the christall made blacke.

The fiue spirits of the north: as you shall see in the type expressed in pag. 414. next following.

Then command them to command the spirit in the christall, not to depart out of the stone, till thou giue him licence, & to fulfill thy will for euer. That done, thou shalt sée them go vpon the christall, both to answer your requests, & to tarrie your licence. That doone, the spirits will craue licence: and say; Go ye to your place appointed of almightie God, in the name of the father, &c. And then take vp thy christall, and looke therein, asking what thou wilt, and it will shew it vnto thée. Let all your circles be nine foote euerie waie, & made as followeth. Worke this worke in ♋ ♏ or ♓ in the houre of the ☽ or ♃. And when the spirit is inclosed, if thou feare him, bind him with some bond, in such sort as is elsewhere expressed alreadie in this our treatise.

A figure or type proportionall, shewing what forme must be obserued and kept, in making the figure whereby the former secret of inclosing a spirit in christall is to be accomplished, &c.

The names written within the fiue circles doo signifie the fiue infernall kings: *See pag.* 411, 412, 413.



An experiment of Bealphares.

The xiij. Chapter.

This is proued the noblest carrier that euer did serue anie man vpon the earth, & here beginneth the inclosing of the said spirit, & how to haue a true answer of him, without anie craft or harme; and he will appeare vnto thée in the likenesse of a faire man, or faire woman, the which spirit will come to thée at all times. And if thou wilt command him to tell thée of hidden treasures that be in anie place, he will tell it thée: or if thou wilt command him to bring to thée gold or siluer, he will bring it thée: or if thou wilt go from one countrie to another, he will beare thée without anie harme of bodie or soule. Therefore * he that will doo this worke, shall absteine from lecherousnes and dronkennesse, and from false swearing, and doo all the abstinence that he may doo; and namelie thrée daies before he go to worke, and in the third daie, when the night is come, and when the starres doo shine, and the element faire and cleare, he shall bath himselfe and his fellowes (if he haue anie) all togither in a quicke welspring. Then he must be cloathed in cleane white cloathes, and he must haue another priuie place, and beare with him inke and pen, wherewith he shall write this holy name of God almightie in his right hand ✠ Agla ✠ & in his left hand this name ✠ ⌶ ℭ ▽ ℭ ✠ And he must haue a drie thong of a lions or of a harts skin, and make thereof a girdle, and write the holie names of God all about, and in the end ✠ A and Ω ✠. And vpon his brest he must haue this present figure or marke written in virgine parchment, as it is here shewed. And it must be sowed vpon a péece of new linnen, and so made fast vpon thy brest. And if thou wilt haue a fellow to worke with thée, he must be appointed in the same maner. You must haue also a bright knife that was neuer occupied, and he must write on the one

*Memorandum with what vices the cousenor (the coniuror I should saie) must not be polluted: therfore he must be no knaue, &c.

The coniurors brestplate.

side

side of the blade of the knife ✠ Agla ✠ and on the other side of the knifes blade ✠ ♊ ℭ ♉ ℭ ✠ And with the same knife he must make a circle, as hereafter followeth: the which is called Salomons circle. When that he is made, go into the circle, and close againe the place, there where thou wentest in, with the same knife, and saie; *Per crucis hoc signum* ✠ *fugiat procul omne malignum; Et per idem signum* ✠ *saluetur quodque benignum,* and make suffumigations to thy selfe, and to thy fellowe or fellowes, with frankincense, mastike, *lignum aloes:* then put it in wine, and saie with good deuotion, in the worship of the high God almightie, all together, that he may defend you from all euils. And when he that is maister will close the spirit, he shall saie towards the east, with meeke and deuout deuotion, these psalmes and praiers as followeth here in order.

Salomons circle.

¶ The two and twentieth psalme.

O My God my God, looke vpon me, whie hast thou forsaken me, and art so farre from my health, and from the words of my complaint? ¶ And so forth to the end of the same psalme, as it is to be found in the booke.

Memorandum that you must read the 22. and 51. psalmes all ouer: or else rehearse them by hart: for these are counted necessarie. &c.

This psalme also following, being the fiftie one psalme, must be said three times ouer, &c.

HAue mercie vpon me, O God, after thy great goodnes, according to the multitude of thy mercies, doo awaie mine offenses. ¶ And so forth to the end of the same psalme, concluding it with, Glorie to the Father and to the Sonne, and to the Holie-ghost, As it was in the beginning, is now, and euer shall be, world without end, Amen. Then saie this verse: O Lord leaue not my soule with the wicked; nor my life with the bloudthirstie. Then saie a *Pater noster* an *Aue Maria,* and a *Credo, & ne nos inducas.* O Lord shew vs thy mercie, and we shall be saued. Lord heare our praier, and let our crie come vnto thee. Let vs praie.

O Lord God almightie, as thou warnedst by thine angell, the three kings of Cullen, Iasper, Melchior, and Balthasar, when they came with worshipfull presents towards Bethleem: Iasper brought myrrh; Melchior, incense; Balthasar, gold; worshipping the high king of all the world, Iesus Gods sonne of heauen,

uen, the second person in trinitie, being borne of the holie and cleane virgine S. Marie, quéene of heauen, empresse of hell, and ladie of all the world: at that time the holie angell Gabriel warned and bad the foresaid thrée kings, that they should take another waie, for dread of perill, that Herod the king by his ordinance would haue destroied these* thrée noble kings, that méekelie sought out our Lord and sauiour. As wittilie and truelie as these thrée kings turned for dread, and toke another waie: so wiselie and so truelie, O Lord GOD, of thy mightifull mercie, blesse vs now at this time, for thy blessed passion saue vs, and kéepe vs all together from all euill; and thy holie angell defend vs. Let vs praie.

* Gaspar, Balthsar, and Melchior, who followed the starre, wherin was ẏ image of a litle babe bearing a crosse: if *Longa legēda Colonię* lie not.

O Lord, King of all kings, which conteinest the throne of heauens, and beholdest all déepes, weighest the hilles, and shuttest vp with thy hand the earth; heare vs, most méekest GOD, and grant vnto vs (being vnworthie) according to thy great mercie, to haue the veritie and vertue of knowledge of hidden treasures by this spirit inuocated, through thy helpe O Lord Jesus Christ, to whome be all honour and glorie, from worlds to worlds euerlastinglie, Amen. Then saie these names ✠ *Helie* ✠ *helyon* ✠ *essejere* ✠ *Deus æternus* ✠ *eloy* ✠ *clemens* ✠ *heloye* ✠ *Deus sanctus* ✠ *sabaoth* ✠ *Deus exercituum* ✠ *adonay* ✠ *Deus mirabilis* ✠ *iao* ✠ *verax* ✠ *anepheneton* ✠ *Deus ineffabilis* ✠ *sodoy* ✠ *dominator dominus* ✠ *ôn fortissimus* ✠ *Deus* ✠ *qui*, the which wouldest be praied vnto of sinners: receiue (we beséech thée) these sacrifices of praise, and our méeke praiers, which we vnworthie doo offer vnto thy diuine maiestie. Deliuer vs, and haue mercie vpon vs, and preuent with thy holie spirit this worke, and with thy blessed helpe to followe after; that this our worke begunne of thée, may be ended by thy mightie power, Amen. Then saie this anon after ✠ *Homo* ✠ *sacarus* ✠ *museolameas* ✠ *cherubozca* ✠ being the figure vpon thy brest aforesaid, the girdle about thée, the circle made, blesse the circle with holie water, and sit downe in the middest, and read this coniuration as followeth, sitting backe to backe at the first time.

I exorcise and coniure Bealphares, the practiser and preceptor of this art, by the maker of heauens and of earth, and by his vertue, and by his vnspeakeable name Tetragrammaton, and by all the

the holie sacraments, and by the holie maiestie and deitie of the liuing God. I coniure and exorcise thée Bealphares by the vertue of all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues, and by the most truest and speciallest name of your maister, that you doo come vnto vs, in faire forme of man or womankind, here visiblie, before this circle, and not terrible by anie manner of waies. This * circle being our tuition and protection, by the mercifull goodnes of our Lord and Sauiour Jesus Christ, and that you doo make answer truelie, without craft or deceipt, vnto all my demands and questions, by the vertue and power of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

* Which must be enuironed with a goodlie companie of crosses.

To bind the spirit Bealphares, and to lose him againe.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Now when he is appeared, bind him with these words which followe. ¶ I coniure thée Bealphares, by God the father, by God the sonne, and by God the Holie ghost, and by all the holie companie in heauen; and by their vertues and powers I charge thée Bealphares, that thou shalt not depart out of my sight, nor yet to alter thy bodilie shape, that thou art appeared in, nor anie power shalt thou haue of our bodies or soules, earthlie or ghostlie, but to be obedient to me, and to the words of my coniuration, that be written in this booke. I coniure thée Bealphares, by all angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by their vertues and powers. I coniure and charge, bind and constreine thée Bealphares, by all the riall words aforesaid, and by their vertues, that thou be obedient vnto me, and to come and appeare visiblie vnto me, and that in * all daies, houres, and minuts, wheresoeuer I be, being called by the vertue of our Lord Jesu Christ, the which words are written in this booke. Looke readie thou be to appeare vnto me, and to giue me good counsell, how to come by treasures hidden in the earth, or in the water, and how to come to dignitie and knowledge of all things, that is to saie, of the magike art, and of grammar, dialectike, rhetorike, arythmetike, musike, geometrie,

* On sundaies, festiuall daies, and holie daies, none excepted.

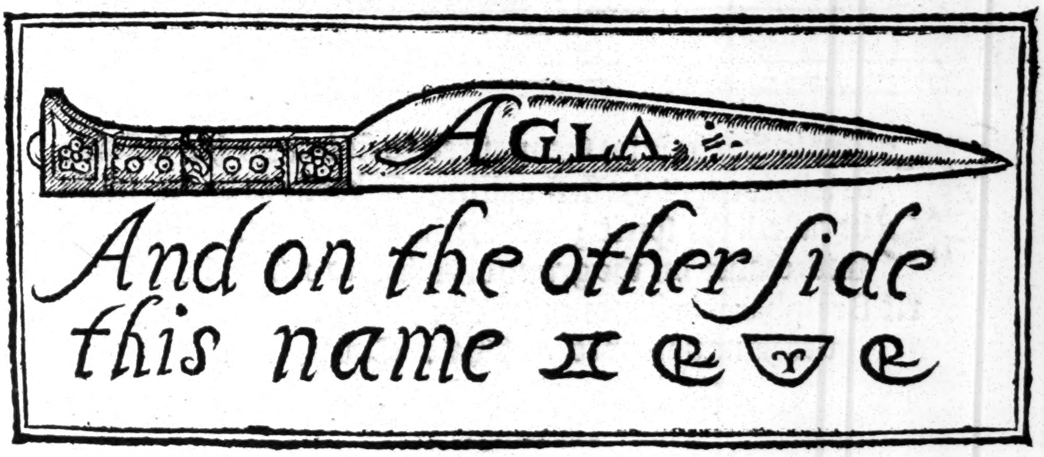
metrie, and of astronomie, and in all other things my will quicklie to be fulfilled: I charge thée vpon paine of euerlasting condemnation, *Fiat, fiat, fiat*, Amen.

When he is thus bound, aske him what thing thou wilt, and he will tell thée, and giue thée all things that thou wilt request of him, without anie sacrifice dooing to him, and without forsaking thy God, that is, thy maker. And when the spirit hath fulfilled thy will and intent, giue him licence to depart as followeth.

He dares doo no other being so coniured I trowe.

A licence for the spirit to depart.

GO vnto the place predestinated and appointed for thee, where thy Lord GOD hath appointed thee, vntill I shall call thee againe. Be thou readie vnto me and to my call, as often as I shall call thee, vpon paine of euerlasting damnation. And if thou wilt, thou maiest recite, two or three times, the last coniuration, vntill thou doo come to this tearme, In throno. If he will not depart, and then saie In throno, that thou depart from this place, without hurt or damage of any bodie, or of anie deed to be doone; that all creatures may knowe, that our Lord is of all power, most mightiest, and that there is none other God but he, which is three, and one, liuing for euer and euer. And the malediction of God the father omnipotent, the sonne and the holie ghost, descend vpon thee, and dwell alwaies with thee, except thou doo depart without damage of vs, or of any creature, or anie other euill deed to be doone: & thou to go to the place predestinated. And by our Lord Jesus Christ I doo else send thee to the great pit of hell, except (I saie) that thou depart to the place, whereas thy Lord God hath appointed thee. And see thou be readie to me and to my call, at all times and places, at mine owne will and pleasure, daie or night, without damage or hurt of me, or of anie creature; vpon paine of euerlasting damnation: Fiat, fiat, fiat; Amen, Amen. ¶ The peace of Jesus Christ bee betweene vs and you; in the name of the father, and of the sonne, and of the Holieghost: Amen. Per crucis hoc ✠ signum, &c. Saie In principio erat verbum, & verbum erat apud Deum; In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and God was the word: and so forward, as followeth in the first chapter of saint Iohns Gospell, staieng at these words, Full of grace and truth: to whom be all honour and glorie world without end, Amen.



The fashion or forme of the coniuring knife, with the names theron to bee grauen or written.

A type or figure of the circle for the maister and his fellowes to sit in, shewing how and after what fashion it should be made.

This is the circle for the maister to sit in, and his fellowe or fellowes, at the first calling, sit backe to backe, when he calleth the spirit ; and for the fairies make this circle with chalke on the ground, as is said before. This spirit Bealphares being once called and found, shall neuer haue power to hurt thee. Call him in the houre of ♃ or ♀ the ☽ increasing.

The

The making of the holie water.

The xv. Chapter.

Exorciso te creaturam salis, per Deum viuum ✠ per Deum ✠ verum ✠ per Deum sanctum ✠ per Deum qui te per Elizæum prophetam in aquam mitti iussit, vt sanaretur sterilitas aquæ, vt efficiaris sal exorcisatus in salutem credentium; vt sis omnibus te sumentibus sanitas animæ & corporis, & effugiat atque discedat ab eo loco, qui aspersus fuerit omnis phantasia & nequitia, vel versutia diabolicæ fraudis, omnisq; spiritus immundus, adiuratus per eum, qui venturus est iudicare viuos & mortuos, & seculum per ignem, Amen. Oremus:

Absque exorcismo sal non sit sanctus.

Immensam clementiam tuam, omnipotens æterne Deus, humiliter imploramus, vt hanc creaturam salis, quam in vsum generis humani tribuisti, bene ✠ dicere & sancti ✠ ficare tua pietate digneris, vt sit omnibus sumentibus salus mentis & corporis, vt quicquid ex eo tactum fuerit, vel respersum, careat omni immundicia, omniq; impugnatione spiritualis nequitiæ, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum viuit & regnat in vnitate spiritus sancti, Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

To the water saie also as followeth.

Exorciso te creaturam aquæ in nomine ✠ patris ✠ & Iesu Christi filij eius Domini nostri, & in virtute spiritus ✠ sancti ✠ vt fias aqua exorcisata, ad effugandam omnem potestatem inimici, & ipsum inimicum eradicare & explantare valeas, cum angelis suis apostatis, per virtutem eiusdem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui venturus est iudicare viuos & mortuos, & sæculum per ignem, Amen. Oremus:

Deus, qui ad salutem humani generis maxima quæque sacramenta in aquarum substantia condidisti, adesto propitius inuocationibus nostris, & elemento huic multimodis purificationibus preparato, virtutem tuæ bene ✠ dictionis infunde, vt creatura tua mysterijs tuis seruiens, ad abigendos dæmones, morbósq; pellendos, diuinę gratię sumat effectum, vt quicquid in domibus, vel in locis fidelium hęc vnda resperserit, careat omni immundicia, liberetur à noxa, non illic resideat spiritus pestilens, non aura corrumpens, discedant omnes insidię latentis inimici, & si quid est, quod aut incolumitati habitantium inuidet aut quieti, aspersione huius aquę effugiat, vt salubritas per inuocationem sancti tui nominis expetita ab omnibus sit impugnationibus defensa, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum viuit & regnat, in vnitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

Then take the salt in thy hand, and saie putting it into the water, making in the maner of a Crosse.

Commixtio salis & aquę pariter fiat, in nomine patris, & filij, & spirtus sancti, Amen. Dominus vobiscum, Et cum spiritu tuo, Oremus: ¶ Deus inuictę virtutis author, & insuperabilis imperij rex, ac semper magnificus triumphator, qui aduersæ dominationis vires reprimis, qui inimici rugientis sęuitiam superas, qui hostiles nequitias potens expugnas; te Domine trementes & supplices deprecamur ac petimus, vt hanc creaturam salis & aquę aspicias, benignus illustres, pietatis tuę rore sancti ✠ fices, vbicunq; fuerit aspersa, per inuocationem sancti tui nominis, omnis infestatio immundi spiritus abijciatur, terrórq; venenosi serpentis procul pellatur, &

Oratio ad Deum vt sali exorcisato vires addat.

 presentia

præsentia sancti spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poscentibus vbiq, adesse dignetur, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum viuit & regnat in vnitate spiritus sancti Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

Then sprinkle vpon anie thing, and saie as followeth.

Oratio, in qua dicenda, exorcista sese sacri laticis aspergine debet perrorare.

ASperges me Domine hyssopo, & mundabor, lauabis me, & supra niuem dealbabor. Miserere mei Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, & supra niuem dealbabor. Gloria patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto: Sicut erat in principio, & nunc, & semper, & in sæcula sæculorum, Amen. Et supra niuem dealbabor, asperges me, &c. Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam, & salutare tuum da nobis; exaudi nos Domine sancte, pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, & mittere dignare sanctum angelum tuum de cœlis, qui custodiat, foueat, visitet, & defendat omnes habitantes in hoc habitaculo, per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen, Amen.

To make a spirit to appeare in a christall.

The xvj. Chapter.

I Doo coniure thee N. by the father, and the sonne, and the Holie-ghost, the which is the beginning and the ending, the first and the last, and by the latter daie of iudgement, that thou N. doo appeare, in this christall stone, or anie other instrument, at my pleasure, to mée and to my felow, gentlie and beautifullie, in faire forme of a boy of twelue yeares of age, without hurt or damage of anie of our bodies or soules; and certeinlie to informe and to shew me, without anie guile or craft, all that we doo desire or demand of thée to know, by the vertue of him, which shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, Amen.

Marke how consonant this is with poperie, &c.

Also I coniure and exorcise thée N. by the sacrament of the altar, and by the substance therof, by the wisedome of Christ, by the sea, and by his vertue, by the earth, & by all things that are aboue the earth, and by their vertues, by the ☉ and the ☽ by ♄ ♃ ♂ and ♀ and by their vertues, by the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and the virgins and widowes, and the chast, and by all saints of men or of women, and innocents, and by their vertues, by all the angels and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim, and seraphim, and by their vertues, & by the holie names of God, Tetragrammaton, El, Ousion, Agla, and by all the other holie names of God, and by their vertues, by the circumcision, passion, and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the heauines of our ladie the virgine, and by the ioy which she had

when

when she sawe hir sonne rise from death to life, that thou N. doo appeare in this christall stone, or in anie other instrument, at my pleasure, to me and to my felow, gentlie, and beautifullie, and visiblie, in faire forme of a child of twelue yeares of age, without hurt or damage of anie of our bodies or soules, and trulie to informe and shew vnto me & to my felow, without fraud or guile, all things according to thine oth and promise to me, whatsoeuer I shall demand or desire of thée, without anie hinderance or tarrieng, and this coniuration be read of me thrée times, vpon paine of eternall condemnation, to the last daie of iudgement: *Fiat fiat, fiat,* Amen.

And when he is appeared, bind him with the bond of the dead aboue written: then saie as followeth. ¶ I charge thée N. by the father, to shew me true visions in this christall stone, if there be anie treasure hidden in such a place N. & wherin it lieth, and how manie foot from this péece of earth, east, west, north, or south.

For hidden treasure.

An experiment of the dead.

The xvij. Chapter.

FIrst go and get of some person that shalbe put to death, a promise, and sweare an oth vnto him, that if he will come to thée, after his death, his spirit to be with thée, and to remaine with thée all the daies of thy life, and will doo thée true seruice, as it is conteined in the oth and promise following. Then laie thy hand on thy booke, and sweare this oth vnto him. I N. doo sweare and promise to thée N. to giue for thée an almesse euerie moneth, and also to praie for thée once in euerie wéeke, to saie the Lords praier for thée, and so to continue all the daies of my life, as God me helpe and holie doome, and by the contents of this booke, Amen.

Promises & oths interchangeablie made betweene the coniuror & the spirit.

Then let him make his oth to thée as followeth, and let him saie after thée, laieng his hand vpon the booke. ¶ I N. doo sweare this oth to thée N. by God the father omnipotent, by God the son Jesus Christ, and by his pretious bloud which hath redéemed all the world, by the which bloud I doo trust to be saued at the generall daie of iudgment, and by the vertues therof, I N. doo sweare this oth to thée N. that my spirit that is within my bodie now,

shall not ascend, nor descend, nor go to anie place of rest, but shall come to thée N. and be verie well pleased to remaine with thée N. all the daies of thy life, and so to be bound to thée N. and to appeare to thée N. in anie christall stone, glasse, or other mirror, and so to take it for my resting place. And that, so soone as my spirit is departed out of my bodie, streightwaie to be at your commandements, and that in and at all daies, nights, houres, and minutes, to be obedient vnto thée N. being called of thée by the vertue of our Lord Jesu Christ, & out of hand to haue common talke with thée at all times, and in all houres & minuts, to open and declare to thée N. the truth of all things present, past, and to come, and how to worke the magike art, and all other noble sciences, vnder the throne of God. If I doo not performe this oth and promise to thée N. but doo flie from anie part thereof, then to be condemned for euer and euer, Amen.

Note the penaltie of breaking promise with the spirit.

Also I N. doo sweare to thée by God the Holie-ghost, and by the great wisedome that is in the diuine Godhead, and by their vertues, and by all the holie angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by all their vertues doo I N. sweare, and promise thée to be obedient as is rehearsed. And héere, for a witnesse, doo I N. giue thée N. my right hand, and doo plight thée my faith and troth, as God me helpe and holidoome. And by the holie contents in this booke doo I N. sweare, that my spirit shall be thy true seruant, all the daies of thy life, as is before rehearsed. And here for a witnesse, that my spirit shall be obedient to thée N. and to those bonds of words that be written in this N. before the bonds of words shall be rehearsed thrise; else to be damned for euer: and thereto saie all faithfull soules and spirits, Amen, Amen.

Then let him sweare this oth* thrée times, and at euerie time kisse the booke, and at euerie time make marks to the bond. Then perceiuing the time that he will depart, get awaie the people from you, and get or take your stone or glasse, or other thing in your hand, and saie the *Pater noster, Aue,* and *Credo,* and this praier as followeth. And in all the time of his departing, rehearse the bonds of words; and in the end of euerie bond, saie oftentimes; Remember thine oth and promise. And bind him stronglie to thée, and to thy stone, and suffer him not to depart, rea-

*Three times, in reuerence (peraduenture) of the Trinitie, P. F. S S.

ding thy bond 24. times. And euerie daie when you do call him by your other bond, bind him stronglie by the first bond: by the space of 24. daies applie it, & thou shalt be made a man for euer.

Now the Pater noster, Aue, and Credo must be said, and then the praier immediatlie following.

O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Iacob, God of Tobias; the which diddest deliuer the thrée children from the hot burning ouen, Sidrac, Misac, and Abdenago, and Susanna from the false crime; and Daniel from the lions power: euen so O Lord omnipotent, I beséech thée, for thy great mercie sake, to helpe me in these my works, and to deliuer me this spirit of N. that he may be a true subiect to me N. all the daies of my life, and to remaine with me, and with this N. all the daies of my life. O glorious God, Father, Sonne, and Holie-ghost, I beséech thée to help me at this time, and to giue me power by thine holie name, merits and vertues, wherby I may coniure & constreine this spirit of N. that he may be obedient vnto me, and may fulfill his oth and promise, at all times, by the power of all thine holines. This grant O Lord God of hosts, as thou art righteous and holy, and as thou art the word, and the word God, the beginning and the end, sitting in the thrones of thine euerlasting kingdoms, & in the diuinitie of thine euerlasting Godhead, to whom be all honour and glorie, now and for euer and euer, Amen, Amen.

A bond to bind him to thee, and to thy N. as followeth.

The xviij. Chapter.

I N. coniure and constreine the spirit of N. by the liuing God, by the true God, and by the holie God, and by their vertues and powers I coniure and constreine the spirit of thée N. that thou shalt not ascend nor descend out of thy bodie, to no place of rest, but onelie to take thy resting place with N. and with this N. all the daies of my life, according to thine oth and promise. I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. by these holie names of God ✠ *Tetragrammaton* ✠ *Adonay* ✠ *Agla* ✠ *Saday* ✠ *Sabaoth* ✠ *planabothe* ✠ *panthon* ✠ *craton* ✠ *neupmaton* ✠ *Deus* ✠ *homo* ✠ *omnipotens* ✠ *sempiternus* ✠ *ysus* ✠ *terra* ✠ *vnigenitus* ✠ *saluator* ✠ *via* ✠ *vita* ✠ *manus* ✠ *fons* ✠ *origo* ✠ *filius* ✠ and by their vertues and powers I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. that thou shalt not rest nor remaine in the fier, nor in the water, in the aier, nor in anie priuie place of the earth, but onelie with me N. and with this N. all the daies

Note the summe of this obligation or bond.

daies of my life. I charge the spirit of N. vpon paine of euerlasting condemnation, remember thine oth and promise. Also I coniure the spirit of N. and constreine thée by the excellent name of Iesus Christ, A and Ω, the first and the last; for this holie name of Iesus is aboue all names, for * vnto it all knées doo bow and obey, both of heauenlie things, earthlie things, and infernalles. Nor is there anie other name giuen to man, whereby we haue anie saluation, but by the name of Iesus. Therefore by the name, and in the name of Iesus of Nazareth, and by his natiuitie, resurrection and ascension, and by all that apperteineth to his passion, and by their vertues and powers, I doo coniure and constreine the spirit of N. that thou shalt not take anie resting place in the ☉ nor in the ☽ nor in ♄ nor in ♃ nor in ♂ nor in ♀ nor in ☿ nor in anie of the twelue signes, nor in the concauitie of the clouds, nor in anie other priuie place, to rest or staie in, but onelie with me N. or with this N. all the daies of my life. If thou be not obedient vnto me, according to thine oth and promise, I N. doo condemne the spirit of N. into the pit of hell for euer, Amen.

*Scripture as well applied of the coniuror, as that of satan in tempting Christ, Matth.4,6.

I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. by the bloud of the innocent lambe Iesus Christ, the which was shed vpon the crosse, for all those that doo obeie vnto it, and beléeue in it, shall be saued and by the vertue thereof, and by all the aforesaid riall names and words of the liuing God by mée pronounced, I doo coniure and constreine the spirit of N. that thou be obedient vnto me, according to thine oth and promise. If thou doo refuse to doo as is aforesaid, I N. by the holie trinitie, and by his vertue and power doo condemne the spirit of N. into the place whereas there is no hope of remedie, but euerlasting condemnation, and horror, and paine vpon paine, dailie, horriblie, & lamentablie the paines there to be augmented, so thicke as the stars in the firmament, and as the grauell sand in the sea: except thou spirit of N. obeie me N. as is afore rehearsed; else I N. doo condemne the spirit of N. into the pit of euerlasting condemnation; *Fiat, fiat,* Amen. Also I coniure thée, and constreine the spirit of N. by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim & seraphim, & by the foure euangelists, Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Iohn, and by all things conteined in the old lawe and the new, and by their vertues, and by the twelue apostles,

Note what sore penalties the spirit is inioined to suffer for disobedience.

stles, and by all patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, confessors, virgins, innocents, and by all the elect and chosen, is, and shall be, which followeth the lambe of God; and by their vertues and powers I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. stronglie, to haue common talke with me, at all times, and in all daies, nights, houres, and minuts, and to talke in my mother tong plainelie, that I may heare it, and vnderstand it, declaring the truth vnto me of all things, according to thine oth and promise; else to be condemned for euer; *Fiat, fiat,* Amen.

Also I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. by the * golden girdle, which girded the loines of our Lord Jesus Christ, so thou spirit of N. be thou bound, and cast into the pit of euerlasting condemnation, for thy great disobedience and vnreuerent regard that thou hast to the holie names and words of God almightie, by me pronounced: *Fiat,* Amen.

* There is no mention made in the gospels that Christ was woorth a golden girdle.

Also I coniure, constreine, command, and bind the spirit of N. by the two edged sword, which John saw procéed out of the mouth of God almightie: except thou be obedient as is aforesaid, the sword cut thée in péeces, and condemne thée into the pit of euerlasting paines, where the fier goeth not out, and where the worme dieth not; *Fiat, fiat, fiat,* Amen.

Bugs words

Also I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. by the throne of the Godhead, and by all the heauens vnder him, and by the celestiall citie new Ierusalem, and by the earth, by the sea, and by all things created and conteined therein, and by their vertues and powers, and by all the infernalles, and by their vertues and powers, and all things conteined therein, and by their vertues and powers, I coniure and constreine the spirit of N. that now immediatlie thou be obedient vnto me, at all times hereafter, and to those words of me pronounced, according to thine oth and promise: * else let the great cursse of God, the anger of God, the shadowe and darknesse of euerlasting condemnation be vpon thée thou spirit of N. for euer and euer, bicause thou hast denied thine health, thy faith, and saluation, for thy great disobedience thou art worthie to be condemned. Therefore let the diuine trinitie, angels, and archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestates, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and all the soules of the saints, that shall stand on the right hand of our Lord Jesus Christ,

*Is it possible to be greater than S. Adelberts cursse? *See in Habar, lib. 12. ca. 17. pag. 263, 264, 265.*

Christ, at the generall daie of iudgement, condemne the spirit of N. for euer and euer, and be a witnesse against thée, bicause of thy great disobedience, in and against thy promises, *Fiat, fiat,* Amen.

Being thus bound, he must néeds be obedient vnto thée, whether he will or no: proue this. And here followeth a bond to call him to your N. and to shew you true visions at all times, as in the houre of ♄ to bind or inchant anie thing, and in the houre of ♃ for peace and concord, in the houre of ♂ to marre, to destroie, and to make sicke, in the houre of the ☉ to bind toongs and other bonds of men, in the houre of ♀ to increase loue, ioy, and good will, in the houre of ☿ to put awaie enimitie or hatred, to know of theft, in the houre of the ☽ for loue, goodwill and concord, ♄ lead ♃ tinne ♂ iron ☉ gold ♀ coppar ☿ quicksiluer ☽ siluer, &c.

These planetarie houres must in anie case be obserued.

This bond as followeth, is to call him into your christall stone, or glasse, &c.

The xix. Chapter.

Also I doo coniure thee spirit N. by God the father, by God the sonne, and by God the holie-ghost, A and Ω, the first and the last, and by the latter daie of iudgement, of them which shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, and by their vertues and powers I constreine thée spirit N. to come to him that holdeth the christall stone in his hand, & to appeare visiblie, as hereafter foloweth. Also I coniure thée spirit N. by these holie names of God ✠ Tetragrammaton ✠ Adonay ✠ El ✠ Ousion ✠ Agla ✠ Iesus ✠ of Nazareth ✠ and by the vertues thereof, and by his natiuitie, death, buriall, resurrection, and ascension, and by all other things apperteining vnto his passion, and by the * blessed virgine Marie mother of our Lord Iesu Christ, and by all the ioy which shée had when shée saw hir sonne rise from death to life, and by the vertues and powers therof I constreine thée spirit N. to come into the christall stone, & to appeare visiblie, as herafter shalbe declared. Also I coniure thée N. thou spirit, by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim and seraphim, and by the ☉ ☽ ♄ ♃ ♂ ♀ ☿, and by the twelue signes, and by their vertues and powers,

*A popish supplement.

and by all things created and confirmed in the firmament, and by their vertues & powers I constreine thée spirit N. to appeare visiblie in that christall stone, in faire* forme and shape of a white angell, a gréene angell, a blacke angell, a man, a woman, a boie, a maiden virgine, a white grehound, a divell with great hornes, without anie hurt or danger of our bodies or soules, and trulie to informe and shew unto us, true visions of all things in that christall stone, according to thine oth and promise, and that without anie hinderance or tarrieng, to appeare visiblie, by this bond of words read over by mee thrée times, upon paine of everlasting condemnation; *Fiat, fiat,* Amen.

*Belike he had the gift to appeare in sundrie shapes, as it is said of *Proteus in Ouid lib. metamor.* 8. *fab.* 10: and of *Vertumnus*; *lib metamor.* 14. *fab.* 16.

Then being appeared, saie these words following.

I Coniure thée spirit, by God the father, that thou shew true visions in that christall stone, where there be anie N. in such a place or no, upon paine of everlasting condemnation, *Fiat,* Amen. Also I coniure thée spirit N. by God the sonne Jesus Christ, that thou doo shew true visions unto us, whether it be gold or silver, or anie other metals, or whether there were anie or no, upon paine of condemnation, *Fiat,* Amen. Also I coniure thée spirit N. by God the Holie-ghost, the which dooth sanctifie all faithfull soules and spirits, and by their vertues and powers I constreine thée spirit N. to speake, open, and to declare, the true waie, how we may come by these treasures hidden in N. and how to have it in our custodie, & who are the kéepers thereof, and how manie there be, and what be their names, and by whom it was laid there, and to shew me true visions of what sort and similitude they be, and how long they have kept it, and to knowe in what daies and houres we shall call such a spirit, N. to bring unto us these treasures, into such a place N. upon paine of everlasting condemnation ✠ Also I constreine thée spirit N. by all angels, archangels, thrones, dominations, principats, potestats, virtutes, cherubim & seraphim, that you doo shew a true vision in this christall stone, who did convcie or steale away such a N. and where it is, & who hath it, and how farre off, and what is his or hir name, and how and when to come unto it, upon paine of eternall condemnation, *Fiat,* Amen. Also I coniure thée spirit N. by the ☉ ☽ ♄ ♃ ♂ ♀ ☿ and by all the characters in the firmament, that thou doo shew unto me a true vision in this christall stone, where such N. and in what state he is, and how long he hath béene there, and what time he will be in such a place, what daie and houre: and this and all other things to declare plainelie, in paine of hell fier; *Fiat,* Amen.

Note that the spirit is tied to obedience vnder paine of condemnation and hell fier.

A licence to depart.

DEpart out of the sight of this christall stone in peace for a time, and readie to appeare therein againe at anie time or times I shall call thee, by the vertue of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the bonds of words which are written in this booke, and to appeere visiblie, as the words be rehersed. I constreine thee spirit N. by the divinitie of the Godhead, to be obedient unto these words rehearsed, upon paine of everlasting condemnation, both in this world, and in the world to come; *Fiat, fiat, fiat,* Amen.

When

When to talke with spirits, and to haue true answers to find out a theefe.

The xx. Chapter.

This is condemned for ranke follie by the doctors: as by *Chrysost. sup. Matth. Gregor. in homil. sup. Epiphan. Domini;* and others.

THe daies and houres of ♄ ♂ ☿ and the ☽ is best to do all crafts of necromancie, & for to speake with spirits, and for to find theft, and to haue true answer thereof, or of anie other such like. ¶ And in the daies and houres of ☉ ♃ ♀ is best to do all experiments of loue, and to purchase grace, and for to be inuisible, and to do anie operation, whatsoeuer it be, for anie thing, the ☽ being in a conuenient signe. ¶ As when thou laborest for theft, see the moone be in an earthie signe, as ♉ ♍ ♑, or of the aier, as ♊ ♎ ♒. ¶ And if it be for loue, fauor or grace, let the ☽ be in a signe of the fier, as ♈ ♌ ♐, and for hatred, in a signe of the water, as ♋ ♏ ♓. For anie other experiment, let the ☽ be in ♈. ¶ And if thou findest the ☉ & the ☽ in one signe that is called in euen number, then thou maiest write, consecrate, coniure, and make readie all maner of things that thou wilt do, &c.

To speake with spirits.

CAll these names, Orimoth, Belimoth, Lymocke, and say thus: I coniure you vp by the names of the angels Satur and Azimor, that you intend to me in this houre, and send vnto me a spirit called Sagrigrit, that hee do fulfill my commandement and desire, and that also can vnderstand my words for one or two yeares, or as long as I will, &c.

A confutation of coniuration, especiallie of the raising, binding and dismissing of the diuell, of going inuisible, and other lewd practises.

The xxj. Chapter.

All the former practises breeflie confuted.

THus farre haue we waded in shewing at large the vanitie of necromancers, coniurors, and such as pretend to haue reall conference and consultation with spirits and diuels: wherein (I trust) you see what notorious blasphemie is committed, besides other blind superstitious ceremonies, a disordered heap, which are so far from building vp the endeuors of these blacke art practitioners, that they do altogether ruinate & ouerthrow them, making them in their follies and falshods as bare and naked as an anatomie. As for these ridiculous coniurations, last rehearsed, being of no small reputation among the ignorant, they are for the most part made by T. R. (for so much of his name he bewraieth) and John Cokars,

Cokars, inuented and deuised for the augmentation and maintenance of their liuing, for the edifieng of the poore, and for the propagating and inlarging of Gods glorie, as in the beginning of their booke of coniurations they protest; which in this place, for the further manifestation of their impietie, and of the witchmongers follie and credulitie, I thought good to insert, whereby the residue of their procéedings may be iudged, or rather detected. For if we seriouslie behold the matter of coniuration, and the drift of coniurors, we shall find them, in mine opinion, more faultie than such as take vpon them to be witches, as manifest offenders against the maiestie of God, and his holie lawe, and as apparent violators of the lawes and quietnesse of this realme: although indéed they bring no such thing to passe, as is surmised and vrged by credulous persons, couseners, liers, and witchmongers. For these are alwaies learned, and rather abusers of others, than they themselues by others abused.

See the title of the booke, with the authors intent, in a marginall note, pag. 393.

But let vs sée what appearance of truth or possibilitie is wrapped within these mysteries, and let vs vnfold the deceipt. They haue made choice of certeine words, whereby they saie they can worke miracles, &c. And first of all, that they call diuels & soules out of hell (though we find in the scriptures manifest proofes that all passages are stopped concerning the egresse out of hell) so as they may go thither, but they shall neuer get out, for *Ab inferno nulla est redemptio*, out of hell there is no redemption. Well, when they haue gotten them vp, they shut them in a circle made with chalke, which is so stronglie beset and inuironed with crosses and names, that they cannot for their liues get out; which is a verie probable matter. Then can they bind them, and lose them at their pleasures, and make them that haue béene liers from the beginning, to tell the truth: yea, they can compell them to doo anie thing. And the diuels are forced to be obedient vnto them, and yet cannot be brought to due obedience vnto God their creator. This done (I saie) they can worke all maner of miracles (sauing blew miracles) and this is beléeued of manie to be true:

Luk. 16. &c.

An ironicall confutation.

Tam credula mens hominis, & arrectę fabulis aures,
So light of beleefe is the mind of man,
And attentiue to tales his eares now and than.

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

But if Christ (onelie for a time) left the power of working miracles

racles among his apostles and disciples for the confirmation of his gospell, and the faith of his elect: yet I denie altogether, that he left that power with these knaues, which hide their cousening purposes vnder those lewd and foolish words, according to that which Peter saith; With feined words they make merchandize of you. And therfore the counsell is good that Paule giueth vs, when he biddeth vs take heed that no man deceiue vs with vaine words. For it is the Lord only that worketh great wonders, and bringeth mightie things to passe. It is also written, that Gods word, and not the words of coniurors, or the charmes of witches, healeth all things, maketh tempests, and stilleth them.

2.Pet.2. Ephes.5. Psl.72,&78. Sap.16. Ecclus.43.

But put case the diuell could be fetched vp and fettered, and loosed againe at their pleasure, &c: I maruell yet, that anie can be so bewitched, as to be made to beleeue, that by vertue of their words, anie earthlie creature can be made inuisible. We thinke it a lie, to saie that white is blacke, and blacke white: but it is a more shamelesse assertion to affirme, that white is not, or blacke is not at all; and yet more impudencie to hold that a man is a horsse; but most apparent impudencie to saie, that a man is no man, or to be extenuated into such a quantitie, as therby he may be inuisible, and yet remaine in life and health, &c: and that in the cleare light of the daie, euen in the presence of them that are not blind. But surelie, he that cannot make one haire white or blacke, whereof (on the other side) not one falleth from the head without Gods speciall prouidence, can neuer bring to passe, that the visible creature of God shall become nothing, or lose the vertue and grace powred therinto by God the creator of all things.

To denie the subsistence or naturall being of a thing materiall and visible is impudécie.

If they saie that the diuell couereth them with a cloud or veile, as M. Mal. Bodin, & manie other doo affirme; yet (me thinkes) we should either see the couer, or the thing couered. And though perchance they saie in their harts; Tush, the Lord seeth not, who indeed hath blinded them, so as seeing, they see not: yet they shall neuer be able to persuade the wise, but that both God and man doth see both them and their knauerie in this behalfe. I haue heard of a foole, who was made beleeue that he should go inuisible, and naked; while he was well whipped by them, who (as he thought) could not see him. Into which fooles paradise they saie* he was brought, that enterprised to kill the prince of Orenge.

Ezec.8.&9. Isai.6,& 26. and 30.

*Iohn Iauregui seruant to Gasper Anastro both Spaniards. Ann. Dom. 1582. March 18. after dinner vpon a sundaie this mischeefe was doone. Read the whole discourse hereof printed at London for Tho: Chard and Will: Brome bookesellers.

A

A comparison betweene popish exorcists and other coniurors, a popish coniuration published by a great doctor of the Romish church, his rules and cautions.

The xxij. Chapter.

I See no difference betwéene these and popish coniurations; for they agrée in order, words, and matter, differing in no circumstance, but that the papists doo it without shame openlie, the other doo it in hugger mugger secretlie. The papists (I saie) haue officers in this behalfe, which are called exorcists or coniurors, and they looke narrowlie to other cousenors, as hauing gotten the vpper hand ouer them. And bicause the papists shall be without excuse in this behalfe, and that the world may sée their cousenage, impietie, and follie to be as great as the others, I will cite one coniuration (of which sort I might cite a hundred) published by Iacobus de Chusa, a great doctor of the Romish church, which serueth to find out the cause of noise and spirituall rumbling in houses, churches, or chappels, and to coniure walking spirits: which euermore is knauerie and cousenage in the highest degrée. Marke the cousening deuise hereof, and conferre the impietie with the others.

Iac. de Chusa in lib. de apparitionib. quorundam spirituum.

First (forsooth) he saith it is expedient to fast thrée daies, and to celebrate a certeine number of masses, and to repeate the seuen psalmes penitentiall: then foure or fiue préests must be called to the place where the haunt or noise is, then a candle hallowed on candlemas daie must be lighted, and in the lighting thereof also must the seuen psalmes be said, and the gospell of S. Iohn. Then there must be a crosse and a censer with frankincense, and therewithall the place must be censed or perfumed, holie water must be sprinkled, and a holie stoale must be vsed, and (after diuerse other ceremonies) a praier to God must be made, in maner and forme following:

Obseruations for the exorcising preest.

O Lord Iesus Christ, the knower of all secrets, which alwaies reuea-

reuealest all hoalsome and profitable things to thy faithfull children, and which sufferest a spirit to shew himselfe in this place, we beséech thée for thy bitter passion, &c: vouchsafe to command this spirit, to reueale and signifie vnto vs thy seruants, without our terror or hurt, what he is, to thine honour, and to his comfort; *In nomine patris, &c.* And then procéed in these words: We beséech thée, for Christs sake, O thou spirit, that if there be anie of vs, or among vs, whom thou wouldest answer, name him, or else manifest him by some signe. Is it frier P. or doctor D. or doctor Burc. or sir Feats, or sir Iohn, or sir Robert: *Et sic de cæteris circunstantibus.* For it is well tried (saith the glosse) he will not answer euerie one. If the spirit make anie sound of voice, or knocking, at the naming of anie one, he is the cousener (the coniuror I would saie) that must haue the charge of this coniuration or examination. And these forsooth must be the interrogatories, to wit: Whose soule art thou? Wherefore camest thou? What wouldest thou haue? Wantest thou anie suffrages, masses, or almes? How manie masses will serue thy turne, thrée, sir, ten, twentie, thirtie, &c? By what préest? Must he be religious or secular? Wilt thou haue anie fasts? What? How manie? How great? And by what persons? Among hospitalles? Lepres? Or beggers? What shall be the signe of thy perfect deliuerance? Wherefore liest thou in purgatorie? And such like. This must be doone in the night.

Memorandum that he must be the veriest knaue or foole in all the companie.

If there appeare no signe at this houre, it must be deferred vntill another houre. Holie water must be left in the place. There is no feare (they saie) that such a spirit will hurt the coniuror: for he can sinne no more, as being in the meane state betwéene good and euill, and as yet in the state of satisfaction. * If the spirit doo hurt, then it is a damned soule, and not an elect. Euerie man may not be present hereat, speciallie such as be weake of complexion. They appeare in diuerse maners, not alwaies in bodie, or bodilie shape (as it is read in the life of S. Martine, that the diuell did) but sometimes inuisible, as onelie by sound, voice, or noise. Thus farre Iacobus de Chusa.

These spirits are not so cunning by daie as by night.

*For so they might be bewraied.

For so the cousenage may be best handled.

But bicause you shall sée that these be not emptie words, nor slanders; but that in truth such things are commonlie put in practise in the Romish church, I will here set downe an instance,

latelie

latelie and truelie, though lewdlie performed: and the same in effect as followeth.

A late experiment, or cousening coniuration practised at Orleance by the Franciscane Friers, how it was detected, and the iudgement against the authors of that comedie.

The xxiij. Chapter.

IN the yeare of our Lord 1534. at Orleance in France, the Maiors wife died, willing and desiring to be buried without anie pompe or noise, &c. Hir husband, who reuerenced the memoriall of hir, did euen as she had willed him. And bicause she was buried in the church of the * Franciscans, besides hir father and grandfather, and gaue them in reward onelie six crownes, whereas they hoped for a greater preie; shortlie after it chanced, that as he felled certeine woods and sold them, they desired him to giue them some part thereof freelie without monie: which he flatlie denied. This they tooke verie greeuouslie. And whereas before they misliked him, now they conceiued such displeasure as they deuised this meanes to be reuenged; to wit, that his wife was damned for euer. The cheefe workemen and framers of this tragedie were Colimannus, and Stephanus Aterbatensis, both doctors of diuinitie; this Coliman. was a great coniuror, & had all his implements in a readines, which he was wont to use in such busines. And thus they handled the matter. They place ouer the arches of the church, a yoong nouice; who about midnight, when they came to mumble their praiers, as they were wont to do, maketh a great rumbling, and noise. Out of hand the monks beganne to coniure and to charme, but he answered nothing. Then being required to giue a signe, whether he were a dumme spirit or no, he beganne to rumble againe: which thing they tooke as a certeine signe. Hauing laid this foundation, they go unto certeine citizens, cheefe men, and such as fauoured them, declaring

A cousening coniuration.

*Of this order read noble stuffe in a booke printed at *Frankeford* vnder the title of *Alcoran. Franciscanorum.*

Note how the Franciscans cannot coniure without a confederate.

ring that a heauie chance had happened at home in their monasterie; not shewing what the matter was, but desiring them to come to their mattens at midnight. When these citizens were come, and that praiers were begunne, the counterfet spirit beginneth to make a maruellous noise in the top of the church. And being asked what he meant, and who he was, gaue signes that it was not lawfull for him to speake. Therefore they commanded him to make answer by tokens and signes to certeine things they would demand of him. Now was there a hole made in the vawt, through the which he might heare and understand the voice of the coniuror. And then had he in his hand a litle bord, which at euerie question, he strake, in such sort as he might easilie be heard beneath. First they asked him, whether he were one of them that had béene buried in the same place. Afterwards they reckoning manie by name, which had béene buried there; at the last also they name the Maiors wife: and there by and by the spirit gaue a signe that he was hir soule. He was further asked, whether he were damned or no; and if he were, for what cause, for what desert, or fault; whether for couetousnes, or wanton lust, for pride or want of charitie; or whether it were for heresie, or for the sect of Luther newlie sprong up: also what he meant by that noise and stirre he kept there; whether it were to haue the bodie now buried in holie ground to be digged up againe, and laid in some other place. To all which points he answered by signes, as he was commanded, by the which he affirmed or denied anie thing, according as he strake the bord twise or thrise together. And when he had thus giuen them to understand, that * the verie cause of his damnation was Luthers heresie, and that the bodie must néeds be digged up againe: the monks requested the citizens, whose presence they had used or rather abused, that they would beare witnesse of those things which they had séene with their eies; and that they would subscribe to such things as were doone a few daies before. The citizens taking good aduise on the matter, least they should offend the Maior, or bring themselues in trouble, refused so to doo. But the monks notwithstanding take from thence the swéete bread, which they called the host and bodie of our Lord, with all the relikes of saints, and carrie them to another place, and there saie their masse. The bishops substi-

O notorius impudencie! with such shamelesse faces to abuse so worshipfull a companie.

* The confederate spirit was taught that lesson before.

tute

tute iudge (whome they called Officiall) understanding that matter, commeth thither, accompanied with certeine honest men, to the intent he might knowe the whole circumstance more exactlie: and therefore he commandeth them to make coniuration in his presence; and also he requireth certeine to be chosen to go up into the top of the vawt, and there to sée whether any ghost appéered or not. Stephanus Aterbatensis stiffelie denied that to be lawfull, and maruelloustie persuading the contrarie, affirmed that the spirit in no wise ought to be troubled. And albeit the Officiall urged them verie much, that there might be some coniuring of the spirit; yet could he nothing preuaile.

For so might the confederate be found.

Whilest these things were doing, the Maior, when he had shewed the other Iustices of the citie, what he would haue them to doo, tooke his iournie to the king, and opened the whole matter unto him. And bicause the moonks refused iudgement upon plea of their owne lawes and liberties, the king choosing out certeine of the aldermen of Paris, giueth them absolute and full authoritie to make inquirie of the matter. The like dooth the Chancelor maister Anthonius Pratensis cardinall and legat for the pope throughout France. Therefore, when they had no exception to alledge, they were conueied unto Paris, and there constrained to make their answer. But yet could nothing be wrong out of them by confession, whereupon they were put apart into diuers prisons: the nouice being kept in the house of maister Fumanus, one of the aldermen, was oftentimes examined, and earnestlie requested to utter the truth, but would notwithstanding confesse nothing; bicause he feared that the moonks would afterwards put him to death for staining their order, and putting it to open shame. But when the iudges had made him sure promise that he should escape punishment, and that he should neuer come into their handling, he opened unto them the whole matter as it was doone: and being brought before his fellowes, auouched the same to their faces. The moonks, albeit they were conuicted, and by these meanes almost taken tarde with the déed dooing; yet did they refuse the iudges, bragging and vaunting themselues on their priuiledges, but all in vaine. For sentence passed upon them, and they were condemned to be carried backe againe to Orleance, and there to be cast in prison, and so should finallie be

An obstinate and wilfull persisting in the denieng or not confessing of a fault committed.

brought foorth into the chéefe church of the citie openlie, and from thence to the place of execution, where they should make open confession of their trespasses.

Surelie this was most common among moonks and friers, who mainteined their religion, their lust, their liberties, their pompe, their wealth, their estimation and knauerie by such cousening practises. Now I will shew you more speciall orders of popish coniurations, that are so shamelesslie admitted into the church of Rome, that they are not onelie suffered, but commanded to be vsed, not by night secretlie, but by daie impudentlie. And these forsooth concerne the curing of bewitched persons, and such as are possessed; to wit, such as haue a diuell put into them by witches inchantments. And herewithall I will set downe certeine rules deliuered vnto vs by such popish doctors, as are of greatest reputation.

A parecuasis or transition of the author to matter further purposed.

Who may be coniurors in the Romish church besides priests, a ridiculous definition of superstition, what words are to be vsed and not vsed in exorcismes, rebaptisme allowed, it is lawfull to coniure any thing, differences betweene holie water and coniuration.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

In 4. dist. 23. sent.

THomas Aquinas saith, that anie bodie, though he be of an inferior or superior order, yea though of none order at all (and as Gulielmus Durandus glossator Raimundi affirmeth, a woman so she blesse not the girdle or the garment, but the person of the bewitched) hath power to exercise the order of an exorcist or coniuror, euen as well as any préest may saie masse in a house vnconsecrated. But that is (saith M. Mal.) rather through the goodnesse and licence of the pope, than through the grace of the sacrament. Naie, there are examples set downe, where some being bewitched were cured (as M. Mal. taketh it) without any coniuration at all. Marrie there were certeine *Pater nosters, Aues,* and *Credos* said,

said, and crosses made, but they are charmes, they saie, and no coniurations. For they saie that such charmes are lawfull, bicause there is no superstition in them, &c.

And it is worth my labour, to shew you how papists define superstition, and how they expound the definition thereof. Superstition (saie they) is a religion obserued beyond measure, a religion practised with euill and vnperfect circumstances. Also, whatsoeuer vsurpeth the name of religion, through humane tradition, without the popes authoritie, is superstitious: as to adde or ioine anie hymnes to the masse, to interrupt anie diriges, to to abridge anie part of the créed in the singing thereof, or to sing when the organs go, and not when the quier singeth, not to haue one to helpe the priest to masse: and such like, &c. *Et glos. super illo ad coll.2.*

These popish exorcists doo manie times forget their owne rules. For they should not directlie in their coniurations call vpon the diuell (as they doo) with intreatie, but with authoritie and commandement. Neither should they haue in their charmes and coniurations anie vnknowne names. Neither should there be (as alwaies there is) anie falshood conteined in the matter of the charme of coniuration, as (saie they) old women haue in theirs, when they saie; The blessed virgine passed ouer Iordan, and then S. Steuen met hir, and asked hir, &c. Neither should they haue anie other vaine characters, but the crosse (for those are the words:) and manie other such cautions haue they, which they obserue not, for they haue made it lawfull elsewhere. *Mendaces debent esse memores, multò magis astuti exorcistæ.*

But Thomas their chéefe piller prooueth their coniuring and charmes lawfull by S. Marke, who saith; *Signa eos qui crediderunt;* And, *In nomine meo dæmonia eijcient, &c:* whereby he also prooueth that they maie coniure serpents. And there he taketh paines to prooue, that the words of God are of as great holinesse as relikes of saints, whereas (in such respect as they meane) they are both alike, and indéed nothing worth. And I can tell them further, that so they maie be carried, as either of them maie doo a man much harme either in bodie or soule. *Tho. Aquin. super. Marc. vltim.* Mark, 16, 17

But they prooue this by S. Augustine, saieng; *Non est minus verbum Dei, quàm corpus Christi:* wherevpon they conclude thus; By all mens opinions it is lawfull to carrie about reuerentlie the relikes of saints; *Ergo* it is lawfull against euill spirits, to inuocate A trimme consequent

 uocate

nocate the name of God euerie waie; by the *Pater noster*, the *Aue*, the natiuitie, the passion, the fiue wounds, the title triumphant, by the seuen words spoken on the crosse, by the nailes, &c: and there maie be hope reposed in them. Yea, they saie it is lawfull to coniure all things, bicause the diuell maie haue power in all things. And first, alwaies the person or thing, wherein the diuell is, must be exorcised, and then the diuell must be coniured. Also they affirme, that it is as expedient to consecrate and coniure porrage and meate, as water and salt, or such like things.

Mal.malef. par.2.quæ.2.

The right order of exorcisme in rebaptisme of a person possessed or bewitched, requireth that exsufflation and abrenunciation be donne toward the west. Item, there must be erection of hands, confession, profession, oration, benediction, imposition of hands, denudation and vnction, with holie oile after baptisme, communion, and induition of the surplis. But they saie that this néedeth not, where the bewitched is exorcised: but that the bewitched be first confessed, and then to hold a candle in his hand, and in stéed of a surplise to tie about his bare bodie a holie candle of the length of Christ, or of the crosse wherevpon he died, which for monie maie be had at Rome. *Ergo* (saith M. Mal.) this maie be said; I coniure thée Peter or Barbara being sicke, but regenerate in the holie water of baptisme, by the liuing God, by the true God, by the holie God, by the God which redéemed thée with his pretious bloud, that thou maiest be made a coniured man, that euerie fantasie and wickednesse of diabolicall deceipt do auoid and depart from thée, and that euerie vncleane spirit be coniured through him that shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead, and the world by fier, Amen: *Oremus*, &c. And this coniuration, with *Oremus*, and a praier, must be thrise repeated, and at the end alwaies must be said; *Ergo maledicte diabole recognosce sententiam tuam, &c* And this order must alwaies be followed. And finallie, there must be diligent search made, in euerie corner, and vnder euerie couerlet and pallet, and vnder euerie threshold of the doores, for instruments of witchcraft. And if anie be found, they must streightwaie be throwne into the fier. Also they must change all their bedding, their clothing, and their habitation. And if nothing be found, the partie that is to be exorcised or coniured, must come to the church rath in the morning: and the holier the daie is, the better,

Rites, ceremonies, and relikes of exorcisme in rebaptising of the possessed or bewitched.

Memorandum that this is for one bewitched.

better, speciallie our Ladie daie. And the préest, if he be shriuen himselfe and in perfect state, shall doo the better therein. And let him that is exorcised hold a holie candle in his hand, &c. Alwaies prouided, that the holie water be throwne vpon him, and a stoale put about his necke, with *Deus in adiutorium*, and the Letanie, with inuocation of saints. And this order maie continue thrise a wéeke, so as (saie they) through multiplication of intercessors, or rather intercessions, grace maie be obteined, and fauor procured. Note the prouiso.

There is also some question in the Romish church, whether the sacrament of the altar is to be receiued before or after the exorcisme. Item in shrift, the confessor must learne whether the partie be not excommunicate, and so for want of absolution, endure this vexation. Thomas sheweth the difference betwixt holie water and coniuration, saieng that holie water driueth the diuell awaie from the externall and outward parts; but coniurations from the internall and inward parts; and therefore vnto the bewitched partie both are to be applied. *Tho. Aquin. supr. dist. 6.*

The seuen reasons why some are not rid of the diuell with all their popish coniurations, why there were no coniurors in the primitiue church, and why the diuell is not so soone cast out of the bewitched as of the possessed.

The xxv. Chapter.

THe reason why some are not remedied for all their coniurations, the papists saie is for seuen causes. First, for that 1
the faith of the standers by is naught; secondlie, for that theirs that present the 2
partie is no better; thirdlie, bicause of the 3
sinnes of the bewitched; fourthlie, for the 4
neglecting of méete remedies; fiftlie, for 5
the reuerence of vertues going out into others; sixtlie, for the 6
purgation; seuenthlie, for the merit of the partie bewitched. And 7
lo, the first foure are proued by Matthew the 7. and Marke the 4.

Proper proofes of the former seuen reasons.

when one presented his sonne, and the multitude wanted faith, & the father said, Lord helpe mine incredulitie or vnbeleefe. Wherupon was said, Oh faithlesse and peruerse generation, how long shall I be with you? And where these words are written; And Jesus rebuked him, &c. That is to saie, saie they, the possessed or bewitched for his sinnes. For by the neglect of due remedies it appeereth, that there were not with Christ good and perfect men: for the pillers of the faith; to wit, Peter, James, and John were absent. Neither was there fasting and praier, without the which that kind of diuels could not be cast out. For the fourth point; to wit, the fault of the exorcist in faith maie appeare; for that afterwards the disciples asked the cause of their impotencie therin. And Jesus answered, it was for their incredulitie; saieng that if they had as much faith as a graine of mustard seed, they should moue mountaines, &c. The fift is prooued by *Vitas patrum*, the liues of the fathers, where it appeereth that S. Anthonie could not doo that cure, when his scholar Paule could doo it, and did it. For the proofe of the sixt excuse it is said, that though the fault be taken awaie therby; yet it followeth not that alwaies the punishment is released. Last of all it is said, that it is possible that the diuell was not coniured out of the partie before baptisme by the exorcist, or the midwife hath not baptised him well, but omitted some part of the sacrament. If any obiect that there were no exorcists in the primitiue church, it is answered, that the church cannot now erre. And saint Gregorie would neuer haue instituted it in vaine. And it is a generall rule, that who or whatsoeuer is newlie exorcised, must be rebaptised: as also such as walke or talke in their sleepe; for (saie they) call them by their names, and presentlie they wake, or fall if they clime: whereby it is gathered, that they are not trulie named in baptisme. Item they saie, it is somewhat more difficult to coniure the diuell out of one bewitched, than out of one possessed: bicause in the bewitched, he is double; in the other single.

Why there were no couiurors in ẏ primitiue church with other subtill points.

They haue a hundred such beggerlie, foolish, and friuolous notes in this behalfe.

Other

Other grosse absurdities of witchmongers in this matter of coniurations.

The xxvj. Chapter.

SUrelie I cannot see what difference or distinction the witchmongers doo put betweene the knowledge and power of God and the diuell; but that they think, if they praie, or rather talke to God, till their hearts ake, he neuer heareth them; but that the diuell dooth knowe euerie thought and imagination of their minds, and both can and also will doo any thing for them. For if anie that meaneth good faith with the diuell read certeine coniurations, he commeth vp (they saie) at a trice. Marrie if another that hath none intent to raise him, read or pronounce the words, he will not stirre. And yet I. Bodin confesseth, that he is afraid to read such coniurations, as Iohn Wierus reciteth; least (belike) the diuell would come vp, and scratch him with his fowle long nailes. In which sort I woonder that the diuell dealeth with none other, than witches and coniurors. I for my part haue read a number of their coniurations, but neuer could see anie diuels of theirs, except it were in a plaie. But the diuell (belike) knoweth my mind; to wit, that I would be loth to come within the compasse of his clawes. But lo what reason such people haue. Bodin, Bartholomeus Spineus, Sprenger, and Institor, &c: doo constantlie affirme, that witches are to be punished with more extremitie than coniurors; and sometimes with death, when the other are to be pardoned dooing the same offense: bicause (say they) the witches make a league with the diuell, & so doo not coniurors. Now if coniurors make no league by their owne confession, and diuels indeed know not our cogitations (as I haue sufficientlie prooued) then would I weet of our witchmongers the reason, (if I read the coniuration and performe the ceremonie) why the diuell will not come at my call? But oh absurd credulitie! Euen in this point manie wise & learned men haue beene & are abused: whereas

A coniuror then belike must not be timerous or fearefull.

Where a witch cureth by incantation, and the coniuror by coniuration.

wheras, if they would make experience, or dulie expend the cause, they might be sone resolued; specially when the whole art and circumstance is so contrarie to Gods word, as it must be false, if the other be true. So as you may vnderstand, that the papists do not onlie by their doctrine, in bookes & sermons teach & publish coniurations, & the order thereof, whereby they may induce men to bestowe, or rather cast awaie their monie vpon masses and suffrages for their soules; but they make it also a parcell of their sacrament of orders (of the which number a coniuror is one) and insert manie formes of coniurations into their diuine seruice, and not onelie into their pontificals, but into their masse bookes; yea into the verie canon of the masse.

Certaine coniurations taken out of the pontificall and out of the missall.

The xxvij. Chapter.

But see yet a little more of popish coniurations, and conferre them with the other. In the * pontificall you shall find this coniuration, which the other coniurors vse as solemnelie as they: I coniure thee thou creature of water in the name of the fa✠ther, of the so✠nne, and of the Holie ✠ ghost, that thou driue awaie the diuell from the bounds of the iust, that he remaine not in the darke corners of this church and altar. ✠ You shall find in the same title, these words following, to be vsed at the hallowing of churches. There must a crosse of ashes be made vpon the pauement, from one end of the church to the other, one handfull broad: and one of the priests must write on the one side thereof the Greeke alphabet, and on the otherside the Latin alphabet. Durandus yeeldeth this reason thereof; to wit, It representeth the vnion in faith of the Jewes and Gentiles. And yet well agreeing to himselfe he saith euen there, that the crosse reaching from the one end to the other, signifieth that the people, which were in the head, shalbe made the taile.

Tit. de ecclesię dedicatione.

Ibidem, fol. 108.

Durand. de ecclesiæ dedicatione lib. 1. fol. 12.

¶ A

¶ A coniuration written in the masse booke. Fol. 1.

I Coniure thée O creature of salt by God, by the God ✠ that liueth, by the true ✠ God, by the holie ✠ God, which by Elizæus the prophet commanded, that thou shouldest be throwne into the water, that it thereby might be made whole and sound, that thou salt [here let the préest looke vpon the salt] maist be coniured for the health of all beléeuers, and that thou be to all that take thée, health both of bodie and soule; and let all phantasies and wickednesse, or diabolicall craft or deceipt, depart from the place whereon it is sprinkled; as also euerie vncleane spirit, being coniured by him that iudgeth both the quicke and the dead by fier. Resp: Amen. Then followeth a praier to be said, without *Dominus vobiscum*; but yet with *Oremus*; as followeth:

In Missali. fol. 1.

The maner of coniuring salt.

¶ Oremus.

ALmightie and euerlasting God, we humblie desire thy clemency [here let the préest looke vpon the salt] that thou wouldest vouchsafe, through thy pietie, to bl✠esse and sanc✠tifie this creature of salt, which thou hast giuen for the vse of mankind, that it may be to all that receiue it, health of mind and bodie; so as whatsoeuer shall be touched thereby, or sprinkled therewith, may be void of all vncleannesse, and all resistance of spirituall iniquitie, through our Lord, Amen.

A praier to be applied to the former exorcisme.

What can be made but a coniuration of these words also, which are written in the canon, or rather in the saccaring of masse? This holie commixtion of the bodie and bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, let it be made to me, and to all the receiuers thereof, health of mind and bodie, and a wholesome preparatiue for the deseruing and receiuing of euerlasting life, through our Lord Iesus, Amen.

That

That popish priests leaue nothing vnconiured, a forme of exorcisme for incense.

The xxviij. Chapter.

A conjuration of frankincense set foorth in forme.

ALthough the papists haue manie coniurations, so as neither water, nor fier, nor bread, nor wine, nor wax, nor tallowe, nor church, nor churchyard, nor altar, nor altar cloath, nor ashes, nor coles, nor belles, nor bell ropes, nor copes, nor vestments, nor oile, nor salt, nor candle, nor candlesticke, nor beds, nor bedstaues, &c; are without their forme of coniuration: yet I will for breuitie let all passe, and end here with incense, which they doo coniure in this sort ✠. I coniure thée most filthy and horrible spirit, and euerie vision of our enimie, &c: that thou go and depart from out of this creature of frankincense, with all thy deceipt and wickednes, that this creature may be sanctified, and in the name of our Lord ✠ Jesus ✠ Christ ✠ that all they that taste, touch, or smell the same, may receiue the virtue and assistance of the Holie-ghost; so as wheresoeuer this incense or frankincense shall remaine, that there thou in no wise be so bold as to approch or once presume or attempt to hurt: but what vncleane spirit so euer thou be, that thou with all thy craft and subtiltie auoid and depart, being coniured by the name of God the father almightie, &c. And that wheresoeuer the fume or smoke thereof shall come, euerie kind and sort of diuels may be driuen awaie, and expelled; as they were at the increase of the liuer of fish, which the archangell Raphaell made, &c.

The rules and lawes of popish Exorcists and other coniurors all one, with a confutation of their whole power, how S. Martine coniured the diuell.

The xxix. Chapter.

THe papists you see, haue their certeine generall rules and lawes, as to absteine from sinne, and to fast, as also otherwise to be cleane from all pollusions, &c: and euen so likewise haue the other coniurors. Some will saie that papists vse diuine seruice, and praiers; euen so doo common coniurors (as you see) euen in the same papisticall forme, no whit swaruing from theirs in faith and doctrine, nor yet in vngodlie and vnreasonable kinds of petitions. Me thinks it may be a sufficient argument, to ouerthrow the calling vp and miraculous works of spirits, that it is written; God onelie knoweth and searcheth the harts, and onelie worketh great wonders. The which argument being prosecuted to the end, can neuer be answered: insomuch as that diuine power is required in that action.

Papists and coniurors cousening compeers.

1.Sam.16,7. 1.Reg.8,39. Iere.17,10. Psal.44, 21. Psal.72, 18.

And if it be said, that in this coniuration we speake to the spirits, and they heare vs, & therefore need not know our thoughts and imaginations: I first aske them whether king Baell, or Amoimon, which are spirits reigning in the furthest regions of the east (as they saie) may heare a coniurors voice, which calleth for them, being in the extreamest parts of the west, there being such noises interposed, where perhaps also they may be busie, and set to worke on the like affaires. Secondlie, whether those spirits be of the same power that God is, who is euerie where, filling all places, and able to heare all men at one instant, &c. Thirdlie, whence commeth the force of such words as raise the dead, and command diuels. If sound doo it, then may it be doone by a taber and a pipe, or any other instrument that hath no life. If the voice doo it, then may it be doone by any beasts or birds. If words, then a parret may doo it. If in mans words onlie, where is the

force, in the first, second, or third syllable? If in syllables, then not in words. If in imaginations, then the diuell knoweth our thoughts. But all this stuffe is vaine and fabulous.

Sap.1.14. Ecclesi.9. Gen.1. It is written; All the generations of the earth were healthfull, and there is no poison of destruction in them. Why then doo they coniure holsome creatures; as salt, water, &c: where no diuels are? God looked vpon all his works, and sawe they were all good. Act.19. What effect (I praie you) had the 7.sonnes of Sceua; which is the great obiection of witchmongers? They would néeds take vpon them to coniure diuels out of the possessed. But what brought they to passe? Yet that was in the time, whilest God suffered miracles commonlie to be wrought. By that you may sée what coniurors can doo.

Where is such a promise to coniurors or witches, as is made in Mark.16.17. the Gospell to the faithfull? where it is written; In my name they shall cast out diuels, speake with new toongs: if they shall drinke any deadlie thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall take awaie serpents, they shall laie hands on the sicke, and they shall recouer. According to the promise, this grant of miraculous working was performed in the primitiue church, for the confirmation of Christs doctrine, and the establishing of the Gospell.

But as in another place I haue prooued, the gift thereof was but for a time, and is now ceased; neither was it euer made to papist, witch, or coniuror. They take vpon them to call vp and cast out diuels; and to vndoo with one diuell, that which another diuell hath doone. If one diuell could cast out another, it were a kingdome diuided, and could not stand. Which argument Christ himselfe maketh: and therfore I maie the more boldlie saie euen [a]Isai.43.11. with Christ, that they haue no such power. For [a] besides him, [b]verse. 13. there is no sauiour, [b] none can deliuer out of his hand. Who but cap. 44. verse. 7. hée can declare, set in order, appoint, and tell what is to come? He verse. 25. destroieth the tokens of soothsaiers, and maketh the coniecturers fooles, &c. He declareth things to come, and so cannot witches.

Isai.46.10. There is no helpe in inchanters and soothsaiers, and other such cap.47.vers. vaine sciences. For diuels are cast out by the finger of God, 12.13,&c. which Matthew calleth the spirit of God, which is the mightie Luke.11.20. power of God, and not by the vertue of the bare name onelie, be- Matt.12.28. ing spoken or pronounced; for then might euerie wicked man Acts,8.19.

doo it. And Simon Magus néeded not then to haue proffered monie to haue bought the power to doo miracles and wonders: for he could speake and pronounce the name of God, as well as the apostles. Indéed they maie sone throwe out all the diuels that are in frankincense, and such like creatures, wherein no diuels are: but neither they, nor all their holie water can indéed cure a man possessed with a diuell, either in bodie or mind; as Christ did. Naie, why doo they not cast out the diuell that possesseth their owne soules?

Let me heare anie of them all speake with new tongs, let them drinke but one dramme of a potion which I will prepare for them, let them cure the sicke by laieng on of hands (though witches take it vpon them, and witchmongers beléeue it) and then I will subscribe vnto them. But if they, which repose such certeintie in the actions of witches and coniurors, would diligentlie note their deceipt, and how the scope whereat they shoote is monie (I meane not such witches as are falselie accused, but such as take vpon them to giue answers, &c: as mother Bungie did) they should apparentlie sée the cousenage. For they are abused, as are manie beholders of iugglers, which suppose they doo miraculouslie, that which is doone by slight and subtiltie.

Monie is the marke whereat al witches & coniurors doo aime.

But in this matter of witchcrafts and coniurations, if men would rather trust their owne eies, than old wiues tales and lies, I dare vndertake this matter would sone be at a perfect point; as being easier to be perceiued than iuggling. But I must néeds confesse, that it is no great maruell, though the simple be abused therein, when such lies concerning those matters are mainteined by such persons of account, and thrust into their diuine seruice. As for example: It is written that S. Martine thrust his fingers into ones mouth that had a diuell within him, and vsed to bite folke; and then did bid him deuoure them if he could. And bicause the diuell could not get out at his mouth, being stopt with S. Martins fingers, he was faine to run out at his fundament. O stinking lie!

S. Martins cõiuration: *In die sancti Martini. lect.* 1.

Ll.j. That

That it is a shame for papists to beleeue other coniurors dooings, their owne being of so litle force, Hipocrates his opinion herein.

The xxx. Chapter.

AND still me thinks papists (of all others) which indéed are most credulous, and doo most mainteine the force of witches charmes, and of coniurors cousenages, should perceiue and iudge coniurors dooings to be void of effect. For when they sée their owne stuffe, as holie water, salt, candles, &c: coniured by their holie bishop and préests; & that in the words of consecration or coniuration (for so * their owne doctors terme them) they adiure the water, &c: to heale, not onelie the soules infirmitie, but also euerie maladie, hurt, or ach of the bodie; and doo also command the candles, with the force of all their authoritie and power, and by the effect of all their holie words, not to consume: and yet neither soule nor bodie anie thing recouer, nor the candles last one minute the longer: with what face can they defend the others miraculous workes; as though the witches and coniurors actions were more effectuall than their owne? Hippocrates being but a heathen, and not hauing the perfect knowledge of God, could sée and perceiue their cousenage and knauerie well enough, who saith; They which boast so, that they can remooue or helpe the infections of diseases, with sacrifices, coniurations, or other magicall instruments or meanes, are but néedie fellowes, wanting liuing; and therefore referre their words to the diuell: bicause they would séeme to know somewhat more than the common people. It is maruell that papists doo affirme, that their holie water, crosses, or bugges words haue such vertue and violence, as to driue awaie diuels: so as they dare not approch to anie place or person besméered with such stuffe; when as it appeareth in the gospell, that the diuell presumed to assault and tempt Christ himselfe. For the diuell indéed most ernestlie busieth himselfe

* To wit, *Vincent. dominica in albis: in octa. pasch. sermone. 15. Durand. de exorcist.*

selfe to seduce the godlie: as for the wicked, he maketh reckoning and iust accompt of them, as of his owne alreadie. But let vs go forward in our refutation.

How coniurors haue beguiled witches, what bookes they carie about to procure credit to their art, wicked assertions against Moses and Ioseph.

The xxxj. Chapter.

Thus you see that coniurors are no small fooles. For whereas witches being poore and needie, go from doore to doore for releefe, haue they neuer so manie todes or cats at home, or neuer so much hogs doong and charuill about them, or neuer so manie charmes in store: these coniurors (I saie) haue gotten them offices in the church of Rome, wherby they haue obteined authoritie & great estimation. And further, to adde credit to that art, these coniurors carrie about at this daie, bookes intituled vnder the names of Adam, Abel, Tobie, & Enoch; which Enoch they repute the most diuine fellow in such matters. They haue also among them bookes that they saie Abraham, Aaron and Salomon made. Item they haue bookes of Zacharie, Paule, Honorius, Cyprian, Ierome, Ieremie, Albert, and Thomas: also of the angels, Riziel, Razael, and Raphael; and these doubtlesse were such bookes as were said to haue beene burnt in the lesser Asia. And for their further credit they boast, that they must be and are skilfull and learned in these arts; to wit, *Ars Almadell, ars Notoria, ars Bulaphiæ, ars Arthephy, ars Pomena, ars Reuelationis, &c.* Yea, these coniurors in corners sticke not (with Iustine) to report and affirme, that Ioseph, who was a true figure of Christ that deliuered and redeemed vs, was learned in these arts, and thereby prophesied and expounded dreames: and that those arts came from him to Moses, and finallie from Moses to them: which thing both Plinie and Tacitus affirme of Moses. Also Strabo in his cosmographie maketh the verie like blasphemous report. And likewise Apollonius,

A fowle offense to backbite ÿ absent, & to beelie the dead.

Acts.19.

Iust.lib.16.

Plin.lib.30. cap.2.

Strab.lib.16.

Molon, Possidonius, Lisimachus, and Appian terme Moses both a magician and a coniuror: whom Eusebius confuteth with manie notable arguments. For Moses differed as much from a magician, as truth from falshood, and pietie from vanitie: for in truth, he confounded all magicke, and made the world see, and the cunningest magicians of the earth confesse, that their owne doings were but illusions, and that his miracles were wrought by the finger of God. But that the poore old witches knowledge reacheth thus farre (as Danæus affirmeth it doth) is vntrue: for their furthest fetches that I can comprehend, are but to fetch a pot of milke, &c: from their neighbors house, halfe a mile distant from them.

Dan.in dialog.de sortiarys.

All magicall arts confuted by an argument concerning Nero, what Cornelius Agrippa and Carolus Gallus haue left written thereof, and prooued by experience.

The xxxij. Chapter.

Surelie Nero prooued all these magicall arts to be vaine and fabulous lies, and nothing but cousenage and knauerie. He was a notable prince, hauing gifts of nature enow to haue conceiued such matters, treasure enough to haue emploied in the search thereof, he made no conscience therein, he had singular conferences thereabout; he offered, and would haue giuen halfe his kingdome to haue learned those things, which he heard might be wrought by magicians; he procured all the cunning magicians in the world to come to Rome, he searched for bookes also, and all other things necessarie for a magician; and neuer could find anie thing in it, but cousenage and legierdemaine. At length he met with one Tiridates, the great magician, who hauing with him all his companions, and fellowe magicians, witches, coniurors, and couseners, inuited Nero to certeine magicall bankets and exercises. Which when Nero required to learne, he

Tiridates the great magician biddeth the emperor Nero to a banket, &c.

he (to hide his cousenage) answered that he would not, nor could not teach him, though he would haue giuen him his kingdome. The matter of his refusall (I saie) was, least Nero should espie the cousening deuises thereof. Which when Nero conceiued, and sawe the same, and all the residue of that art to be vaine, lieng and ridiculous, hauing onelie shadowes of truth, and that their arts were onelie veneficall; he prohibited the same vtterlie, and made good and strong lawes against the vse and the practisers thereof: as Plinie and others doo report. It is maruell that anie man can be so much abused, as to suppose that sathan may be commanded, compelled, or tied by the power of man: as though the diuell would yeeld to man, beyond nature; that will not yeeld to God his creator, according to the rules of nature. And in so much as there be (as they confesse) good angels as well as bad; I would know whie they call vp the angels of hell, and not call downe the angels of heauen. But this they answer (as Agrippa saith.) Good angels (forsooth) doo hardlie appeare, and the other are readie at hand. Here I may not omit to tell you how Cor. Agrippa bewraieth, detecteth, and defaceth this art of coniuration, who in his youth trauelled into the bottome of all these magicall sciences, and was not onelie a great coniuror and practiser thereof, but also wrote cunninglie *De occulta philosophia*. Howbeit, afterwards in his wiser age, he recanteth his opinions, and lamenteth his follies in that behalfe, and discouereth the impietie and vanities of magicians, and inchanters, which boast they can doo miracles: which action is now ceased (saith he) and assigneth them a place with Iannes and Iambres, affirming that this art teacheth nothing but vaine toies for a shew. Carolus Gallus also saith; I haue tried oftentimes, by the witches and coniurors themselues, that their arts (especiallie those which doo consist of charmes, impossibilities, coniurations, and witchcrafts, whereof they were wont to boast) to be meere foolishnes, doting lies, and dreames. I for my part can saie as much, but that I delight not to alledge mine owne proofes and authorities; for that mine aduersaries will saie they are parciall, and not indifferent.

Nero made lawes against coniurors and coniurations.

C. Agrip. lib. de vanitat. scient.

Of Salomons coniurations, and of the opinion conceiued of his cunning and practise therein.

The xxxiij. Chapter.

It is affirmed by sundrie authors, that Salomon was the first inuentor of those coniurations; and thereof Iosephus is the first reporter, who in his fift booke *De Iudæorum antiquitatibus*, cap. 22. rehearseth soberlie this storie following; which Polydore Virgil, and manie other repeat verbatim, in this wise, and seeme to credit the fable, whereof there is skant a true word.

Salomon was the greatest philosopher, and did philosophie about all things, and had the full and perfect knowlege of all their proprieties: but he had that gift giuen from aboue to him, for the profit and health of mankind: which is effectuall against diuels. He made also inchantments, wherewith diseases are driuen awaie; and left diuerse maners of coniurations written, whereunto the diuels giuing place are so driuen awaie, that they neuer returne. And this kind of healing is very common among my countrimen: for I sawe a neighbour of mine, one Eleazer, that in the presence of Vespasian and his sonnes, and the rest of the souldiers, cured many that were possessed with spirits. The maner and order of his cure was this. He did put vnto the nose of the possessed a ring, vnder the seale wherof was inclosed a kind of roote, whose vertue Salomon declared, and the sauour thereof drewe the diuell out at his nose; so as downe fell the man, and then Eleazer coniured the diuell to depart, & to return no more to him. In the meane time he made mention of Salomon, reciting incantations of Salomons owne making. And then Eleazer being willing to shew the standers by his cunning, and the wonderfull efficacie of his art, did set not farre from thence, a pot or basen full of water, & commanded the diuell that went out of the man, that by the ouerthrowing thereof, he would giue a signe to the beholders, that he had vtterlie forsaken and leaft the man.

Probatum est vpon a patient before witnes: *Ergo* no lie.

Which

Which thing being doone, none there doubted how great Salomons knowledge and wisedome was. Wherin a iugling knacke was produced, to confirme a cogging cast of knauerie or cousenage.

Another storie of Salomons coniuration I find cited in the first lesson, read in the church of Rome vpon S. Margarets daie, far more ridiculous than this. Also Peter Lombard maister of the sentences, and Gratian his brother, the compiler of the golden decrées; and Durandus in his *Rationale diuinorum*, doo all soberlie affirme Salomons cunning in this behalfe; and speciallie this tale; to wit, that Salomon inclosed certeine thousand diuels in a brasen bowle, and left it in a déepe hole or lake, so as afterwards the Babylonians found it, and supposing there had béene gold or siluer therein, brake it, and out flew all the diuels, &c. And that this fable is of credit, you shall perceiue, in that it is thought worthie to be read in the Romish church as parcell of their diuine seruice. Looke in the lessons of S. Margarets daie the virgine, and you shall find these words verbatim: which I the rather recite, bicause it serueth me for diuers turnes; to wit, for Salomons coniurations, for the tale of the brasen vessell, and for the popes coniurations, which extended both to faith and doctrine, and to shew of what credit their religion is, that so shamefullie is stained with lies and fables.

Lib.4 dist.14
Decret.aureum.dist.21
Rub.de exorcist.
Lect.5.& 6.

Lessons read in all churches, where the pope hath authoritie, on S. Margarets daie, translated into English word for word.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

HOlie Margaret required of GOD, that she might haue a conflict face to face with hir secret enimie the diuell; and rising from praier, she sawe a terrible dragon, that would haue deuoured hir, but she made the signe of the crosse, and the dragon burst in the middest.

Lect.in die sanctissimæ Marg.vir.5.

Afterwards, she sawe another man sitting

Lect.6.

sitting like a Niger, hauing his hands bound fast to his knées, she taking him by the haire of the head, threw him to the ground, and set hir foote on his head; and hir praiers being made, a light shined from heauen into the prison where she was, and the crosse of Christ was séene in heauen, with a doue sitting thereon, who said; Blessed art thou O Margaret, the gates of paradise attend thy comming. Then she giuing thanks to God, said to the diuell, Declare to me thy name. The diuell said; Take awaie thy foote from my head, that I may be able to speake, and tell thée: which being done, the diuell said, I am Veltis, one of them whome Salomon shut in the brasen vessell, and the Babylonians comming, and supposing there had béene gold therein, brake the vessell, and then we flew out: euer since lieng in wait to annoie the iust. But séeing I haue recited a part of hir storie, you shall also haue the end therof: for at the time of hir execution this was hir praier following.

Looke in the word Iidoni, pag.383.

Grant therefore O father, that whosoeuer writeth, readeth, or heareth my passion, or maketh memoriall of me, may deserue pardon for all his sinnes: whosoeuer calleth on me, being at the point of death, deliuer him out of the hands of his aduersaries. And I also require, O Lord, that whosoeuer shall build a church in the honor of me, or ministreth vnto me anie candles * of his iust labour, let him obteine whatsoeuer he asketh for his health. Deliuer all women in trauell that call vpon me, from the danger thereof.

* For the preests profit, I warrant you.

Hir praier ended, there were manie great thunderclaps, and a doue came downe from heauen, saieng; Blessed art thou O Margaret the spouse of Christ. Such things as thou hast asked, are granted vnto thée; therefore come thou into euerlasting rest, &c. Then the hangman (though she did bid him) refused to cut off hir head: to whome she said; Except thou do it, thou canst haue no part with me, and then lo he did it, &c. But sithens I haue béene, and must be tedious, I thought good to refresh my reader with a lamentable storie, depending vpon the matter precedent, reported by manie graue authors, word for word, in maner and forme following.

This is cōmon (they saie) when a witch or coniuror dieth.

A delicate storie of a Lombard, who by S. Margarets example would needs fight with a reall diuell.

The xxxv. Chapter.

There was (after a sermon made, wherein this storie of S. Margaret was recited, for in such stuffe consisted not onelie their seruice, but also their sermons in the blind time of poperie:) there was (I saie) a certeine yoong man, being a Lombard, whose simplicitie was such, as he had no respect vnto the commoditie of worldlie things, but did altogither affect the saluation of his soule, who hearing how great S. Margarets triumph was, began to consider with himselfe, how full of slights the diuell was. And among other things thus he said; Oh that God would suffer, that the diuell might fight with me hand to hand in visible forme! I would then surelie in like maner ouerthrow him, and would fight with him till I had the victorie. And therefore about the twelfe houre he went out of the towne, and finding a conuenient place where to praie, secretlie kneeling on his knees, he praied among other things, that God would suffer the diuell to appeare vnto him in visible forme, that according to the example of S. Margaret, he might ouercome him in battell. And as he was in the middest of his praiers, there came into that place a woman with a hooke in hir hand, to gather certeine hearbs which grew there, who was dumme borne. And when she came into the place, and saw the yoong man among the hearbs on his knees, she was afraid, and waxed pale, and going backe, she rored in such sort, as hir voice could not be vnderstood, and with hir head and fists made threatning signes vnto him. The yoong man seeing such an ilfauoured fowle queane, that was for age decrepit and full of wrinkles, with a long bodie, leane of face, pale of colour, with ragged cloathes, crieng verie lowd, and hauing a voice not vnderstandable, threatning him with the hooke which she carried in hir hand, he thought surelie she had beene no woman, but a diuell appearing

Kakozelia.

Mutuall error by meanes of sudden fight.

ring vnto him in the shape of a woman, and thought God had heard his praiers. For the which causes he fell vpon hir lustilie, and at length threw hir downe to the ground, saieng; Art thou come thou cursed diuell, art thou come? No no, thou shalt not ouerthrow me in visible fight, whome thou hast often ouercome in inuisible temptation.

And as he spake these words, he caught hir by the haire, and drew hir about, beating hir sometimes with his hands, sometimes with his heeles, and sometimes with the hooke so long, and wounded hir so sore, that he left hir a dieng. At the noise whereof manie people came running vnto them, and seeing what was done, they apprehended the yong man, and thrust him into a vile prison. S. Vincent by vertue of his holines vnderstanding all this matter, caused the bodie that seemed dead to be brought vnto him, and therevpon (according to his maner) he laid his hand vpon hir, who immediatlie reuiued, and he called one of his chaplines to heare hir confession. But they that were present said to the man of God, that it were altogether in vaine so to doo, for that she had beene from hir natiuitie dumbe, and could neither heare nor vnderstand the priest, neither could in words confesse hir sinnes. Notwithstanding, S. Vincent bad the priest heare hir confession, affirming that she should verie distinctlie speake all things vnto him. And therfore, whatsoeuer the man of God commanded, the priest did confidentlie accomplish and obeie: and as soone as the priest approched vnto hir, to heare hir confession, she, whome all Cathalonia knew to be dumbe borne, spake, and confessed hir selfe, pronouncing euerie word as distinctlie, as though she had neuer beene dumbe. After hir confession she required the eucharist and extreame vnction to be ministred vnto hir, and at length she commended hir selfe to God; and in the presence of all that came to see that miracle, she spake as long as she had anie breath in hir bodie. The yong man that killed hir being saued from the gallowes by S. Vincents meanes, and at his intercession, departed home into Italie. This storie last rehearsed is found in *Speculo exemplorum*, and repeated also by Robert Carocul: bishop of Aquinas, and manie others, and preached publikelie in the church of Rome.

S. Vincent raiseth the dead woman to life.

S.Vincent maketh the dumbe to speake.

Dist.8. exempl. 17. serm.59. cap.20.

The

The storie of Saint Margaret prooued to be both ridiculous and impious in euerie point.

The xxxvj. Chapter.

FIrst, that the storie of S. Margaret is a fable, may be prooued by the incredible, impossible, foolish, impious, and blasphemous matters conteined therein, and by the ridiculous circumstance thereof. Though it were cruellie doone of hir to beat the diuell, when his hands were bound; yet it was courteouslie doone of hir, to pull awaie hir foot at his desire. He could not speake so long as she troad on his head, and yet he said; Tread off, that I may tell you what I am. She sawe the heauens open, and yet she was in a close prison. But hir sight was verie cleare, that could see a little doue sitting vpon a crosse so farre off. For heauen is higher than the sunne; and the sunne, when it is neerest to vs, is 3966000. miles from vs. And she had a good paire of eares, that could heare a doue speake so farre off. And she had good lucke, that S. Peter, who (they saie) is porter, or else the pope, who hath more doings than Peter, had such leisure as to staie the gates so long for hir. Salomon prouided no good place, neither tooke good order with his brasen bowle. I maruell how they escaped that let out the diuels. It is maruell also they melted it not with their breath long before: for the diuels carrie hell and hell fier about with them alwaies; in so much as (they saie) they leaue ashes euermore where they stand. Surelie she made in hir praier an vnreasonable request. But the date of hir patent is out: for I beleeue that whosoeuer at this daie shall burne a pound of good candle before hir, shall be neuer the better, but three pence the worsse. But now we may find in S. Margarets life, who it is that is Christes wife: whereby we are so much wiser than we were before. But looke in the life of S. Katharine, in the golden legend, and you shall find that he was also married to S. Katharine, and that our ladie made the marriage, &c. An excellent authoritie for bigamie.

Secundùm Bordinum Corrigens. Quæsit. Mash. tract. 1. sect. 77.

Psellus de operatione dæmonum.

bigamie. Here I will also cite other of their notable stories, or miracles of authoritie, and so leaue shaming of them, or rather troubling you the readers thereof. Neither would I haue written these fables, but that they are authentike among the papists, and that we that are protestants may be satisfied, as well of coniurors and witches miracles, as of the others: for the one is as grosse as the other.

A pleasant miracle wrought by a popish preest.

The xxxvij. Chapter.

In speculo exemplorum, dist.6.ex lib. exemplorum, Cæsarijs, exempl.69.

WHat time the Waldenses heresies beganne to spring, certeine wicked men, being vpheld and mainteined by diabolicall vertue, shewed certeine signes and wonders, wherby they strengthened and confirmed their heresies, and peruerted in faith many faithfull men; for they walked on the water and were not drowned. But a certeine catholike preest seeing the same, and knowing that true signes could not be ioined with false doctrine, brought the bodie of our Lord, with the pix, to the water, where they shewed their power and vertue to the people, and said in the hearing of all that were present: I coniure thee O diuell, by him, whom I carrie in my hands, that thou exercise not these great visions and phantasies by these men, to the drowning of this people. Notwithstanding these words, when they walked still on the water, as they did before, the preest in a rage threw the bodie of our Lord, with the pix into the riuer, and by and by, so soone as the sacrament touched the element, the phantasie gaue place to the veritie; and they being proued and made false, did sinke like lead to the bottome, and were drowned; the pix with the sacrament immediatlie was taken awaie by an angell. The preest seeing all these things, was verie glad of the miracle, but for the losse of the sacrament he was verie pensiue, passing awaie the whole night in teares and morning: in the morning he found the pix with the sacrament vpon the altar.

Memorandum, it is confessed in poperie that true miracles cannot be ioined with false doctrine: *Ergo* neither papist, witch, nor coniuror can worke miracles.

The former miracle confuted, with a strange storie of saint Lucie.

The xxxviij. Chapter.

HOw glad Sir John was now it were follie for me to saie. How would he haue plagued the diuell, that threw his god in the riuer to be drowned? But if other had had no more power to destroie the Waldenses with sword and fier, than this preest had to drowne them with his coniuring boxe & cousening sacraments, there should haue beene many a life saued. But I may not omit one fable, which is of authoritie, wherein though there be no coniuration expressed, yet I warrant you there was cousenage both in the doing and telling thereof. ☞ You shall read in the lesson on saint Lucies daie, that she being condemned, could not be remooued from the place with a teeme of oxen, neither could any fier burne hir, insomuch as one was faine to cut off hir head with a sword, and yet she could speake afterwards as long as she list. And this passeth all other miracles, except it be that which Bodin and M.Mal. recite out of Nider, of a witch that could not be burned, till a scroll was taken awaie from where she hid it, betwixt hir skin and flesh.

Lect. in die sanctæ Luciæ 7 & 8.

Of visions, noises, apparitions, and imagined sounds, and of other illusions, of wandering soules: with a confutation thereof.

The xxxix. Chapter.

MAnie thorough melancholie doo imagine, that they see or heare visions, spirits, ghosts, strange noises, &c: as I haue alreadie prooued before, at large. Manie againe thorough feare proceeding from a cowardlie nature and complexion, or from an effeminate and fond bringing vp, are timerous and afraid of

See the storie of Simō Dauie and Ade his wife, lib.3. cap.10. pag. 55,56,57.

spirits

spirits, and bugs, &c. Some through imperfection of sight also are afraid of their owne shadowes, and (as Aristotle saith) sée themselues sometimes as it were in a glasse. And some through weakenesse of bodie haue such vnperfect imaginations. Dronken men also sometimes suppose they sée trées walke, &c: according to that which Salomon saith to the dronkards; Thine eies shall sée strange visions, and meruellous appearances.

Against the counterfet visions of popish preests, & other cousening deuises.

In all ages moonks and préests haue abused and bewitched the world with counterfet visions; which procéeded through idlenes, and restraint of marriage, wherby they grew hot and lecherous, and therefore deuised such meanes to compasse and obteine their loues. And the simple people being then so superstitious, would neuer séeme to mistrust, that such holie men would make them cuckholds, but forsooke their beds in that case, and gaue roome to the cleargie. Item, little children haue béene so scared with their mothers maids, that they could neuer after endure to be in the darke alone, for feare of bugs. Manie are deceiued by glasses through art perspectiue. Manie hearkening vnto false reports, conceiue and beléeue that which is nothing so. Manie giue credit to that which they read in authors. But how manie stories and bookes are written of walking spirits and soules of men, contrarie to the word of God; a reasonable volume cannot conteine. How common an opinion was it among the papists, that all soules walked on the earth, after they departed from their bodies? In so much as it was in the time of poperie a vsuall matter, to desire sicke people in their death beds, to appeare to them after their death, and to reueale their estate. The fathers and ancient doctors of the church were too credulous herein, &c. Therefore no meruell, though the common simple sort of men, and least of all, that women be deceiued herein. God in times past did send downe visible angels and appearances to men; but now he dooth not so. Through ignorance of late in religion, it was thought, that euerie churchyard swarmed with soules and spirits: but now the word of God being more frée, open, and knowne, those conceipts and illusions are made more manifest and apparent, &c.

The doctors, councels, and popes, which (they saie) cannot erre, haue confirmed the walking, appearing, & raising of soules.

But

But where find they in the scriptures anie such doctrine? And who certified them, that those appearances were true? Trulie all they cannot bring to passe, that the lies which haue béene spread abroad herein, should now beginne to be true, though the pope himselfe subscribe, seale, and sweare therevnto neuer so much. Where are the soules that swarmed in times past? Where are the spirits? Who heareth their noises? Who séeth their visions? Where are the soules that made such mone for trentals, whereby to be eased of the paines in purgatorie? Are they all gone into Italie, bicause masses are growne déere here in England? Marke well this illusion, and sée how contrarie it is vnto the word of God. Consider how all papists beléeue this illusion to be true, and how all protestants are driuen to saie it is and was popish illusion. Where be the spirits that wandered to haue buriall for their bodies? For manie of those walking soules went about their busines. Do you not thinke, that the papists shew not themselues godlie diuines, to preach and teach the people such doctrine; and to insert into their diuine seruice such fables as are read in the Romish church, all scripture giuing place thereto for the time? You shall sée in the lessons read there vpon S. Steuens daie, that Gamaliel Nichodemus his kinsman, and Abdias his sonne, with his fréend S. Steuen, appeared to a certeine préest, called Sir Lucian, requesting him to remoue their bodies, and to burie them in some better place (for they had lien from the time of their death, vntill then, being in the reigne of Honorius the emperor; to wit, foure hundred yéeres buried in the field of Gamaliel, who in that respect said to Sir Lucian; *Non mei solummodo causa solicitus sum, sed potiùs pro illis qui mecum sunt*; that is, I am not onlie carefull for my selfe, but chéefelie for those my fréends that are with me. Whereby the whole course may be perceiued to be a false practise, and a counterfet vision, or rather a lewd inuention. For in heauen mens soules remaine not in sorow and care; neither studie they there how to compasse and get a worshipfull buriall here in earth. If they did, they would not haue foreslowed it so long. Now therefore let vs not suffer our selues to be abused anie longer, either with coniuring préests, or melancholicall witches; but be thankfull to God that hath deliuered vs from such blindnes and error.

This doctrine was not onlie preached, but also prooued; note the particular instāces following.

Cardanus.

Cardanus opinion of strange noises, how counterfet visions grow to be credited, of popish appeerances, of pope Boniface.

The xl. Chapter.

H Card. lib. de var. rer. 15.ca.92.

Cardanus speaking of noises, among other things, saith thus; A noise is heard in your house; it may be a mouse, a cat, or a dog among dishes; it may be a counterfet or a theefe indeed, or the fault may be in your eares. I could recite a great number of tales, how men haue euen forsaken their houses, bicause of such apparitions and noises: and all hath beene by meere and ranke knauerie. And wheresoeuer you shall heare, that there is in the night season such rumbling and fearefull noises, be you well assured that it is flat knauerie, performed by some that seemeth most to complaine, and is least mistrusted. And hereof there is a verie art, which for some respects I will not discouer. The diuell seeketh dailie as well as nightlie whome he may deuoure, and can doo his feats as well by daie as by night, or else he is a yong diuell, and a verie bungler. But of all other coseners, these coniurors are in the highest degree, and are most worthie of death for their blasphemous impietie. But that these popish visions and coniurations vsed as well by papists, as by the popes themselues, were meere cousenages; and that the tales of the popes recited by Bruno and Platina, of their magicall deuises, were but plaine cousenages and knaueries, may appeare by the historie of Bonifacius the eight, who vsed this kind of inchantment, to get awaie the popedome from his predecessor Cœlestinus. He counterfetted a voice through a cane reed, as though it had come from heauen, persuading him to yeeld vp his authoritie of popeship, and to institute therein one Bonifacius, a worthier man: otherwise he threatened him with damnation. And therfore the foole yeelded it vp accordinglie, to the said Bonifacius, An.1264. of whom it was said; He came in like a fox, liued like a woolfe, and died like a dog.

Pope *Cœlestinus* cousened of his popedome by pope *Boniface.*

There

There be innumerable examples of such visions, which when they are not detected, go for true stories: and therefore when it is answered that some are true tales and some are false, untill they be able to shew forth before your eies one matter of truth, you may replie upon them with this distinction; to wit: visions tried are false visions, undecided and untried are true. Visions distinguished.

Of the noise or sound of eccho, of one that narrowlie escaped drowning thereby, &c.

The xlj. Chapter.

ALas! how manie naturall things are there so strange, as to manie seeme miraculous; and how manie counterfet matters are there, that to the simple seeme yet more wonderfull? Cardane telleth of one Comensis, who comming late to a riuers side, not knowing where to passe ouer, cried out alowd for some bodie to shew him the foord: who hearing an eccho to answer according to his last word, supposing it to be a man that answered him and informed him of the waie, he passed through the riuer, euen there where was a deepe whirlepoole, so as he hardlie escaped with his life; and told his freends, that the diuell had almost persuaded him to drowne himselfe. And in some places these noises of eccho are farre more strange than other, speciallie at Ticinum in Italie, in the great hall, where it rendereth sundrie and manifold noises or voices, which seeme to end so lamentablie, as it were a man that laie a dieng; so as few can be persuaded that it is the eccho, but a spirit that answereth. *H. Card. lib. de subtilitat. 18.* *Idem, ibid.*

The noise at Winchester was said to be a verie miracle, and much wondering was there at it, about the yeare 1569. though indeed a meere naturall noise ingendered of the wind, the concauitie of the place, and other instrumentall matters helping the sound to seeme strange to the hearers; speciallie to such as would adde new reports to the augmentation of the wonder. Of Winchester noise.

Of Theurgie, with a confutation thereof, a letter sent to me concerning these matters.

The xlij. Chapter.

There is yet another art professed by these cousening coniurors, which some fond diuines affirme to be more honest and lawfull than necromancie, which is called Theurgie; wherein they worke by good angels. Howbeit, their ceremonies are altogether papisticall and superstitious, consisting in cleanlines partlie of the mind, partlie of the bodie, and partlie of things about and belonging to the bodie; as in the skinne, in the apparell, in the house, in the vessell and houshold stuffe, in oblations and sacrifices; the cleanlines whereof, they saie, doth dispose men to the contemplation of heauenlie things. They cite these words of Esaie for their authoritie; to wit: Wash your selues and be cleane, &c. In so much as I haue knowne diuerse superstitious persons of good account, which vsuallie washed all their apparell vpon conceits ridiculouslie. For vncleanlinesse (they say) corrupteth the aire, infecteth man, and chaseth awaie cleane spirits. Hereunto belongeth the art of Almadel, the art of Paule, the art of Reuelations, and the art Notarie. But (as Agrippa saith) the more diuine these arts seeme to the ignorant, the more damnable they be. But their false assertions, their presumptions to worke miracles, their characters, their strange names, their diffuse phrases, their counterfet holines, their popish ceremonies, their foolish words mingled with impietie, their barbarous and vnlearned order of construction, their shamcles practises, their paltrie stuffe, their secret dealing, their beggerlie life, their bargaining with fooles, their cousening of the simple, their scope and drift for monie doth bewraie all their art to be counterfet cousenage. And the more throughlie to satisfie you herein, I thought good in this place to insert a letter, vpon occasion sent vnto me, by one which at this present time lieth as a prisoner condemned for this verie matter in the kings bench, and repriued by hir maiesties mer-

Appendents vnto the supposed diuine art of Theurgie.

cie,

cie, through the good mediation of a most noble and vertuous personage, whose honorable and godlie disposition at this time I will forbeare to commend as I ought. The person truelie that wrote this letter seemeth vnto me a good bodie, well reformed, and penitent, not expecting anie gaines at my hands, but rather fearing to speake that which he knoweth further in this matter, least displeasure might ensue and follow.

The copie of a letter sent vnto me R. S. by T. E. *Maister of art, and practiser both of physicke, and also* in times past, of certeine vaine sciences; now *condemned to die for the same: wherein he openeth* the truth touching these deceits.

MAister R. Scot, according to your request, I haue drawne out certeine abuses worth the noting, touching the worke you haue in hand; things which I my selfe haue seene within these xxvj. yeares, among those which were counted famous and skilfull in those sciences. And bicause the whole discourse cannot be set downe, without nominating certeine persons, of whom some are dead & some liuing, whose freends remaine yet of great credit: in respect therof, I knowing that mine enimies doo alreadie in number exceed my freends; I haue considered with my selfe, that it is better for me to staie my hand, than to commit that to the world, which may increase my miserie more than releeue the same. Notwithstanding, bicause I am noted aboue a great manie others to haue had some dealings in those vaine arts and wicked practises; I am therefore to signifie vnto you, and I speake it in the presence of God, that among all those famous and noted practisers, that I haue beene conuersant withall these xxvj. yeares, I could neuer see anie matter of truth to be

Marke the summe and scope of this letter.

doone in those wicked sciences, but onelie meere cousenings and illusions. And they, whome I thought to be most skilfull therein, sought to see some things at my hands, who had spent my time a dozen or fourteen years, to my great losse and hinderance, and could neuer at anie time see anie one truth, or sparkle of truth therein. Yet at this present I stand worthilie condemned for the same; for that, contrarie to my princes lawes, and the lawe of God, and also to mine owne conscience, I did spend my time in such vaine and wicked studies and practises: being made and remaining a spectacle for all others to receiue warning by. The Lord grant I may be the last (I speake it from my hart) and I wish it, not onlie in my natiue coūtrie, but also through the whole face of the earth, speciallie among Christians. For mine owne part I lament my time lost, & haue repented me fiue yeares past: at which time I sawe a booke, written in the old Saxon toong, by one Sir Iohn Malborne a diuine of Oxenford, three hundred yeares past; wherein he openeth all the illusions & inuentions of those arts and sciences: a thing most worthie the noting. I left the booke with the parson of Slangham in Sussex, where if you send for it in my name, you may haue it. You shall thinke your labour well bestowed, and it shall greatlie further the good enterprise you haue in hand: and there shall you see the whole science throughlie discussed, and all their illusions and cousenages deciphered at large. Thus crauing pardon at your hands for that I promised you, being verie fearefull, doubtfull, and loth to set my hand or name vnder any thing that may be offensiue to the world, or hurtfull to my selfe, considering my case, except I had the better warrant from my L. of Leicester, who is my verie good Lord, and by whome next vnder God (hir Maiestie onelie excepted) I haue beene preserued; and therefore loth to doo any thing that may offend his Lordships eares.

S.Iohn Malbornes booke detecting the deuises of coniuratiō, &c.

And

And so I leaue your Worship to the Lords keeping, who bring you and all your actions to good end and purpose, to Gods glorie, and to the profit of all Christians. From the bench this 8. of March, 1582. Your Worships poore and desolate friend and seruant, T. E.

I sent for this booke of purpose, to the parson of Slangham, and procured his best friends, men of great worship and credit, to deale with him, that I might borrowe it for a time. But such is his follie and superstition, that although he confessed he had it; yet he would not lend it: albeit a friend of mine, being knight of the shire would haue giuen his word for the restitution of the same safe and sound.

The conclusion therefore shall be this, whatsoeuer heeretofore hath gone for currant, touching all these fallible arts, whereof hitherto I haue written in ample sort, be now counted counterfet, and therefore not to be allowed no not by common sense, much lesse by reason, which should sift such cloked and pretended practises, turning them out of their rags and patched clowts, that they may appeere discouered, and shew themselues in their nakednesse. Which will be the end of euerie secret intent, priuie purpose, hidden practise, and close deuise, haue they neuer such shrowds and shelters for the time: and be they with neuer so much cautelousnesse and subtill circumspection clouded and shadowed, yet will they at length be manifestlie detected by the light, according to that old rimed verse: The author his conclusion.

Quicquid nix celat, solis calor omne reuelat:

What thing soeuer snowe dooth hide,
Heat of the sunne dooth make it spide.

Andræas Gartnerus Marimontanus. Eng. by Ab. Fle.

And according to the verdict of Christ, the true Nazarite, who neuer told vntruth, but who is the substance and groundworke of truth it selfe, saieng; *Nihil est tam occultum quod non sit detegendum,* Nothing is so secret, but it shall be knowne and reuealed.

Matt. 10, 26. Mark. 4 22. Luke. 8, 17. And. 12, 2.

¶ *The xvj. booke.*

A conclusion, in maner of an epilog, repeating manie of the former absurdities of witchmongers conceipts, confutations thereof, and of the authoritie of Iame's Sprenger and Henrie Institor inquisitors and compilers of M.Mal.

The first Chapter.

Hitherto you haue had deliuered vnto you, that which I haue conceiued and gathered of this matter. In the substance and principall parts whereof I can sée no difference among the writers héerevpon; of what countrie, condition, estate, or religion soeuer they be; but I find almost all of them to agrée in vnconstancie, fables, and impossibilities; scratching out of M. Mal. the substance of all their arguments: so as their authors being disapproued, they must coine new stuffe, or go to their grandams maids to learne more old wiues tales, whereof this art of witchcraft is contriued. But you must know that Iames Sprenger, and Henrie Institor, whome I haue had occasion to alledge manie times, were coparteners in the composition of that profound & learned booke called *Malleus Maleficarum*, & were the greatest doctors of that art: out of whom I haue gathered matter and absurditie enough, to confound the opinions conceiued of witchcraft; although they were allowed inquisitors and assigned by the pope, with the authoritie and commendation of all the doctors of the vniuersitie of Collen, &c: to call before

The compilers or makers of the booke called A Mallet to braine witches.

them

them, to imprison, to condemne, and to execute witches; and finallie to seaze and confiscate their goods.

These two doctors, to mainteine their their credit, and to couer their iniuries, haue published those same monsterous lies, which haue abused all Christendome, being spread abroad with such authoritie, as it will be hard to suppresse the credit of their writings, be they neuer so ridiculous and false. Which although they mainteine and stirre vp with their owne praises; yet men are so bewitched, as to giue credit vnto them. For proofe thereof I remember they write in one place of their said booke, that by reason of their seuere procéedings against witches, they suffered intollerable assaults, speciallie in the night, many times finding néedels sticking in their biggens, which were thither conueied by witches charmes: and through their innocencie and holinesse (they saie) they were euer miraculouslie preserued from hurt. Howbeit they affirme that they will not tell all that might make to the manifestation of their holines: for then should their owne praise stinke in their owne mouthes. And yet God knoweth their whole booke conteineth but stinking lies and poperie. Which groundworke and foundation how weake and wauering it is, how vnlike to continue, and how slenderlie laid, a child may soone discerne and perceiue.

No maruel that they were so opinionatiue herein, for God gaue them ouer into strong delusions.

By what meanes the common people haue beene made beleeue in the miraculous works of witches, a definition of witchcraft, and a description thereof.

The second Chapter.

The common people haue béene so assotted and bewitched, with whatsoeuer poets haue feigned of witchcraft, either in earnest, in iest, or else in derision; and with whatsoeuer lowd liers and cooseners for their pleasures héerein haue inuented, and with whatsoeuer tales they haue heard from old doting women, or from their mothers maids, and with whatsoeuer the grandfoole

their ghostlie father, or anie other morrow masse preest had informed them; and finallie with whatsoeuer they haue swallowed vp through tract of time, or through their owne timerous nature or ignorant conceipt, concerning these matters of hagges and witches: as they haue so settled their opinion and credit therevpon, that they thinke it heresie to doubt in anie part of the matter; speciallie bicause they find this word witchcraft expressed in the scriptures; which is as to defend praieng to saincts, bicause *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus* is written in *Te Deum.*

The definition or description of witchcraft.

And now to come to the definition of witchcraft, which hitherto I deferre and put off purposelie: that you might perceiue the true nature thereof, by the circumstances, and therefore the rather to allow of the same, seeing the varietie of other writers. Witchcraft is in truth a cousening art, wherin the name of God is abused, prophaned and blasphemed, and his power attributed to a vile creature. In estimation of the vulgar people, it is a supernaturall worke, contriued betweene a corporall old woman, and a spirituall diuell. The maner thereof is so secret, mysticall, and strange, that to this daie there hath neuer beene any credible witnes therof. It is incomprehensible to the wise, learned or faithfull; a probable matter to children, fooles, melancholike persons and papists. The trade is thought to be impious. The effect and end thereof to be sometimes euill, as when thereby man or beast, grasse, trees, or corne, &c; is hurt: sometimes good, as whereby sicke folkes are healed, theeues bewraied, and true men come to their goods, &c. The matter and instruments, wherewith it is accomplished, are words, charmes, signes, images, characters, &c: the which words although any other creature doo pronounce, in maner and forme as they doo, leauing out no circumstance requisite or vsuall for that action: yet none is said to haue the grace or gift to performe the matter, except she be a witch, and so taken, either by hir owne consent, or by others imputation.

The formal cause.

The finall cause.

The materiall cause.

Reasons

Reasons to prooue that words and characters are but bables, & that witches cannot doo such things as the multitude supposeth they can, their greatest woonders prooued trifles, of a yoong gentleman cousened.

The third Chapter.

That words, characters, images, and such other trinkets, which are thought so necessarie instruments for witchcraft (as without the which no such thing can be accomplished) are but babies, deuised by couseners, to abuse the people withall; I trust I haue sufficientlie prooued. And the same maie be further and more plainelie perceiued by these short and compendious reasons following.

First, in that the Turkes and infidels, in their witchcraft, vse both other words, and other characters than our witches doo, and also such as are most contrarie. In so much as, if ours be bad, in reason theirs should be good. If their witches can doo anie thing, ours can doo nothing. For as our witches are said to renounce Christ, and despise his sacraments: so doo the other forsake Mahomet, and his lawes, which is one large step to christianitie. *A necessarie sequele.*

It is also to be thought, that all witches are couseners; when mother Bungie, a principall witch, so reputed, tried, and condemned of all men, and continuing in that exercise and estimation manie yeares (hauing cousened & abused the whole realme, in so much as there came to hir, witchmongers from all the furthest parts of the land, she being in diuerse bookes set out with authoritie, registred and chronicled by the name of the great witch of Rochester, and reputed among all men for the chéefe ringleader of all other witches) by good proofe is found to be a méere cousener; confessing in hir death bed fréelie, without compulsion or inforcement, that hir cunning consisted onlie in deluding and deceiuing the people: sauing that she had (towards the maintenance of hir credit in that cousening trade) some sight in physicke and surgerie, and the assistance of a fréend of hirs, called *Probatum est, by mother Bungies confessiõ that al witches are couseners.*

led

led Heron, a professor thereof. And this I know, partlie of mine owne knowledge, and partlie by the testimonie of hir husband, and others of credit, to whome (I saie) in hir death bed, and at sundrie other times she protested these things; and also that she neuer had indéed anie materiall spirit or diuell (as the voice went) nor yet knew how to worke anie supernaturall matter, as she in hir life time made men beléeue she had and could doo.

The like may be said of one T. of Canturburie, whose name I will not litterallie discouer, who wonderfullie abused manie in these parts, making them thinke he could tell where anie thing lost became: with diuerse other such practises, whereby his fame was farre beyond the others. And yet on his death bed he confessed, that he knew nothing more than anie other, but by slight and deuises, without the assistance of anie diuell or spirit, sauing the spirit of cousenage: and this did he (I saie) protest before manie of great honestie, credit, & wisedome, who can witnesse the same, and also gaue him good commendations for his godlie and honest end.

Againe, who will mainteine, that common witchcrafts are not cousenages, when the great and famous witchcrafts, which had stolne credit not onlie from all the common people, but from men of great wisdome and authoritie, are discouered to be beggerlie slights of cousening varlots? Which otherwise might and would haue remained a perpetuall obiection against me. Were there not * thrée images of late yéeres found in a doonghill, to the terror & astonishment of manie thousands? In so much as great matters were thought to haue béene pretended to be doone by witchcraft. But if the Lord preserue those persons (whose destruction was doubted to haue béene intended therby) from all other the lewd practises and attempts of their enimies; I feare not, but they shall easilie withstand these and such like deuises, although they should indéed be practised against them. But no doubt, if such bables could haue brought those matters of mischéefe to passe, by the hands of traitors, witches, or papists; we should long since haue béene depriued of the most excellent iewell and comfort that we enioy in this world. Howbeit, I confesse, that the feare, conceipt, and doubt of such mischéefous pretenses may bréed inconuenience to them that stand in awe of the same.

I. Bodin in the preface before his booke of *Dæmonomania* reporteth this by a coniuring preest late Curat of Islington: hee also sheweth to what end: read the place you that vnderstãd Latine.

same. And I wish, that euen for such practises, though they neuer can or doo take effect, the practisers be punished with all extremitie: bicause therein is manifested a traiterous heart to the Queene, and a presumption against God.

But to returne to the discouerie of the aforesaid knauerie and witchcraft. So it was that one old cousener, wanting monie, deuised or rather practised (for it is a stale deuise) to supplie his want, by promising a yoong Gentleman, whose humor he thought would that waie be well serued, that for the summe of fourtie pounds, he would not faile by his cunning in that art of witchcraft, to procure vnto him the loue of anie thrée women whome he would name, and of whome he should make choise at his pleasure. The yoong Gentleman being abused with his cunning deuises, and too hastilie yéelding to that motion, satisfied this cunning mans demand of monie. Which, bicause he had it not presentlie to disburse, prouided it for him at the hands of a fréend of his. Finallie, this cunning man made the thrée puppets of wax, &c: leauing nothing vndone that apperteined to the cousenage, vntill he had buried them, as you haue heard. But I omit to tell what a doo was made herof, and also what reports and lies were bruted; as what white dogs and blacke dogs there were séene in the night season passing through the watch, mawgre all their force and preparation against them, &c. But the yoong Gentleman, who for a litle space remained in hope mixed with ioy and loue, now through tract of time hath those his felicities powdered with doubt and despaire. For in stéed of atchieuing his loue, he would gladlie haue obteined his monie. But bicause he could by no meanes get either the one or the other (his monie being in hucksters handling, and his sute in no better forwardnes) he reuealed the whole matter, hoping by that meanes to recouer his monie; which he neither can yet get againe, nor hath paied it where he borrowed. But till triall was had of his simplicitie or rather follie herein, he receiued some trouble himselfe hereabouts, though now dismissed.

Note this deuise of the waxen images found of late neere London.

Of one that was so bewitched that he could read no scriptures but canonicall, of a diuel that could speake no Latine, a proofe that witchcraft is flat cousenage.

The fourth Chapter.

A strange miracle, if it were true.

Here I may aptlie insert another miracle of importance, that happened within the compasse of a childes remembrance, which may induce anie resonable bodie to conceiue, that these supernaturall actions are but fables & cousenages. There was one, whom for some respects I name not, that was taken blind, deafe, & dumbe; so as no physician could helpe him. That man (forsooth) though he was (as is said) both blind, dumbe & deafe, yet could he read anie canonicall scriptures; but as for apocrypha, he could read none: wherein a Gods name consisted the miracle. But a leafe of apocrypha being extraordinarilie inserted among the canonicall scriptures, he read the same as authentike: wherein his knauerie was bewraied. Another had a diuell, that answered men to all questions, marie hir diuell could vnderstand no Latine, and so was she (and by such meanes all the rest may be) bewraied. Indéed our witching writers saie, that certeine diuels speake onelie the language of that countrie where they are resiant, as French, or English, &c.

There the hypocrite was ouermatcht for all his dissembled grauitie.

Furthermore, in my conceipt, nothing prooueth more apparentlie that witchcraft is cousenage, and that witches instruments are but ridiculous bables, and altogither void of effect; than when learned and godlie diuines, in their serious writings, produce experiments as wrought by witches, and by diuels at witches commandements: which they expound by miracles, although indéed méere trifles. Whereof they conceiue amisse, being ouertaken with credulitie.

Of

Of the diuination by the siue and sheeres, and by the booke and key, Hemingius his opinion thereof confuted, a bable to know what is a clocke, of certeine iugling knacks, manifold reasons for the ouerthrowe of witches and coniurors, and their cousenages, of the diuels transformations, of *Ferrum candens, &c.*

The fift Chapter.

TO passe ouer all the fables, which are vouched by the popish doctors, you shall heare the words of N. Hemingius, whose zeale & learning otherwise I might iustlie commend: howbeit I am sorie and ashamed to see his ignorance and follie in this behalfe. Neither would I haue bewraied it, but that he himselfe, among other absurdities concerning the maintenance of witches omnipotencie, hath published it to his great discredit. Popish preests (saith he) as the Chaldæans vsed the diuination by siue & sheeres for the detection of theft, doo practise with a psalter and a keie fastned vpon the 49. psalme, to discouer a theefe. And when the names of the suspected persons are orderlie put into the pipe of the keie, at the reading of these words of the psalme [If thou sawest a theefe thou diddest consent vnto him] the booke will wagge, and fall out of the fingers of them that hold it, and he whose name remaineth in the keie must be the theefe. Hereupon Hemingius inferreth, that although coniuring preests and witches bring not this to passe by the absolute words of the psalme, which tend to a farre other scope; yet sathan dooth nimblie, with his inuisible hand, giue such a twitch to the booke, as also in the other case to the siue and the sheeres, that downe falles the booke and keie, siue and sheeres, vp starts the theefe, and awaie runneth the diuell laughing, &c.

Heming. in lib. de superst. magicis.

The greatest clarkes are not the wisest men.

But alas, Hemingius is deceiued, as not perceiuing the conceipt, or rather the deceipt hereof. For where he supposeth those actions to be miraculous, and done by a diuell; they are in truth

meere bables, wherein consisteth not so much as legierdemaine. For euerie carter may conceiue the slight hereof: bicause the booke and keie, siue and sheeres, being staied vp in that order, by naturall course, of necessitie must within that space (by meanes of the aire, and the pulse beating at the fingers end) turne and fall downe. Which experience being knowne to the witch or coniuror, she or he doo forme and frame their prophesie accordinglie: as whosoeuer maketh prowfe thereof shall manifestlie perceiue it. By this art, practise, or experience, you shall knowe what it is a clocke, if you hold betweene your finger and your thumbe a thred of six or seuen inches long, vnto the other end whereof is tied a gold ring, or some such like thing: in such sort as vpon the beating of your pulse, and the mouing of the ring, the same may strike vpon either side of a goblet or glasse. These things are (I confesse) witchcraft, bicause the effect or euent proceedeth not of that cause which such couseners saie, and others beleeue they doo. As when they laie a medicine for the ague, &c: to a childs wrists, they also pronounce certeine words or charmes, by vertue whereof (they saie) the child is healed: whereas indeed the medicine onelie dooth the feate. And this is also a sillie iugglers knacke, which wanteth legierdemaine, whom you shall see to thrust a pinne, or a small knife, through the head and braine of a chicken or pullet, and with certeine mysticall words seeme to cure him: whereas, though no such words were spoken, the chicken would liue, and doo well enough; as experience teacheth and declareth.

A naturall reason of the former knacke.

Againe, when such as haue mainteined the art and profession of coniuring, and haue written therevpon most cunninglie, haue published recantations, and confessed the deceipts thereof, as Cornelius Agrippa did, whie should we defend it? Also, when heathen princes, of great renowne, authoritie, & learning, haue searched, with much industrie and charge, the knowledge & secrecie of coniuration and witchcraft, & finallie found by experience all to be false and vaine that is reported of them, as Nero, Iulianus apostata, and Valence did; whie should we seeke for further triall, to prooue witchcraft and coniuration to be cousenage?

C. Agripp. in lib. de vanit. scient. & in epistola ante librum de occulta philosophia.

Plin. lib. natural. hist. 30. cap. 1.

Pet. Mart. in locis communibus.

Also, when the miracles imputed vnto them, exceed in quantitie, qualitie and number, all the miracles that Christ wrought here vpon earth, for the establishing of his gospell, for the confirmation

mation

mation of our faith, and for the aduancement of his glorious name; what good christian will beleeue them to be true? And when Christ himselfe saith; The works that I doo, no man else can accomplish; whie should we thinke that a foolish old woman can doo them all, and manie more?

Also, when Christ knew not these witches, nor spake one word of them in all the time of his being here vpon earth, hauing such necessarie occasion (if at leastwise they with their familiars could doo as he did by the spirit of God, as is constantlie affirmed) whie should we suppose that they can doo as they saie, but rather that they are deceiuers. When they are faine to saie, that witches wrought not in that art, all those thirtie three yeares that Christ liued, and that there were none in Iobs time, and that the cousening oracles are now ceased; who seeth not that they are witlesse, and madde fooles that mainteine it? When all the mischeefes are accomplished by poisons and naturall meanes, which they affirme to be brought to passe by words, it manifesteth to the world their cousenage. When all the places of scripture, which witchmongers allowe for the proofe of such witches, are prooued to make nothing for their purpose, their own fables & lies deserue small credit. When one of the cheefe points in controuersie; to wit, execution of witches, is grounded vpon a false translation; namelie, You shall not suffer a witch to liue (which is in Latine, *Veneficam non retinebitis in vita*) where the word in euerie mans eare soundeth to be a poisoner, rather than a worker of miracles, and so interpreted by the seuentie interpretors, Iosephus, and almost of all the Rabbins, which were Hebrues borne: whie should anie of their interpretations or allegations be trusted, or well accounted of? When working of miracles is ceased, and the gift of prophesie also; so as the godlie, through inuocation of the holie spirit, cannot performe such wonderfull things, as these witches and coniurors by the inuocation of diuels and wicked spirits vndertake, and are said to doo; what man that knoweth and honoureth God will be so infatuate as to beleeue these lies, and so preferre the power of witches and diuels before the godlie endued with Gods holie spirit? When manie printed bookes are published, even with authoritie, in confirmation of such miracles wrought by those coouseners, for the detection of witchcraft;

Note that during all Christs time vpon earth, which was 33. yeares, witches were put to silence, &c.

and

and in fine all is not onelie found false, and to haue béene accomplished by cousenage, but that there hath béene therein a set purpose to defame honest matrones, as to make them be thought to be witches: whie should we beléeue Bodin, M. Mal. &c: in their cousening tales and fables? When they saie that witches can flie in the aire, and come in at a little coane, or a hole in a glasse windowe, and steale awaie sucking children, and hurt their mothers; and yet when they are brought into prison, they cannot escape out of the grate, which is farre bigger: who will not condemne such accusations or confessions to be friuolous, &c? When (if their assertions were true) concerning the diuels vsuall taking of shapes, and walking, talking, conferring, hurting, and all maner of dealing with mortall creatures, Christs argument to Thomas had béene weake and easilie answered; yea the one halfe, or all the whole world might be inhabited by diuels, euerie poore mans house might be hired ouer his head by a diuell, he might take the shape and fauor of an honest woman, and plaie the witch; or of an honest man, and plaie the théefe, and so bring them both, or whome he list to the gallowes: who séeth not the vanitie of such assertions? For then the diuell might in the likenes of an honest man commit anie criminall offense; as Lauater in his ninetéenth chapter *De spectris* reporteth of a graue wise magistrate in the territorie of Tigurie, who affirmed, that as he and his seruant went through certeine pastures, he espied in a morning, the diuell in likenes of one whome he knew verie well, wickedlie dealing with a mare. Upon the sight whereof he immediatlie went to that fellowes house, and certeinlie learned there, that the same person went not out of his chamber that daie. And if he had not wiselie boolted out the matter, the good honest man (saith he) had surelie béene cast into prison, and put on the racke, &c.

But Christs argument was vndoubted: *Ergo, &c.*

I maruell for what purpose the magistrate went to that fellowes house.

The like storie we read of one Cunegunda, wife to Henrie the second emperor of that name, in whose chamber the diuell (in the likenes of a yongman, with whome she was suspected to be too familiar in court) was often séene comming in and out. Howbeit, she was purged by the triall *Candentis ferri*, and proued innocent: for she went vpon glowing iron vnhurt, &c. And yet Salomon saith; Maie a man carrie fier in his bosome, and his clothes

Albertus Crantzius in lib. 4. metropolis. cap. 4.

Prou. 6.

clothes not be burned? Or can a man go vpon coles, & his féete not scorched? And thus might the diuell get him vp into euerie pulpit, and spred heresies, as I doubt not but he dooth in the mouth of wicked preachers, though not so grosselie as is imagined and reported by the papists and witchmongers. And because it shall not be said that I béelie them, I will cite a storie crediblie reported by their chéefest doctors; namelie James Sprenger, and Henrie Institor, who saie as followeth, euen word for word. *Mal.malef. par.2.quæ.1. cap.9.*

How the diuell preached good doctrine in the shape of a preest, how he was discouered, and that it is a shame (after confutation of the greater witchcrafts) for anie man to giue credit to the lesser points thereof.

The sixt Chapter.

On a time the diuell went vp into a pulpit, and there made a verie catholike sermon: but a holie préest comming to the good spéed, by his holinesse perceiued that it was the diuell. So he gaue good eare vnto him, but could find no fault with his doctrine. And therefore so soone as the sermon was doone, he called the diuell vnto him, demanding the cause of his sincere preaching; who answered: Behold I speake the truth, knowing that while men be hearers of the word, and not followers, God is the more offended, and my kingdome the more inlarged. And this was the strangest deuise (I thinke) that euer anie diuell vsed: for the apostles themselues could haue done no more. Againe, when with all their familiars, their ointments, &c: whereby they ride inuisiblie, nor with all their charmes, they can neither conueie themselues from the hands of such as laie wait for them; nor can get out of prison, that otherwise can go in and out at a mouse hole; nor finallie can saue themselues from the gallowes, that can transubstantiate their own and others bodies into flies or fleas, &c: who séeth not, that either they lie, or are béelied in their miracles? When they are said to transfer their neighbors corne into

He should rather haue asked who gaue him orders and licence to preach.

their owne ground, and yet are perpetuall beggers, and cannot inrich themselues, either with monie or otherwise: who is so foolish as to remaine longer in doubt of their supernaturall power? When neuer any yet from the beginning of the world till this daie, hath openlie shewed any other tricke, conceipt, or cunning point of witchcraft, than legierdemaine or cousenage: who will tarrie any longer for further triall? When both the common law and also the iniunctions doo condemne prophesieng, & likewise false miracles, and such as beleeue them in these daies: who will not be afraid to giue credit to those knaueries? When héereby they make the diuell to be a god that heareth the praiers, and vnderstandeth the minds of men: who will not be ashamed, being a christian, to be so abused by them? When they that doo write most franklie of these matters, except lieng Sprenger & Institor, haue neuer séene any thing héerin; insomuch as the most credible proofe that Bodin bringeth of his woonderfull tales of witchcraft, is the report of his host at an alehouse where he baited: who will giue further eare vnto these incredible fables? When in all the new testament, we are not warned of these bodilie appearances of diuels, as we are of his other subtilties, &c: who will be afraid of their bugs? When no such bargaine is mentioned in the scriptures, why should we beléeue so incredible and impossible couenants, being the ground of all witchmongers religion, without the which they haue no probabilitie in the rest of their foolish assertions? When as, if any honest mans conscience be appealed vnto, he must confesse he neuer saw triall of such witchcraft or coniuration to take effect, as is now so certeinlie affirmed: what conscience can condemne poore soules that are accused wrongfullie, or beléeue them that take vpon them impiouslie to doo or worke those impossible things? When the whole course of the scripture is vtterlie repugnant to these impossible opinions, sauing a few sentences, which neuerthelesse rightlie vnderstood, reléeue them nothing at all: who will be seduced by their fond arguments? When as now that men haue spied the knauerie of oracles, & such pelfe, and that there is not one oracle in the world remaining: who cannot perceiue that all the residue héeretofore of those deuises, haue béene cousenages, knaueries, and lies? When the power of God is so impudentlie transferred to a base creature,

Iohn.Bodin.

Yet manie that beare the shew of honest men are verie credulous heerein.

ture, what good christian can abide to yéeld vnto such miracles wrought by fooles? When the old women accused of witchcraft, are vtterlie insensible, and vnable to saie for themselues; and much lesse to bring such matters to passe, as they are accused of: who will not lament to sée the extremitie vsed against them? When the foolisher sort of people are alwaies most mistrustfull of hurt by witchcraft, and the simplest and dotingest people mistrusted to doo the hurt: what wise man will not conceiue all to be but follie? When it were an easie matter for the diuell, if he can doo as they affirme, to giue them great store of monie, and make them rich, and dooth it not; being a thing which would procure him more disciples than any other thing in the world: the wise must néeds condemne the diuell of follie, and the witches of péeuishnesse, that take such paines, and giue their soules to the diuell to be tormented in hell fier, and their bodies to the hangman to be trussed on the gallowes, for nichels in a bag.

Witches are cōmonlie verie beggers.

A conclusion against witchcraft, in maner and forme of an Induction.

The seuenth Chapter.

By this time all kentishmen know (a few fooles excepted) that Robin goodfellowe is a knaue. All wisemen vnderstand that witches miraculous enterprises, being contrarie to nature, probabilitie and reason, are void of truth or possibilitie. All protestants perceiue, that popish charmes, coniurations, execrations, and benedictions are not effectuall, but be toies and deuises onelie to kéepe the people blind, and to inrich the cleargie. All christians sée, that to confesse witches can doo as they saie, were to attribute to a creature the power of the Creator. All children well brought vp conceiue and spie, or at the least are taught, that iuglers miracles doo consist of legierdemaine and confederacie. The verie heathen people are driuen to confesse, that there can be no such conference betwéene a spirituall diuell and a corporall witch, as is supposed. For no doubt, all the heathen would

A generall conclusion against them whō the subiect of this book concerneth

then haue euerie one his familiar diuell; for they would make no conscience to acquaint themselues with a diuell that are not acquainted with God.

I haue dealt, and conferred with manie (marrie I must confesse papists for the most part) that mainteine euery point of these absurdities. And surelie I allow better of their iudgements, than of others, vnto whome some part of these cousenages are discouered and séene: and yet concerning the residue, they remaine as wise as they were before; speciallie being satisfied in the highest and greatest parts of coniuring and cousening; to wit, in poperie, and yet will be abused with beggerlie iugling, and witchcraft.

Of naturall witchcraft or fascination.

The eight Chapter.

But bicause I am loth to oppose my selfe against all the writers héerein, or altogither to discredit their stories, or wholie to deface their reports, touching the effects of fascination or witchcraft; I will now set downe certeine parts thereof, which although I my selfe cannot admit, without some doubts, difficulties and exceptions, yet will I giue frée libertie to others to beléeue them, if they list; for that they doo not directlie oppugne my purpose.

Isigonus. Memphradorus. Solon, &c. Vairus. I. Bodinus. Mal. malef.

Manie great and graue authors write, and manie fond writers also affirme, that there are certeine families in Aphrica, which with their voices bewitch whatsoeuer they praise. Insomuch as, if they commend either plant, corne, infant, horsse, or anie other beasts, the same presentlie withereth, decaieth and dieth. This mysterie of witchcraft is not vnknowne or neglected of our witchmongers, and superstitious fooles héere in Europa. But to shew you examples néere home héere in England, as though our voice had the like operation: you shall not heare a butcher or horssecourser cheapen a bullocke or a iade, but if he

buie

buie him not, he saith, God saue him; if he do forget it, and the horsse or bullocke chance to die, the fault is imputed to the chapman. Certeinelie the sentence is godlie, if it do procéed from a faithfull and a godlie mind: but if it be spoken as a superstitious charme, by those words and syllables to compound with the fascination and misaduenture of infortunate words, the phrase is wicked and superstitious, though there were farre greater shew of godlinesse than appéereth therein.

Of inchanting or bewitching eies.

The ninth Chapter.

MAnie writers agrée with Virgil and Theocritus in the effect of witching eies, affirming that in Scythia, there are women called Bithiæ, hauing two balles or rather blacks in the apple of their eies. And as Didymus reporteth, some haue in the one eie two such balles, and in the other the image of a horsse. These (forsooth) with their angrie lookes do bewitch and hurt not onelie yoong lambs, but yoong children. There be other that reteine such venome in their eies, and send it foorth by beames and streames so violentlie, that therewith they annoie not onlie them with whom they are conuersant continuallie; but also all other, whose companie they frequent, of what age, strength, or complexion soeuer they be: as Cicero, Plutarch, Philarchus, and manie others giue out in their writings.

With the like propertie were the old Illyrian people indued: if we will credit the words of Sabinus grounded vpon the report of Aul.Gell.

This fascination (saith Iohn Baptista Porta Neapolitanus) though it begin by touching or breathing, is alwaies accomplished and finished by the eie, as an extermination or expulsion of the spirits through the eies, approching to the hart of the bewitched, and infecting the same, &c. Wherby it commeth to passe, that a child, or a yoong man endued with a cleare, whole, subtill and swéet bloud, yéeldeth the like spirits, breath, and vapors springing from the purer bloud of the hart. And the lightest and finest spirits,

I.Bap.Neapol. in lib.de naturali magia.

spirits, ascending into the highest parts of the head, doo fall into the eies, and so are from thence sent foorth, as being of all other parts of the bodie the most cleare, and fullest of veines and pores, and with the verie spirit or vapor procéeding thence, is conueied out as it were by beames and streames a certeine fierie force; whereof he that beholdeth sore eies shall haue good experience. For the poison and disease in the eie infecteth the aire next vnto it, and the same procéedeth further, carrieng with it the vapor and infection of the corrupted bloud: with the contagion whereof, the eies of the beholders are most apt to be infected. By this same meanes it is thought that the cockatrice depriueth the life, and a woolfe taketh awaie the voice of such as they suddenlie méete withall and behold.

This is held of some for truth.

Old women, in whome the ordinarie course of nature faileth in the office of purging their naturall monethlie humors, shew also some proofe hereof. For (as the said I.B. P.N. reporteth, alledging Aristotle for his author) they leaue in a looking glasse a certeine froth, by meanes of the grosse vapors procéeding out of their eies. Which commeth so to passe, bicause those vapors or spirits, which so abundantlie come from their eies, cannot pearse and enter into the glasse, which is hard, and without pores, and therefore resisteth: but the beames which are carried in the chariot or conueiance of the spirits, from the eies of one bodie to another, doo pearse to the inward parts, and there bréed infection, whilest they search and séeke for their proper region. And as these beames & vapors doo procéed from the hart of the one, so are they turned into bloud about the hart of the other: which bloud disagréeing with the nature of the bewitched partie, inféebleth the rest of his bodie, and maketh him sicke: the contagion whereof so long continueth, as the distempered bloud hath force in the members. And bicause the infection is of bloud, the feuer or sicknes will be continuall; whereas if it were of choler, or flegme, it would be intermittent or alterable.

Non est in speculo res quæ speculatur in eo.

Of naturall witchcraft for loue, &c.

The tenth Chapter.

BUt as there is fascination and witchcraft by malicious and angrie eies vnto displeasure: so are there witching aspects, tending contrariwise to loue, or at the least, to the procuring of good will and liking. For if the fascination or witchcraft be brought to passe or prouoked by the desire, by the wishing and coueting of anie beautifull shape or fauor, the venome is strained through the eies, though it be from a far, and the imagination of a beautifull forme resteth in the hart of the louer, and kindleth the fier wherewith it is afflicted. And bicause the most delicate, swéete, and tender bloud of the beloued doth there wander, his countenance is there represented shining in his owne bloud, and cannot there be quiet; and is so haled from thence, that the bloud of him that is wounded, reboundeth and slippeth into the wounder, according to the saieng of Lucretius the poet to the like purpose and meaning in these verses:

Nescio quis oculus teneros mihi fascinat agnos, saith *Virgil*: and thus Englished by *Abraham Fleming*:

I wote not I
What witching eie
Doth vse to hant
My tender lams
Sucking their dams
And them inchant.

Idque petit corpus, mens vnde est saucia amore,
Námque omnes plerúnque cadunt in vulnus, & illam
Emicat in partem sanguis, vnde icimur ictu;
Et si cominùs est, os tum ruber occupat humor:

And to that bodie tis rebounded,
From whence the mind by loue is wounded,
For in a maner all and some,
Into that wound of loue doo come,

Englished by Abraham Fleming.

And to that part the bloud doth flee
From whence with ſtroke we ſtriken bee,
If hard at hand, and neere in place,
Then ruddie colour filles the face.

Thus much may ſéeme ſufficient touching this matter of naturall magicke; whereunto though much more may be annexed, yet for the auoiding of tediouſnes, and for ſpéedier paſſage to that which remaineth; I will breake off this preſent treatiſe. And now ſomewhat ſhall be ſaid concerning diuels and ſpirits in the diſcourſe following.

A Discourse vpon diuels and spirits, and first of philosophers opinions, also the *maner of their reasoning herevpon;* and the same confuted.

The first Chapter.

There is no question nor theme (saith Hierome Cardane) so difficult to deale in, nor so noble an argument to dispute vpon, as this of diuels and spirits. For that being confessed or doubted of, the eternitie of the soule is either affirmed or denied. The heathen philosophers reson hereof amongest themselues in this sort. First, they that mainteine the perpetuitie of the soule, saie that if the soule died with the bodie; to what end should men take paines either to liue well or die well, when no reward for vertue nor punishment for vice insueth after this life, the which otherwise they might spend in ease and securitie? The other sort saie that vertue and honestie is to be pursued, *Non spe præmij, sed virtutis amore,* that is, Not for hope of reward, but for loue of vertue. If the soule liue euer (saie the other) the least portion of life is here. And therefore we that mainteine the perpetuitie of the soule, may be of the better comfort and courage, to susteine with more constancie the losse of children, yea and the losse of life it selfe: whereas, if the soule

H. Card. lib. de var. rer. 16. cap. 93.

The Platonists and Stoiks.

The Epicureans and Peripateticks.

soule

soule were mortall, all our hope and felicitie were to be placed in this life, which manie Atheists (I warrant you) at this daie doo. But both the one and the other missed the cushion. For, to doo anie thing without Christ, is to wearie our selues in vaine; sith in him onelie our corruptions are purged. And therefore the follie of the Gentils, that place *summum bonum* in the felicitie of the bodie, or in the happines or pleasures of the mind, is not onelie to be derided, but also abhorred. For, both our bodies and minds are intermedled with most miserable calamities: and therefore therin cannot consist perfect felicitie. But in the word of God is exhibited and offered vnto vs that hope which is most certeine, absolute, sound & sincere, not to be answered or denied by the iudgement of philosophers themselues. For they that preferre temperance before all other things as *summum bonum*, must néeds sée it to be but a witnesse of their naturall calamitie, corruption and wickednes; and that it serueth for nothing, but to restraine the dissolutenes, which hath place in their minds infected with vices; which are to be bridled with such corrections: yea and the best of them all faileth in some point of modestie. Wherefore serueth our philosophers prudence, but to prouide for their owne follie and miserie; whereby they might else be vtterlie ouerthrowne? And if their nature were not intangled in errors, they should haue no néed of such circumspection. The iustice whereof they speake, serueth but to kéepe them from rauine, theft, and violence: and yet none of them all are so iust, but that the verie best and vprightest of them fall into great infirmities, both dooing and suffering much wrong and iniurie. And what is their fortitude, but to arme them to endure miserie, gréefe, danger, and death it selfe? But what happinesse or goodnesse is to be reposed in that life, which must be waited vpon with such calamities, and finallie must haue the helpe of death to finish it? I saie, if it be so miserable, why doo they place *summum bonum* therein? S. Paule to the Romans sheweth, that it cannot be that we should atteine to iustice, through the morall and naturall actions and duties of this life: bicause that neuer the Iewes nor the Gentiles could expresse so much in their liues, as the verie lawe of nature or of Moses required. And therefore he that worketh without Christ, doth as he that reckoneth without his host.

Summum bonum cannot consist in the happines of the bodie or mind.

Morall téperance.

Morall prudence.

Morall iustice.

Morall fortitude.

Rom. 2.

Mine

Mine owne opinion concerning this argument, to the disproofe of some writers herevpon.

The second Chapter.

I For my part do also thinke this argument, about the nature & substance of diuels and spirits, to be difficult, as I am persuaded that no one author hath in anie certeine or perfect sort hitherto written thereof. In which respect I can neither allow the vngodly and prophane sects and doctrines of the Sadduces & Peripatetiks, who denie that there are any diuels or spirits at all; nor the fond & superstitious treatises of Plato, Proclus, Plotinus, Porphyrie; nor yet the vaine & absurd opinions of Psellus, Nider, Sprenger, Cumanus, Bodin, Michaël, Andræas, Ianus Matthæus, Laurentius Ananias, Iamblichus, &c: who with manie others write so ridiculouslie in these matters, as if they were babes fraied with bugges; some affirming that the soules of the dead become spirits, the good to be angels, the bad to be diuels; some that spirits or diuels are onelie in this life; some, that they are men; some, that they are women; some, that diuels are of such gender as they list themselues; some, that they had no beginning, nor shall haue ending, as the Manicheis mainteine; some, that they are mortall & die, as Plutarch affirmeth of Pan; some, that they haue no bodies at all, but receiue bodies, according to their phantasies & imaginations; some, that their bodies are giuen vnto them; some, that they make themselues. Some saie they are wind; some, that they are the breath of liuing creatures; some, that one of them begatt another; some, that they were created of the least part of the masse, whereof the earth was made; and some, that they are substances betwæne God and man, and that of them some are terrestriall, some celestiall, some waterie, some airie, some fierie, some starrie, and some of each and euerie part of the elements, and that they know our thoughts, and carrie our good works and praiers to God, and returne his benefits backe vnto vs,

The question about spirits doubtfull and difficult.

Plotinus.

The Greks.

Laur. Ananias.

The Manicheis.

Plutarch.

Psellus.

Mal. malef.

Auicen, and the Caballists.

The Thalmudists.

Psellus, &c.

The Platonists.

The Papists.

and

and that they are to be worshipped: wherein they méete and agrée iumpe with the papists; as if you read the notes vpon the second chapter to the Colossians, in the Seminaries testament printed at Rhemes, you shall manifestlie sée, though as contrarie to the word of God as blacke to white, as appeareth in the Apocalypse, where the angell expresselie forbad Iohn to worship him.

Apoc.19.10 Ibid.22.8.9.

Againe, some saie that they are meane betwixt terrestriall and celestiall bodies, communicating part of each nature; and that although they be eternall, yet that they are mooued with affections: and as there are birds in the aire, fishes in the water, and wormes in the earth; so in the fourth element, which is the fier, is the habitation of spirits and diuels. And least we should thinke them idle, they saie they haue charge ouer men, and gouernement in all countries and nations. Some saie that they are onelie imaginations in the mind of man. Tertullian saith they are birds, and flie faster than anie fowle of the aire. Some saie that diuels are not, but when they are sent; and therefore are called euill angels. Some thinke that the diuell sendeth his angels abrode, and he himselfe maketh his continuall abode in hell, his mansion place.

The Sadduces.

The opinion of Psellus touching spirits, of their seuerall orders, and a confutation of his errors therein.

The third Chapter.

Psellus de operatione dæmonum, cap.8.

PSellus being of authoritie in the church of Rome, and not impugnable by anie catholike, being also instructed in these supernaturall or rather diabolicall matters by a monke called Marcus, who had béene familiarlie conuersant a long time, as he said, with a certeine diuell, reporteth vpon the same diuels owne word, which must néeds vnderstand best the state of this question, that the bodies of angels and diuels consist not now of all one element, though perhaps it were otherwise before the fall of Lucifer,

fer; and that the bodies of spirits and diuels can féele and be felt, do hurt and be hurt: in so much as they lament when they are stricken; and being put to the fier are burnt, and yet that they themselues burne continuallie, in such sort as they leaue ashes behind them in places where they haue béene; as manifest triall thereof hath béene (if he saie truelie) in the borders of Italie. He also saith vpon like credit and assurance, that diuels and spirits do auoid and shed from out of their bodies, such séed or nature, as whereby certeine vermine are ingendered; and that they are nourished with food, as we are, sauing that they receiue it not into their mouthes, but sucke it vp into their bodies, in such sort as sponges soke vp water. Also he saith they haue names, shapes, and dwelling places, as indéed they haue, though not in temporall and corporall sort.

Such are spirits walking in white sheetes, &c.

Psellus, ibid. cap.9.

*Idem.cap.*10.

Furthermore, he saith, that there are six principall kind of diuels, which are not onelie corporall, but temporall and worldlie. The first sort consist of fier, wandering in the region néere to the moone, but haue no power to go into the moone. The second sort consisting of aire, haue their habitation more lowe and néere vnto vs: these (saith he) are proud and great boasters, verie wise and deceitfull, and when they come downe are séene shining with streames of fier at their taile. He saith that these are commonlie coniured vp to make images laugh, and lamps burne of their owne accord; and that in Assyria they vse much to prophesie in a bason of water. Which kind of incantation is vsuall among our coniurors: but it is here commonlie performed in a pitcher or pot of water; or else in a violl of glasse filled with water, wherein they say at the first a litle sound is heard without a voice, which is a token of the diuels comming. Anon the water séemeth to be troubled, and then there are heard small voices, wherewith they giue their answers, speaking so softlie as no man can well heare them: bicause (saith Cardane) they would not be argued or rebuked of lies. But this I haue else-where more largelie described and confuted. The third sort of diuels Psellus saith are earthlie; the fourth waterie, or of the sea; the fift vnder the earth; the sixt sort are Lucifugi, that is, such as delight in darkenes, & are scant indued with sense, and so dull, as they can scarse be moued with charmes or coniurations.

*Idem ibid. cap.*11.

Oh hethenish, nay oh papisticall follie!

The opinions of all papists.

A cousening knauerie.

H.Card.lib. de var.rer. 16.*cap.*93.

The

The same man saith, that some diuels are woorse than other, but yet that they all hate God, and are enimies to man. But the woorser moitie of diuels are *Aquei, Subterranei,* and *Lucifugi*; that is, waterie, vnder the earth, and shunners of light: bicause (saith he) these hurt not the soules of men, but destroie mens bodies like mad and rauening beasts, molesting both the inward and outward parts thereof. *Aquei* are they that raise tempests, and drowne seafaring men, and doo all other mischéefes on the water. *Subterranei* and *Lucifugi* enter into the bowels of men, and torment them that they possesse with the phrensie, and the falling euill. They also assault them that are miners or pioners, which vse to worke in déepe and darke holes vnder the earth. Such diuels as are earthie and aierie, he saith enter by subtiltie into the minds of men, to deceiue them, prouoking men to absurd and vnlawfull affections.

Diuels of diuerse natures, and their operations.

But herein his philosophie is verie vnprobable, for if the diuell be earthie, he must néeds be palpable; if he be palpable, he must néeds kill them into whose bodies he entereth. Item, if he be of earth created, then must he also be visible and vntransformable in that point: for Gods creation cannot be annihilated by the creature. So as, though it were granted, that they might adde to their substance matter and forme, &c: yet is it most certeine, that they cannot diminish or alter the substance whereof they consist, as not to be (when they list) spirituall, or to relinquish and leaue earth, water, fier, aier, or this and that element whereof they are created. But howsoeuer they imagine of water, aier, or fier, I am sure earth must alwaies be visible and palpable; yea, and aier must alwaies be inuisible, and fier must be hot, and water must be moist. And of these thrée latter bodies, speciallie of water and aier, no forme nor shape can be exhibited to mortall eies naturallie, or by the power of anie creature.

The former opinion confuted.

More

More absurd assertions of Psellus and such others, concerning the actions and passions of spirits, his definition of them, and of his experience therein.

The fourth Chapter.

Moreouer, the same author saith, that spirits whisper in our minds, and yet not speaking so lowd, as our eares may heare them: but in such sort as our soules speake together when they are dissolued; making an example by lowd speaking a farre off, and a comparison of soft whispering neere hand, so as the diuell entreth so neere to the mind as the eare need not heare him; and that euerie part of a diuell or spirit seeth, heareth, and speaketh, &c. But herein I will beleeue Paule better than Psellus, or his monke, or the monks diuell. For Paule saith; If the whole bodie were an eie, where were hearing? If the whole bodie were hearing, where were smelling, &c. Whereby you may see what accord is betwixt Gods word and witchmongers.

Psellus lib. de operat. dæm.cap.12.

If this were spoken of the temptations, &c. of satan, it were tollerable.

1.Cor.12.

The papists proceed in this matter, and saie, that these spirits vse great knauerie and vnspeakeable bawderie in the breech and middle parts of man and woman, by tickeling, and by other lecherous deuises; so that they fall iumpe in iudgement and opinion, though verie erroniouslie, with the foresaid Psellus, of whose doctrine also this is a parcell; to wit, that these diuels hurt not cattell for the hate they beare vnto them, but for loue of their naturall and temperate heate and moisture, being brought vp in deepe, drie and cold places: marie they hate the heate of the sun and the fier, bicause that kind of heate drieth too fast. They throwe downe stones vpon men, but the blowes thereof doo no harme to them whome they hit; bicause they are not cast with anie force: for (saith he) the diuels haue little and small strength, so as these stones doo nothing but fraie and terrifie men, as scarecrowes doo birds out of the corne feelds. But when these diuels enter into the pores, than doo they raise woonderfull tumults in the bodie and

Psellus. ibid. cap.13.

If a babe of two yeeres old throwe stones from Powles steeple, they will doo hurt, &c.

Howbeit I thinke the spirit of

and mind of man. And if it be a subterrene diuell, it doth writh and bow the possessed, and speaketh by him, vsing the spirit of the patient as his instrument. But he saith, that when Lucifugus possesseth a man, he maketh him dumbe, and as it were dead: and these be they that are cast out (saith he) onelie by fasting and praier.

tentation to be that diuell; & therefore Christ biddeth vs watch and praie, least we be temted, &c.

The same Psellus, with his mates Bodin and the penners of M.Mal. and others, doo find fault with the physicians that affirme such infirmities to be cureable with diet, and not by inchantments; saieng, that physicians doo onlie attend vpon the bodie, & that which is perceiueable by outward sense; and that as touching this kind of diuine philosophie, they haue no skill at all. And to make diuels and spirits seeme yet more corporall and terrene, he saith that certeine diuels are belonging to certeine countries, and speake the languages of the same countries, and none other; some the Assyrian, some the Chaldæan, & some the Persian toong, and that they feele stripes, and feare hurt, and speciallie the dint of the sword (in which respect coniurors haue swords with them in their circles, to terrifie them) and that they change shapes, euen as suddenlie as men doo change colour with blushing, feare, anger, and other moods of the mind. He saith yet further, that there be brute beasts among them, and yet diuels, and subiect to anie kind of death; insomuch as they are so foolish, as they may be compared to flies, fleas, and wormes, who haue no respect to any thing but their food, not regarding or remembring the hole from out of whence they came last. Marrie diuels compounded of earth, cannot often transforme themselues, but abide in some one shape, such as they best like, and most delight in; to wit, in the shape of birds or women: and therefore the Greeks call them Neidas, Nereidas, and Dreidas in the feminine gender; which Dreidæ inhabited (as some write) the ilands beside Scotland called Druidæ, which by that meanes had their denomination and name. Other diuels that dwell in drier places transforme themselues into the masculine kind. Finallie Psellus saith they know our thoughts, and can prophesie of things to come. His definition is, that they are perpetuall minds in a passible bodie.

Psel. in operat. dæm. cap. 14.

Idem. cap. 17

Beastlike diuels.

To verefie these toies he saith, that he himselfe sawe in a certeine night a man brought vp by Aletus Libius into a mountaine,

But *Psellus* sawe nothing himselfe.

taine, and that he tooke an hearbe, and spat thrise into his mouth, and annointed his eies with a certeine ointment, so as thereby he sawe great troopes of diuels, and perceiued a crowe to flie into his mouth; and since that houre he could prophesie at all times, sauing on good fridaie, and easter sundaie. If the end of this tale were true, it might not onelie haue satisfied the Greeke church, in keeping the daie of easter, togither with the church of Rome; but might also haue made the pope (that now is) content with our christmas and easter daie, and not to haue gathered the minuts together, and reformed it so, as to shew how falselie he and his predecessors (whome they saie could not erre) haue obserued it hitherto. And trulie this, and the dansing of the sunne on easter daie morning sufficientlie or rather miraculouslie prooueth that computation, which the pope now beginneth to doubt of, and to call in question.

Probable and likelie stuffe.

The opinion of Fascius Cardanus touching spirits, and of his familiar diuell.

The fift Chapter.

Fascius Cardanus had (as he himselfe and his sonne Hierome Cardanus report) a familiar diuell, consisting of the fierie element, who, so long as he vsed coniuration, did giue true answers to all his demands: but when he burned vp his booke of coniurations, though he resorted still vnto him, yet did he make false answers continuallie. He held him bound twentie & eight yeares, and loose fiue yeares. And during the time that he was bound, he told him that there were manie diuels or spirits. He came not alwaies alone, but sometimes some of his fellowes with him. He rather agreed with Psellus than with Plato: for he said they were begotten, borne, died, and liued long; but how long, they told him not: howbeit as he might coniecture by his diuels face, who was 42. yeares old, and yet appeared verie yoong, he thought they liued two or three hundred yeares; and they said that their soules

Fasc. Card. operat. de dæmon.

and ours also died with their bodies. They had schooles and uniuersities among them: but he conceiued not that anie were so dull headded, as Psellus maketh them. But they are verie quicke in credit, that beléeue such fables, which indéed is the groundworke of witchcraft and coniuration. But these histories are so grosse and palpable, that I might be thought as wise in going about to confute them, as to answer the stories of Frier Rush, Adam Bell, or the golden Legend.

The opinion of Plato concerning spirits, diuels and angels, what sacrifices they like best, what they feare, and of Socrates his familiar diuell.

The sixt Chapter.

The Platonists opinion.

PLato and his followers hold, that good spirits appeare in their owne likenesse; but that euill spirits appeare and shew themselues in the forme of other bodies; and that one diuell reigneth ouer the rest, as a prince dooth in euerie perfect commonwelth ouer men. Item, they obteine their purposes and desires, onelie by intreatie, of men and women; bicause in nature they are their inferiors, and vse authoritie ouer men none otherwise than priests by vertue of their function, and bicause of religion, wherein (they saie) they execute the office of God. Sometimes they saie that the fierie spirits or supreme substances enter into the puritie of the mind, and so obteine their purpose; sometimes otherwise, to wit, by vertue of holie charmes, and euen as a poore man obteineth for Gods sake anie thing at a princes hand as it were by importunatnesse.

What kind of sacrifices each spirit liketh best.

The other sort of diuels and defiled soules are so conuersant on earth, as that they doo much hurt vnto earthlie bodies, speciallie in lecherie. Gods and angels (saie they) bicause they want all materiall and grosse substance, desire most the pure sacrifice of the mind. The grosser and more terrestriall spirits desire the grosser sacrifices; as beasts and cattell. They in the middle or

meane

meane region delight to haue frankincense, and such meane stuffe offered vnto them: and therefore (saie they) it is necessarie to sacrifice vnto them, all maner of things, so the same be slaine, and die not of their owne accord: for such they abhorre. Some saie that spirits feare wonderfullie vaine threats, and therevpon will depart; as if you tell them that you will cut the heauens in péeces, or reueale their secrets, or complaine of them to the gods, or saie that you will doo anie impossibilitie, or such things as they cannot vnderstand; they are so timerous, as they will presentlie be gone: and that is thought the best waie to be rid of them. But these be most commonlie of that sort or companie, which are called *Principatus*, being of all other the most easie to be coniured.

They saie Socrates had a familiar diuell: which Plato relieth much vpon, vsing none other argument to proue that there are such spirits, but bicause Socrates (that would not lie) said so; and partlie bicause that diuell did euer dissuade and prohibit, not onelie in Socrates his owne cases, but sometimes in his fréends behalfe; who (if they had béene ruled) might through his admonition haue saued their liues. His disciples gathered that his diuell was Saturnall, and a principall fierie diuell; and that he, and all such as doo naturallie know their diuels, are onlie such as are called *Dæmonij viri*, otherwise, Couseners. Item, they saie that fierie spirits vrge men to contemplation, the aierie to busines, the waterie to lust; and among these there are some that are Martiall, which giue fortitude; some are Iouiall, giuing wisedome; some Saturniall, alwaies vsing dissuasion and dehorting. Item, some are borne with vs, and remaine with vs all our life; some are méere strangers, who are nothing else but the soules of men departed this life, &c.

Of Socrates his priuate diuell or familiar spirit.

Platos nine orders of spirits and angels, Dionysius his diuision thereof not much differing from the same, all disprooued by learned diuines.

The seuenth Chapter.

PLato proposeth or setteth foorth nine seuerall orders of spirits, besides the spirits and soules of men. The first spirit is God that commandeth all the residue; the second are those that are called Ideæ, which giue all things to all men; the third are the soules of heauenlie bodies which are mortall; the fourth are angels; the fift archangels; the sixt are diuels, who are ministers to infernall powers, as angels are to supernall; the seuenth are halfe gods; the eight are principalities; the ninth are princes. From which diuision Dionysius dooth not much swarue, sauing that he dealeth (as he saith) onelie with good spirits, whome he likewise diuideth into nine parts or offices. The first he calleth Seraphim, the second Cherubim, the third thrones, the fourth dominations, the fift vertues, the sixt powers, the seuenth principalities, the eight archangels, the ninth and inferior sort he calleth angels. Howbeit, some of these (in my thinking) are euill spirits: or else Paule gaue vs euill counsell, when he willed vs to fight against principalities, and powers, and all spirituall wickednes.

Dionys. in cælest. hierarch. cap. 9. 10.

Ephes. 6.

But Dionysius in that place goeth further, impropriating to euerie countrie, and almost to euerie person of anie accompt, a peculiar angell; as to Iewrie, he assigneth Michael; to Adam, Razael; to Abraham, Zakiel; to Isaach, Raphael; to Iacob, Peliel; to Moses, Metraton, &c. But in these discourses he either folowed his owne imaginations and conceipts, or else the corruptions of that age. Neuertheles, I had rather confute him by M. Caluine, and my kinseman M. Deering, than by my selfe, or mine owne words. For M. Caluine saith, that Dionysius herein speaketh not as by hearesaie, but as though he had slipped downe from heauen, and told of things which he had seene. And yet (saith he)

Dionys. in cælest. hierarch.

I. Calu. lib. instit. 1. c. 14.

Paule

Paule was rapt into the third heauen, and reporteth no such matters. But if you read M. Deering vpon the first chapter to the Hebrues, you shall sée this matter notablie handled; where he saith, that whensoeuer archangell is mentioned in the scriptures, it signifieth our sauiour Christ, and no creature. And certeine it is that Christ himselfe was called an angell. The names also of angels, as Michael, Gabriel, &c: are giuen to them (saith Caluine) according to the capacitie of our weakenesse. But bicause the decision of this question is neither within the compasse of mans capacitie, nor yet of his knowledge, I will procéed no further to discusse the same, but to shew the absurd opinions of papists and witchmongers on the one side, and the most sober and probable collections of the contrarie minded on the other side.

Edw. Deering, in lect. vpon the Hebrues reading. 6.

Mal. 3. 1.

The commensement of diuels fondlie gathered out of the 14. of Isaie, of Lucifer and of his fall, the Cabalists the Thalmudists and Schoolemens opinions of the creation of angels.

The eight Chapter.

THe witchmongers, which are most commonlie bastard diuines, doo fondlie gather and falselie conceiue the commensement of diuels out of the fourtéenth of Isaie; where they suppose Lucifer is cited, as the name of an angell; who on a time being desirous to be checkemate with God himselfe, would néeds (when God was gone a litle aside) be sitting downe, or rather pirking vp in Gods owne principall and cathedrall chaire; and that therfore God cast him and all his confederates out of heauen: so as some fell downe from thence to the bottome of the earth; some hauing descended but into the midle region, and the taile of them hauing not yet passed through the higher region, staied euen then & there, when God said, Ho. But God knoweth there is no such thing ment nor mentioned in that place. For there is onlie foreshewed the deposing and depriuation of king Nabuchadnez-zar,

Isai. 14.

who exalting himselfe in pride (as it were aboue the starres) estéemed his glorie to surmount all others, as farre as Lucifer the bright morning starre shineth more gloriouslie than the other common starres, and was punished by exile, untill such time as he had humbled himselfe; and therefore metaphoricallie was called Lucifer.

But forsooth, bicause these great clarkes would be thought methodicall, and to haue crept out of wisedomes bosome, who rather cralled out of follies bréeches; they take vpon them to shew vs, first, whereof these angels that fell from heauen were created; to wit, of the left side of that massie moold, whereof the world was compounded, the which (saie they) was *Putredo terræ*, that is, the rottennesse of the earth. The Cabalists, with whome Auicen séemeth to agrée, saie that one of these begat another: others saie, they were made all at once. The Gréekes doo write that angels were created before the world. The Latinists saie they were made the fourth daie, when the starres were made. Laurence Ananias saith, they were made the first daie, and could not be made the fourth daie, bicause it is written; *Quando facta sunt sidera, laudauerunt me angeli*: so as (saith he) they were made vnder the name of the heauens.

The opinion of the Thalmudists.

Laur. Anan. lib. de natur. dæm. 1.

Creauit cœlum & terram.

There is also a great question among the scholemen, whether more angels fell downe with Lucifer, or remained in heauen with Michael. Manie hauing a bad opinion of the angels honesties, affirme that the greater part fell with Lucifer: but the better opinion is (saith Laurentius Ananias) that the most part remained. And of them that thinke so, some saie the tenth part were cast downe, some the ninth; and some gather vpon S. Iohn, that the third part were onelie damned; bicause it is written, that the dragon with his taile plucked downe with him the third part of the starres.

Lau. Anan. lib. de natur. dæm. 1.

Of the contention betweene the Greeke and Latine church touching the fall of angels, the variance among papists themselues herein, a conflict betweene Michael and Lucifer.

The ninth Chapter.

There was also another contention betweene the Greeke church and the Latine; to wit, of what orders of angels they were that did fall with Lucifer. Our scholemen saie they were [redacted] of the nine orders of angels in Lucifers conspiracie. But bicause the superior order was of the more noble constitution and excellent estate, and the inferior of a lesse worthie nature, the more part of the inferior orders fell as guiltie and offenders with Lucifer. Some saie the diuell himselfe was of the inferior order of angels, and some that he was of the highest order: bicause it is written, *In cherubim extentus & protegens posui te in monte sancto Dei.* And these saie further, that he was called the dragon, bicause of his excellent knowledge. Finallie, these great doctors conclude, that the diuell himselfe was of the order of seraphim, which is the highest, bicause it is written, *Quomodo enim manè oriebaris Lucifer?* They of this sect affirme, that Cacodæmones were they that rebelled against Ioue; I meane they of Plato his sect, himselfe also holding the same opinion. Our scholemen differ much in the cause of Lucifers fall. For some said it was for speaking these words, *Ponam sedem meam in aquilone, & similis ero altissimo*: others saie, bicause he vtterlie refused felicitie, and thought scorne thereof; others saie, bicause he thought all his strength proceeded from himselfe, and not from God; others saie that it was, bicause he attempted to do that by himselfe, and his owne abilitie, which he should haue obteined by the gift of another; others saie, that his condemnation grew herevpon, for that he challenged the place of the Messias; others saie, bicause he detracted the time to adore the maiestie of God, as other angels did; others saie, bicause

Lau. Anan. lib. de. natur. dem. 1.

I will settle my selfe in the north, and will be like the highest.

cause he vtterlie refused it. Scotus and his disciples saie that it was, bicause he rebelliouslie claimed equall omnipotencie with God: with whom lightlie the Thomists neuer agrée. Others saie it was for all these causes together, and manie more: so as herevpon (saith Laurentius Ananias) grew a wonderfull conflict betwéene Michaël and the good angels on the one side, and Lucifer and his fréends on the other: so as, after a long and doubtfull skirmish, Michaël ouerthrew Lucifer, and turned him and his fellowes out of the doores.

Laur. Anan. lib. de natur. dæm. 1.

Where the battell betweene Michael and Lucifer was fought, how long it continued, and of their power, how fondlie papists and infidels write of them, and how reuerentlie Christians ought to thinke of them.

The tenth Chapter.

NOw where this battell was fought, and how long it continued, there is as great contention among the schoolemen, as was betwixt Michaël and Lucifer. The Thomists saie this battell was fought in the imperiall heauen, where the abode is of blessed spirits, and the place of pleasure and felicitie. Augustine and manie others saie, that the battell was fought in the highest region of the aier; others saie, in the firmament; others in paradise. The Thomists also saie it continued but one instant or pricke of time; for they tarried but two instants in all, euen from their creation to their expulsion. The Scotists saie, that betwéene their production and their fall, there were iust foure instants. Neuertheles, the greatest number of schoolemen affirme, that they continued onelie thrée instants: bicause it stood with Gods iustice, to giue them thrée warnings; so as at the third warning Lucifer fell downe like led (for so are the words) to the bottome of hell; the rest were left in the aire, to tempt man. The Sadduces were as grosse the other waie: for they said, that by angels was ment nothing else, but the motion that God doth inspire in men, or the tokens

Instans, viz. punctum temp. nempe indiuiduum Nunc.

tokens of his power. He that readeth Eusebius shall sée manie more absurd opinions and asseuerations of angels: as how manie thousand yeares they serue as angels, before they come to the promotion of archangels, &c. *Euseb. in eccles. histor.*

Monsieur Bodin, M. Mal. and manie other papists gather vpon the seuenth of Daniel, that there are iust ten millians of angels in heauen. Manie saie that angels are not by nature, but by office. Finallie, it were infinite to shew the absurd and curious collections hereabout. I for my part thinke with Caluine, that angels are creatures of God; though Moses spake nothing of their creation, who onelie applied himselfe to the capacitie of the common people, reciting nothing but things séene. And I saie further with him, that they are heauenlie spirits, whose ministration and seruice God vseth: and in that respect are called angels. I saie yet againe with him, that it is verie certeine, that they haue no shape at all; for they are spirits, who neuer haue anie: and finallie, I saie with him, that the scriptures, for the capacitie of our wit, doth not in vaine paint out angels vnto vs with wings; bicause we should conceiue, that they are readie swiftlie to succour vs. And certeinlie all the sounder diuines do conceiue and giue out, that both the names and also the number of angels are set downe in the scripture by the Holie-ghost, in termes to make vs vnderstand the greatnesse and the manner of their messages; which (I saie) are either expounded by the number of angels, or signified by their names.

10000000. *Iohannes Cassianus in confessione theolog. tripart.* *I. Cal. lib. instit. 1. cap. 14. sect. 8.*

Furthermore, the schoole doctors affirme, that foure of the superior orders of angels neuer take anie forme or shape of bodies, neither are sent of anie arrand at anie time. As for archangels, they are sent onelie about great and secret matters; and angels are common hacknies about euerie trifle; and that these can take what shape or bodie they list: marie they neuer take the forme of women or children. Item they saie that angels take most terrible shapes: for Gabriel appeared to Marie, when he saluted hir, *Facie rutilante, veste coruscante, ingressu mirabili, aspectu terribili, &c:* that is, with a bright countenance, shining attire, wonderfull gesture, and a dredfull visage, &c. But of apparitions I haue spoken somewhat before, and will saie more hereafter. It hath béene long, and continueth yet a constant opinion, not onelie

Mich. And. thes. 107. 102. Idem thes. 103. 108.

lie among the papists; but among others also, that euerie man hath assigned him, at the time of his natiuitie, a good angell and a bad. For the which there is no reason in nature, nor authoritie in scripture. For not one angell, but all the angels are said to reioise more of one conuert, than of ninetie and nine iust. Neither did one onelie angell conueie Lazarus into Abrahams bosome. And therefore I conclude with Caluine, that he which referreth to one angell, the care that GOD hath to euerie one of vs, doth himselfe great wrong: as may appeare by so manie fierie chariots shewed by Elizæus to his seruant. But touching this mysterie of angels, let vs reuerentlie thinke of them, and not curiouslie search into the nature of them, considering the vilenes of our condition, in respect of the glorie of their creation. And as for the foresaid fond imaginations and fables of Lucifer, &c: they are such as are not onelie ridiculous, but also accomptable among those impious curiosities, and vaine questions, which Paule speaketh of: neither haue they anie tittle or letter in the scripture for the maintenance of their grosse opinions in this behalfe.

Luk.15,7.
Luk.16,23.
I.Cal. lib. instit. 1. cap. 14.
2.Reg.6.17

Whether they became diuels which being angels kept not their vocation, in Iude and Peter; of the fond opinions of the Rabbins touching spirits and bugs, with a confutation thereof.

The eleuenth Chapter.

WE do read in Iude, and find it confirmed in Peter, that the angels kept not their first estate, but left their owne habitation, and sinned, and (as Iob saith) committed follie: and that God therefore did cast them downe into hell, reseruing them in euerlasting chaines vnder darkenes, vnto the iudgement of the great daie. But manie diuines saie, that they find not anie where, that God made diuels of them, or that they became the princes of the world, or else of the aire; but rather prisoners. Howbeit, diuers doctors affirme, that this Lucifer, notwithstanding his fall, hath greater

Iud.vers.6.
2.Pet.2.4.
Mal. malef. par.2. quæ.1. cap.2.3.

greater power than any of the angels in heauen: marrie they say that there be certeine other diuels of the inferiour sort of angels, which were then thrust out for smaller faults, and therefore are tormented with little paines, besides eternall damnation: and these (saie they) can doo little hurt. They affirme also, that they onelie vse certeine iugling knacks, delighting thereby to make men laugh, as they trauell by the high waies: but other (saie they) are much more churlish. For proofe héereof they alledge the eighth of Matthew, where he would none otherwise be satisfied but by exchange, from the annoieng of one man, to the destruction of a whole heard of swine. The Rabbines, and namelie Rabbi Abraham, writing vpon the second of Genesis, doo say, that God made the fairies, bugs, Incubus, Robin good fellow, and other familiar or domesticall spirits & diuels on the fridaie: and being preuented with the euening of the sabboth, finished them not, but left them vnperfect; and therefore, that euer since they vse to flie the holinesse of the sabboth, séeking darke holes in mountaines and woods, wherein they hide themselues till the end of the sabboth, and then come abroad to trouble and molest men.

Mal. malef. part. 2. cap. 1. quest. 1.

Mich. And. Laur. Anan. Mal. malef. &c.

Author lib. Zeor hammor in Gen. 2.

But as these opinions are ridiculous and fondlie collected; so if we haue onelie respect to the bare word, or rather to the letter, where spirits or diuels are spoken of in the scriptures, we shall run into as dangerous absurdities as these are. For some are so carnallie minded, that a spirit is no sooner spoken of, but immediatlie they thinke of a blacke man with clouen féet, a paire of hornes, a taile, clawes, and eies as broad as a bason, &c. But surelie the diuell were not so wise in his generation, as I take him to be, if he would terrifie men with such vglie shapes, though he could doo it at his pleasure. For by that meanes men should haue good occasion & oportunitie to flie from him, & to run to God for succour; as the maner is of all them that are terrified, though perchance they thought not vpon God of long time before. But in truth we neuer haue so much cause to be afraid of the diuell, as when he flatteringlie insinuateth himselfe into our harts, to satisfie, please, and serue our humors, entising vs to prosecute our owne appetits and pleasures, without anie of these externall terrors. I would wéete of these men, where they doo find in the scriptures,

The grosse dulnesse of manie at the hearing of a spirit named.

tures, that some diuels be spirituall, and some corporall; or how these earthie or waterie diuels enter into the mind of man. Au-
Aug.in ser.4. gustine saith, and diuerse others affirme, that sathan or the diuell
Greg.29. while we feed, allureth vs with gluttonie: he thrusteth lust into
sup.Iob. our generation; and sloth into our exercise; into our conuersa-
Leo pont.ser. tion, enuie; into our traffike, auarice; into our correction, wrath;
8.Natiuit. into our gouernment, pride: he putteth into our harts euill cogitations; into our mouthes, lies, &c. When we wake, he moueth vs to euill works; when we sleepe, to euill and filthie dreames; he prouoketh the merrie to loosenesse, and the sad to despaire.

That the diuels assaults are spirituall and not temporall, and how grosselie some vnderstand those parts of the scripture.

The twelfe Chapter.

VPon that, which hitherto hath beene said, you see that the assaults of sathan are spirituall, and not temporall: in which respect Paule wisheth vs not to prouide a corselet of steele to defend vs from
Ephe.6,11, his clawes; but biddeth vs put on the whole
12. armour of God, that we may be able to stand against the inuasions of the diuell. For we wrestle not against flesh and bloud; but against principalities, powers, and spirituall wickednesse. And therefore he
1.Tim.2,8,9 aduiseth vs to be sober and watch: for the diuell goeth about like a roring lion, seeking whome he may deuoure. He meaneth not
Idem ibid. with carnall teeth: for it followeth thus, Whome resist ye stedfastlie in faith. And againe he saith, That which is spirituall onelie
1.Cor.2.14. discerneth spirituall things: for no carnall man can discerne the things of the spirit. Why then should we thinke that a diuell, which is a spirit, can be knowne, or made tame and familiar vnto a naturall man; or contrarie to nature, can be by a witch made corporall, being by God ordeined to a spirituall proportion?

The cause of this grosse conceipt is, that we hearken more diligentlie to old wiues, and rather giue credit to their fables, than

to the word of God; imagining by the tales they tell vs, that the diuell is such a bulbegger, as I haue before described. For whatsoeuer is proposed in scripture to vs by parable, or spoken figuratiuelie or significatiuelie, or framed to our grosse capacities, &c: is by them so considered and expounded, as though the bare letter, or rather their grosse imaginations thereupon were to be preferred before the true sense and meaning of the word. For I dare saie, that when these blockheads read Iothans parable in the
ninth of Iudges to the men of Sichem; to wit, that the trées went Iudg.9.7,8,
out to annoint a king ouer them, saieng to the oliue trée, Reigne 9,10,11,12,
thou ouer vs: who answered and said, Should I leaue my fat- 13,14.
nesse, &c? They imagine that the wodden trées walked, & spake with a mans voice: or else, that some spirit entred into the trées, and answered as is imagined they did in the idols and oracles of Apollo, and such like; who indéed haue eies, and sée not; eares and heare not; mouthes, and speake not, &c.

The equiuocation of this word spirit, how diuerslie it is taken in the scriptures, where (by the waie) is taught that the scripture is not alwaies literallie to be interpreted, nor yet allegoricallie to be vnderstood.

The xiij. Chapter.

Such as search with the spirit of
wisedome and vnderstanding, shall find,
that spirits, as well good as bad, are in [a] Exod.31,3
the scriptures diuerslie taken: yea they [b] Acts.8,19.
shall well perceiue, that the diuell is no Gal.3.
horned beast. For [a] sometimes in the [c] Iohn.6.
scriptures, spirits and diuels are taken Matth.16.
for infirmities of the bodie; [b] sometimes [d] 1.Cor.3.
for the vices of the mind; sometimes also for the gifts of either Gal.3.
of them. [c] Sometimes a man is called a diuell, as Iudas in the 1.Cor.2.
sixt of Iohn, and Peter in the xvj. of Matthew. [d] Sometimes 2.Cor.7.
a spirit is put for the Gospell; sometimes for the mind or soule [e] Luke.9.
of man; sometimes [e] for the will of man, his mind and counsell; 1.Cor.5.
sometimes [f] for teachers and prophets; sometimes [g] for zeale to- Philip 1.
wards 1.Thes.5. [f] 1.Iohn.4. [g] 1.Tim.4.

h Ephes.5. wards God; sometimes [h] for ioie in the Holie-ghost, &c.

Isai. 11, 2. And to interpret vnto vs the nature and signification of spirits, we find these words written in the scripture; to wit, The spirit of the Lord shall rest vpon him; The spirit of counsell and
Zach.12,10. strength; The spirit of wisedome and vnderstanding; The spirit of knowledge and the feare of the Lord. Againe, I will powre out my spirit vpon the house of Dauid, &c: The spirit of grace and
Rom.1, 15. compassion. Againe, Ye haue not receiued the spirit of bondage,
1.Cor.12,8, 9,10. but the spirit of adoption. And therefore Paule saith, To one is giuen, by the spirit, the word of wisedome; to another, the word of knowledge by the same spirit; to another, the gift of healing; to another, the gift of faith by the same spirit; to another, the gift
1.Co.12,11. of prophesie; to another, the operation of great works; to another, the discerning of spirits; to another, the diuersitie of tongs; to another, the interpretation of tongs: and all these things worketh one and the selfesame spirit. Thus farre the words of Paule.
Isai.19,14. And finallie, Esaie saith, that the Lord mingled among them the spirit of error. And in another place, The Lord hath couered
Isaie.29. you with a spirit of slumber.

1.Sam.28. As for the spirits of diuination spoken of in the scripture,
Hest.16. they are such as was in the woman of Endor, the Philippian woman, the wench of Westwell, and the holie maid of Kent; who were indued with spirits or gifts of diuination, whereby they could make shift to gaine monie, and abuse the people by slights and craftie inuentions. But these are possessed of borrowed spi-
Sap.15,15, 19. rits, as it is written in the booke of Wisedome; and spirits of meere cousenage and deceipt, as I haue sufficientlie prooued elsewhere. I denie not therefore that there are spirits and diuels, of such substance as it hath pleased GOD to create them. But in what place soeuer it be found or read in the scriptures, a spirit or diuell is to be vnderstood spirituallie, and is neither a corporall nor a visible thing. Where it is written, that God sent an euill
Iudg.9, 23. spirit betweene Abimelech, and the men of Sichem, we are to vnderstand, that he sent the spirit of hatred, and not a bulbegger.
Num.5, 14. Also where it is said; If the spirit of gelosie come vpon him: it is as much to saie as; If he be mooued with a gelous mind: and not that a corporall diuell assaulteth him. It is said in the Gospell;
Luke.13,11. There was a woman, which had a spirit of infirmitie 18. yeeres, who

who was bowed togither, &c: whome Christ, by laieng his hand vpon hir, deliuered of hir disease. Wherby it is to be séene, that although it be said, that sathan had bound hir, &c: yet that it was a sicknes or disease of bodie that troubled hir; for Christs owne words expound it. Neither is there any word of witchcraft mentioned, which some saie was the cause thereof.

There were seuen diuels cast out of Marie Magdalen. Which is not so grosselie vnderstood by the learned, as that there were in hir iust seuen corporall diuels, such as I described before elsewhere; but that by the number of seuen diuels, a great multitude, and an vncerteine number of vices is signified: which figure is vsuall in diuers places of the scripture. And this interpretation is more agréeable with Gods word, than the papisticall paraphrase, which is; that Christ, vnder the name of the seuen diuels, recounteth the seuen deadlie sinnes onelie. Others allow neither of these expositions; bicause they suppose that the efficacie of Christs miracle should this waie be confounded: as though it were not as difficult a matter, with a touch to make a good Christian of a vicious person; as with a word to cure the ague, or any other disease of a sicke bodie. I thinke not but any of both these cures may be wrought by meanes, in processe of time, without miracle; the one by the preacher, the other by the physician. But I saie that Christs worke in both was apparentlie miraculous: for with power and authoritie, euen with a touch of his finger, and a word of his mouth, he made the blind to sée, the halt to go, the lepers cleane, the deafe to heare, the dead to rise againe, and the poore to receiue the Gospell, out of whom (I saie) he cast diuels, and miraculouslie conformed them to become good Christians, which before were dissolute liuers; to whome he said, Go your waies and sinne no more.

Mark 16, 9.

Leuit 26.
Prou.24.
Luk.17.

Matth.8, 16.

Luk.4, 36.
Luk.7, 21.

John.8, 11.

That

That it pleased God to manifest the power of his sonne and not of witches by miracles.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Luke.8,14. IEsus Christ, to manifest his diuine power, rebuked the winds, and they ceased; and the waues of water, and it was calme: which if neither our diuines nor physicians can doo, much lesse our conjurors, and least of all our old witches can bring anie such thing to passe. But it pleased God to manifest the power of Christ Jesus by such miraculous & extraordinarie meanes, prouiding and as it were preparing diseases, that none otherwise could be cured, that his sonnes glorie, and his peoples faith might the more plainelie appéere; as namelie, leprosie, lunacie, and blindnesse: as it is apparent in the Gospell, where it is said, that the man was not stricken with blindnesse for his owne sinnes, nor for any offense of his ancestors; but that he was made blind, to the intent the works of God should be shewed vpon him by the hands of Jesus Christ. But witches with their charmes can cure (as witchmongers affirme) all these diseases mentioned in the scripture, and manie other more; as the gowt, the toothach, &c: which we find not that euer Christ cured.

Leuit.14,7,8 Luk.7.17,4. Iohn.9.

Matt.4,17, &c. As touching those that are said in the Gospell to be possessed of spirits, it séemeth in manie places that it is indifferent, or all one, to saie; He is possessed with a diuell; or, He is lunatike or phrentike: which disease in these daies is said to procéed of melancholie. But if euerie one that now is lunatike, be possessed with a reall diuell; then might it be thought, that diuels are to be thrust out of men by medicines. But who saith in these times with the woman of Canaan; My daughter is vexed with a diuell, except it be presupposed, that she meant hir daughter was troubled with some disease? Indéed we saie, and saie truelie, to the wicked, The diuell is in him: but we meane not thereby, that a reall diuell is gotten into his guts. And if it were so, I maruell

in

in what shape this reall diuell, that possesseth them, remaineth. Entreth he into the bodie in one shape, and into the mind in another? If they grant him to be spirituall and inuisible, I agree with them.

Some are of opinion, that the said woman of Chanaan ment indeed that hir daughter was troubled with some disease; bicause it is written in steed of that the diuell was cast out, that hir daugh- *Matt.15,28.* ter was made whole, euen the selfesame houre. According to that which is said in the 12. of Matthew; There was brought vnto *Matt.12,22.* Christ one possessed of a diuell, which was both blind and dumbe, and he healed him: so as, he that was blind and dumbe both spake and sawe. But it was the man, and not the diuell, that was healed, and made to speake and see. Whereby (I saie) it is gathered, that such as were diseased, as well as they that were lunatike, were said sometimes to be possessed of diuels.

Of the possessed with diuels.

The xv. Chapter.

HEre I cannot omit to shew, how fondlie diuerse writers; and namelie, James Sprenger, and Henrie Institor doo *Mal. malef. quest.5.pa.1.* gather and note the cause, why the diuell maketh choise to possesse men at certeine times of the moone; which is (saie they) in two respects: first, that they may defame so good a creature as the moone; secondly, bicause the braine is the moistest part of the bodie. The diuell therefore considereth the aptnesse and conueniencie thereof (the *moone hauing dominion ouer all moist things) so as they take **A maxime in philosophie, as the sunne in aridis & siccis.* aduantage therby, the better to bring their purposes to passe. And further they saie, that diuels being coniured and called vp, appeere and come sooner in some certeine constellations, than in other some: thereby to induce men to thinke, that there is some godhead in the starres. But when Saule was releeued with the sound of the harpe, they saie that the departure of the diuell was

by meanes of the signe of the crosse imprinted in Dauids veines. Whereby we maie sée how absurd the imaginations and deuises of men are, when they speake according to their owne fansies, without warrant of the word of God. But me thinks it is verie absurd that Iosephus affirmeth; to wit, that the diuell should be thrust out of anie man by vertue of a root. And as vaine it is, that Ælianus writeth of the magicall herbe Cynospastus, otherwise called Aglaphotis; which is all one with Salomons root named Baaros, as hauing force to driue out anie diuell from a man possessed.

Ioseph. de antiquitat. Iud. item de bello Iud. lib. 7. ca. 35.

That we being not throughlie informed of the nature of diuels and spirits, must satisfie our selues with that which is deliuered vs in the scriptures touching the same, how this word diuell is to be vnderstood both in the singular and plurall number, of the spirit of God and the spirit of the diuell, of tame spirits, of Ahab.

The xvj. Chapter.

The nature therfore and substance of diuels and spirits, bicause in the scripture it is not so set down, as we may certeinlie know the same: we ought to content and frame our selues faithfullie to beléeue the words and sense there deliuered vnto vs by the high spirit, which is the Holie-ghost, who is Lord of all spirits; alwaies considering, that euermore spirits are spoken of in scripture, as of things spirituall; though for the helpe of our capacities they are there sometimes more grossElie and corporallie expressed, either in parables or by metaphors, than indéed they are. As for example (and to omit the historie of Iob, which elsewhere I handle) it is written; The Lord said, Who shall entise Ahab, that he maie fall at Ramoth Gilead, &c? Then came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said; I will entise him. And the Lord said, Wherewith? And he said; I will go and be a lieng spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. Then he said; Go forth, thou shalt preuaile, &c.

Num. 27, 16.

1. Reg. 18. verse. 23. verse. 4.

This

This storie is here set forth in this wise, to beare with our capacities, and speciallie with the capacitie of that age, that could not otherwise conceiue of spirituall things, than by such corporall demonstrations. And yet here is to be noted, that one spirit, and not manie or diuerse, did possesse all the false prophets at once. Euen as in another place, manie thousand diuels are said to possesse one man: and yet it is also said euen in the selfe same place, that the same man was possessed onelie with one diuell. For it is there said that Christ met a man, which had a diuell, and he commanded the fowle spirit to come foorth of the man, &c. But Caluine saith; Where sathan or the diuell is named in the singular number, thereby is meant that power of wickednesse, that standeth against the kingdome of iustice. And where manie diuels are named in the scriptures, we are thereby taught, that we must fight with an infinite multitude of enimies; least despising the fewnesse of them, we should be more slacke to enter into battell, and so fall into securitie and idlenes. Luke. 8. 27. 28. Mark. 5. 9. Luk. 8. *I. Cal. lib. institut. lib. 1. cap. 14. sect. 14.*

On the other side, it is as plainelie set downe in the scripture, that some are possessed with the spirit of God, as that the other are endued and bound with the spirit of the diuell. Yea sometimes we read, that one good spirit was put into a great number of persons; and againe, that diuerse spirits rested in and vpon one man: and yet no reall or corporall spirit meant. As for example; The Lord tooke of the spirit that was vpon Moses, and put it vpon the seuentie elders, and when the spirit rested vpon them, they prophesied. Why should not this be as substantiall and corporall a spirit, as that, wherewith the maid in the Acts of the apostles was possessed? Also Elisha intreated Elia, that when he departed, his spirit might double vpon him. We read also that the spirit of the Lord came vpon [a] Othniel, vpon [b] Gedeon, [c] Ieptha, [d] Samson, [e] Balaam, [f] Saule, [g] Dauid, [h] Ezechiel, [i] Zacharie, [k] Amasay: yea it is written, that Caleb had another spirit than all the Israelits beside: & in another place it is said, that [l] Daniel had a more excellent spirit than anie other. So as, though the spirits, as well good as bad, are said to be giuen by number and proportion; yet the qualitie and not the quantitie of them is alwaies thereby ment and presupposed. Howbeit I must confesse, that Christ had the spirit of God without measure, Num. 11. Ibid. vers. 25 Acts. 16. 2. Reg. 2. Iudg. 3. 10. [a] Iudg. 11. 39. [b] Ibid. 14. 6. [c] Ibid. 14. 6. [d] Num. 24. 2. [e] 1. Sam. 16. 13. [f] 1. Sam. 18. 14. [g] Ezec. 11. 5 [h] 2. Chr. 14. [i] 1. Ch. 12. 18. [k] Numb. 14. [l] Dan. 5. 12.

 sure,

Iohn.3,34. sure, as it is written in the euangelist Iohn. But where it is said that spirits can be made tame, and at commandement, I saie to those grosse conceiuers of scripture with Salomon, who (as they falslie affirme was of all others the greatest coniuror) saith
Eccles.8. thus in expresse words; No man is lord ouer a spirit, to reteine a spirit at his pleasure.

Whether spirits and soules can assume bodies, and of their creation and substance, wherein writers doo extreamelie contend and varie.

The xvij. Chapter.

SOme hold opinion, that spirits and soules can assume & take vnto them bodies at their pleasure, of what shape or substance they list: of which mind all papists, and some protestants are, being more grosse than another sort, which hold, that such bodies are made to their hands. Howbeit, these doo varie in the elements, wherewith these spirituall bodies are composed. For (as I haue said) some affirme that they consist of fier, some thinke of aier, and some of the starres and other celestiall powers. But if they be celestiall, then (as Peter Martyr saith) must they follow the circular motion: and if they be elementarie, then must they follow the motions of those elements, of which their bodies consist. Of aier they cannot be: for aier is *Corpus homogenium*; so as euerie part of aier is aier, whereof there can be no distinct members made. For an organicall bodie must haue bones, sinewes, veines, flesh, &c: which cannot be made of aier. Neither (as Peter Martyr affirmeth) can an aierie bodie receiue or haue either shape or figure. But some ascend vp into the clouds, where they find (as they saie) diuerse shapes and formes euen in the aier. Unto which obiection P. Martyr answereth, saieng, and that trulie, that clouds are not altogether aier, but haue a mixture of other elements mingled with them.

For euerie naturall motion is either circular or elemẽtarie.

Certeine

Certeine popish reasons concerning spirits made of aier, of daie diuels and night diuels, and why the diuell loueth no salt in his meate.

The xviij. Chapter.

Manie affirme (vpon a fable cited by M. Mal.) that spirits are of aier, bicause they haue béene cut (as he saith) in sunder, and closed presentlie againe; and also bicause they vanish awaie so suddenlie. But of such apparitions I haue alreadie spoken, and am shortlie to saie more, which are rather séene in the imagination of the weake and diseased, than in veritie and truth. Which sights and apparitions, as they haue béene common among the vnfaithfull; so now, since the preaching of the gospell they are most rare. And as among fainthartted people; namelie, women, children, and sicke folkes, they vsuallie swarmed: so among strong bodies and good stomachs they neuer vsed to appeare; as elsewhere I haue prooued: which argueth that they were onelie phantasticall and imaginarie. Now saie they that imagine diuels and spirits to be made of aier, that it must néeds be that they consist of that element; bicause otherwise when they vanish suddenlie awaie, they should leaue some earthie substance behind them. If they were of water, then should they moisten the place where they stand, and must néeds be shed on the floore. If they consisted of fier, then would they burne anie thing that touched them: and yet (saie they) Abraham and Lot washed their féete, and were neither scalded nor burnt. Gen.18,19.

I find it not in the Bible, but in Bodin, that there are daie diuels, and night diuels. The same fellow saith, that Deber is the name of that diuell, which hurteth by night; and Cheleb is he that hurteth by daie: howbeit, he confesseth that Sathan can hurt both by daie and by night; although it be certeine (as he saith) that he can doo more harme by night than by daie; producing for example, how in a night he slew the first borne of Ægypt. *I.Bod. lib. de dæm.3. ca.4.*

Exod.12.29. And yet it appeareth plainelie in the text, that the Lord himselfe did it. Whereby it séemeth, that Bodin putteth no difference betwéene God and the diuell. For further confirmation of this his foolish assertion, that diuels are more valiant by night than by
Psa.104.20. daie, he alledgeth the 104. Psalme, wherein is written, Thou makest darknesse, and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the forrest créepe foorth, the lions rore, &c: when the sunne riseth, they retire, &c. So as now he maketh all beasts to be diuels, or diuels to be
I.Bod. lib. de dem.3. ca.5. beasts. Oh barbarous blindnes! This Bodin also saith, that the diuell loueth no salt in his meate, for that it is a signe of eternitie, and vsed by Gods commandement in all sacrifices; abusing
Leuit.1. the scriptures, which he is not ashamed to quote in that behalfe. But now I will declare how the scripture teacheth our dull capacities to conceiue what maner of thing the diuell is, by the verie names appropriated vnto him in the same.

That such diuels as are mentioned in the scriptures, haue in their names their nature and qualities expressed, with instancies thereof.

The xix. Chapter.

Such diuels as are mentioned in the scriptures by name, haue in their names their nature and qualities expressed, being for the most part the idols of certeine nations idolatrouslie erected, in stéed, or rather in spight of God. For
2.Reg.13. Beelzebub, which signifieth the lord of the flies, bicause he taketh euerie simple thing in his web, was an idol or oracle erected at Ekron, to whom Ahaziah sent to know whether he should recouer his disease: as
Matth.10. & 12. Mark.3. Luk.11. though there had béene no God in Israell. This diuell Beelzebub was among the Iewes reputed the principall diuell. The Græcians called him Pluto, the Latines *Sumanus, quasi summum deorum manium*, the chéefe ghost or spirit of the dead whom they supposed to walke by night: although they absurdlie beléeued also that the soule died with the bodie. So as they did put a difference betwéene

twéene the ghost of a man and the soule of a man: and so doo our papists; howbeit, none otherwise, but that the soule is a ghost, when it walketh on the earth, after the dissolution of the bodie, or appeareth to anie man, either out of heauen, hell, or purgatorie, and not otherwise. [a] Nisroch signifieth a delicate tentation, and was worshipped by Senacherib in Assyria. [b] Tarcat is in English, fettered, and was the diuell or idoll of the Hevites. [c] Beelphegor, otherwise called Priapus, the gaping or naked god was worshipped among the Moabits. [d] Adramelech, that is, the cloke or power of the king, was an idoll at Sepharuais, which was a citie of the Assyrians. [e] Chamos, that is féeling, or departing, was worshipped among the Moabits. [f] Dagon, that is, corne or gréefe, was the idoll of the Philistines. [g] Astarte, that is, a fold or flocke, is the name of a shée idoll at Sydonia, whom Salomon worshipped: some thinke it was Venus. [h] Melchom, that is, a king, was an idoll or diuell, which the sonnes of Ammon worshipped.

[a] 2.Reg. 19. [b] 2.Reg. 17. [c] Ose 9,11. Num. 25. Deut. 3, & 4. Iosu. 22. [d] 2.Reg. 17. [e] Numb. 21. 1.Reg. 11. 2.Reg. 23. [f] Iudg. 16. 1.Macc. 10. [g] 1.Reg. 11. 2.Reg. 23. [h] 2.Reg. 23. 1.Chro. 20. Ierem. 49.

Sometimes also we find in the scriptures, that diuels and spirits take their names of wicked men, or of the houses or stats of abhominable persons: as Astaroth, which (as Iosephus saith) was the idoll of the Philistines, whome the Iewes tooke from them at Salomons commandement, and was also worshipped of Salomon. Which though it signifie riches, flocks, &c: yet it was once a citie belonging to Og the king of Basan, where they saie the giants dwelt. In these respects Astaroth is one of the speciall diuels named in Salomons coniuration, and greatlie emploied by the coniurors. I haue sufficientlie proued in these quotations, that these idols are *Dij gentium*, the gods of the Gentiles: and then the prophet Dauid may satisfie you, that they are diuels, who saith *Dij gentium dæmonia sunt*, The gods of the Gentiles are diuels. What a diuell was the rood of grace to be thought, but such a one as before is mentioned and described, who tooke his name of his courteous and gratious behauiour towards his worshippers, or rather those that offered vnto him? The idolatrous knauerie wherof being now bewraied, it is among the godlie reputed a diuell rather than a god: and so are diuerse others of the same stampe.

Ioseph lib. de antiquit. Iudæor. 6. cap. 14. 1. Sam. 7. 2.Reg. 23. Psal. 96.

Diuerse names of the diuell, whereby his nature and disposition is manifested.

The xx. Chapter.

IT hath also pleased GOD to informe our weake capacities, as it were by similitudes and examples, or rather by comparisons, to vnderstand what manner of thing the diuell is, by the verie names appropriated and attributed vnto him in the scriptures: wherein sometimes he is called by one name, sometimes by another, by metaphors according to his conditions. [a] Elephas is called in Iob, Behemoth, which is, Bruta; whereby the greatnes and brutishnes of the diuell is figured. Leuiathan is not much different from Elephas; whereby the diuels great subtiltie and power is shewed vnto vs. [b] Mammon is the couetous desire of monie, wherewith the diuell ouercommeth the reprobate. [c] Dæmon signifieth one that is cunning or craftie. Cacodæmon is peruerslie knowing. All those which in ancient times were worshipped as gods, were so called. [d] Diabolus is Calumniator, an accuser, or a slanderer. Sathan is Aduersarius, an aduersarie, that troubleth and molesteth. [e] Abaddon a destroier. [f] Legio, bicause they are manie. [g] Prince of the aire. [h] Prince of the world. [i] A king of the sonnes of pride. [k] A roring lion. [l] An homicide or manslear, a lier, and the father of lies. The [m] author of sinne. [n] A spirit. Yea somtimes he is called the spirit of the Lord, as the executioner and minister of his displeasure, &c. Sometimes, the [o] spirit of fornication, &c. And manie other like epithets or additions are giuen him for his name. He is also called [p] the angell of the Lord. [q] The cruell angell. The [r] angell of sathan. The [s] angell of hell. The [t] great dragon, for his pride and force. The [u] red dragon for his blouddines. A [x] serpent. An [y] owle, a [z] kite, a satyre, a crowe, a pellicane, a hedghog, a griph, a storke, &c.

[a] Iob.40. Iob.3. Isai.27.
[b] Matth.6. Matt.4, &c. Marc.16.
[c] Iam.2.
[d] Matth.4. Iohn.8. Apoc.12.
[e] Apoc.9.
[f] Marc.5. Luke.8.
[g] Eph.2.
[h] Iohn.8.12. 14.16.
[i] Iob.41.
[k] 1.Pet.5.
[l] Iohn.8.
[m] 1.Iohn.3.
[n] Acts.16.
[o] Ose.4.
[p] Psal.34. 1.Chr.21.
[q] Prou.17.
[r] 2.Cor.12.
[s] Apoc.9.
[t] Apoc.12.
[u] Iob 41.
[x] Gen.3.
[y] Apoc.12.
[z] Isai 27. Isai.13.34.

That

That the idols or gods of the Gentiles are diuels, their diuerse names, and in what affaires their labours and authorities are emploied, wherein also the blind superstition of the heathen people is discouered.

The xxj. Chapter.

AND for so much as the idols of the gentiles are called diuels, and are among the vnlearned confounded and intermedled with the diuels that are named in the scriptures; I thought it conuenient here to giue you a note of them, to whome the Gentiles gaue names, according to the offices vnto them assigned. Penates are the domesticall gods, or rather diuels that were said to make men liue quietlie within doores. But some thinke these rather to be such, as the Gentiles thought to be set ouer kingdomes: and that Lares are such as trouble priuate houses, and are set to ouersée crosse waies and cities. Laruæ are said to be spirits that walke onelie by night. Genij are the two angels, which they supposed were appointed to wait vpon each man. Manes are the spirits which oppose themselues against men in the waie. Dæmones were feigned gods by poets, as Iupiter, Iuno, &c. Virunculi terrei are such as was Robin good fellowe, that would supplie the office of seruants, speciallie of maids; as to make a fier in the morning, swéepe the house, grind mustard and malt, drawe water, &c: these also rumble in houses, drawe latches, go vp and downe staiers, &c. Dij geniales are the gods that euerie man did sacrifice vnto at the daie of their birth. Tetrici be they that make folke afraid, and haue such ouglie shape, which manie of our diuines do call Subterranei. Cobali are they that followe men, and delight to make them laugh, with tumbling, iuggling, and such like toies. Virunculi are dwarfes about thrée handfulles long, and do no hurt; but séeme to dig in mineralles, and to be verie busie, and yet do nothing. Guteli or Trulli are spirits (they saie) in the likenes of women, shewing great kindnesse

Psalm.96.

Iuno and Minerua.

Cousening gods or knaues.

Terra, aqua, aer, ignis, sol, & Luna.

nesse to all men: & hereof it is that we call light women, truls. Dæmones montani are such as worke in the mineralles, and further the worke of the labourers woonderfullie, who are nothing afraid of them. Hudgin is a verie familiar diuell, which will doo no bodie hurt, except he receiue iniurie: but he cannot abide that, nor yet be mocked: he talketh with men fréendlie, sometimes visiblie, and sometimes inuisiblie. There go as manie tales vpon this Hudgin, in some parts of Germanie, as there did in England of Robin good fellowe. But this Hudgin was so called, bicause he alwaies ware a cap or a hood; and therefore I thinke it was Robin hood. Frier Rush was for all the world such another fellow as this Hudgin, and brought vp euen in the same schoole; to wit, in a kitchen: in so much as the selfe-same tale is written of the one as of the other, concerning the skullian, which is said to haue béene slaine, &c: for the reading whereof I referre you to Frier Rush his storie, or else to Iohn Wierus *De præstigijs dæmonum.*

Hudgin of Germanie, and Rush of England.

I.Wier.lib. de præst.dæm. 1.cap.23.

There were also Familiares dæmones, which we call familiars: such as Socrates and Cæsar were said to haue; and such as Feats sold to doctor Burcot. Quintus Sertorius had Diana hir selfe for his familiar; and Numa Pompilius had Aegeria: but neither the one nor the other of all these could be preserued by their familiars from being destroied with vntimelie death. Simon Samareus boasted, that he had gotten by coniuration, the soule of a little child that was slaine, to be his familiar, and that he told him all things that were to come, &c. I maruell what priuilege soules haue, which are departed from the bodie, to know things to come more than the soules within mans bodie. There were spirits, which they called Albæ mulieres, and Albæ Sibyllæ, which were verie familiar, and did much harme (they saie) to women with child, and to sucking children. Deumus as a diuell is worshiped among the Indians in Calecute, who (as they thinke) hath power giuen him of God to iudge the earth, &c: his image is horriblie pictured in a most ouglie shape. Theuet saith, that a diuell in America, called Agnan, beareth swaie in that countrie. In Ginnie one Grigrie is accounted the great diuell, and kéepeth the woods: these haue préests called Charoibes, which prophesie, after they haue lien by the space of one houre prostrate vpon a wench

Bawdie preests in Ginnie.

of

of twelue yeares old, and all that while (saie they) he calleth vpon a diuell called Houioulsira, and then commeth foorth and vttereth his prophesie. For the true successe whereof the people praie all the while that he lieth groueling like a lecherous knaue. There are a thousand other names, which they saie are attributed vnto diuels; and such as they take to themselues are more ridiculous than the names that are giuen by others, which haue more leasure to deuise them. In litle bookes conteining the cousening possessed, at Maidstone, where such a woonder was wrought, as also in other places, you may see a number of counterfeit diuels names, and other trish trash.

Looke in the word (Ob) lib.7. cap.3.pag. 132,133.

Of the Romanes cheefe gods called Dij selecti, and of other heathen gods, their names and offices.

The xxij. Chapter.

There were among the Romans twentie idolatrous gods, which were called *Dij selecti siue electi*, chosen gods; whereof twelue were male, and eight female, whose names doo thus followe: Ianus, Saturnus, Iupiter, Genius, Mercurius, Apollo, Mars, Vulcanus, Neptunus, Sol, Orcus and Vibar, which were all hee gods: Tellus, Ceres, Iuno, Minerua, Luna, Diana, Venus, and Vesta, were all she gods. No man might appropriate anie of these vnto himselfe, but they were left common and indifferent to all men dwelling in one realme, prouince, or notable citie. These heathen gentiles had also their gods, which serued for sundrie purposes; as to raise thunder, they had Statores, Tonantes, Feretrij, and Iupiter Elicius. They had Cantius, to whome they praied for wise children, who was more apt for this purpose than Minerua that issued out of Iupiters owne braine. Lucina was to send them that were with child safe deliuerie, and in that respect was called the mother of childwiues. Opis was called the mother of the babe new borne, whose image women with child hanged vpon their girdles before their bellies, and bare it so by the

A good god and goddesse for women.

the space of nine moneths; and the midwife alwaies touched the child therewith, before she or any other laied hand thereon.

If the child were well borne, they sacrificed therunto, although the mother miscaried: but if the child were in any part unperfect, or dead, &c: they used to beate the image into powder, or to burne or drowne it. Vagianus was he that kept their children from crieng, and therefore they did alwaies hang his picture about babes necks: for they thought much crieng in youth portended ill fortune in age. Cuninus, otherwise Cunius, was he that preserued (as they thought) their children from misfortune in the cradell. Ruminus was to keepe their dugs from corruption. Volumnus and his wife Volumna were gods, the one for yong men, the other for maids that desired marriage: for such as praied deuoutlie unto them, should soone be married. Agrestis was the god of the fields, and to him they praied for fertilitie. Bellus was the god of warre & warriers, and so also was Victoria, to whome the greatest temple in Rome was built. Honorius was he that had charge about inkeepers, that they should well intreat pilgrimes. Berecynthia was the mother of all the gods. Aesculanus was to discouer their mines of gold and siluer, and to him they praied for good successe in that behalfe. Aesculapius was to cure the sicke, whose father was Apollo, and serued to keepe weeds out of the corne. Segacia was to make seeds to growe. Flora preserued the vines from frosts and blasts. Syluanus was to preserue them that walked in gardens. Bacchus was for dronkards, Pauor for cowherds; Meretrix for whores, to whose honour there was a temple built in Rome, in the middest of fortie and foure streets, which were all inhabited with common harlots. Finallie Colatina, *alias* Clotina, was goddesse of the stoole, the iakes, and the priuie, to whome as to euerie of the rest, there was a peculiar temple edified: besides that notable temple called Pantheon, wherein all the gods were placed togither; so as euerie man and woman, according to their follies and deuotions, might go thither and worship what gods they list.

The names of certeine heathenish gods, and their peculiar offices.

A verie homelie charge.

Of

Of diuerse gods in diuerse countries.

The xxiij. Chapter.

THe Aegyptians were yet more foolish in this behalfe than the Romans (I meane the heathenish Romans that then were, and not the popish Romans that now are, for no nation approcheth néere to these in anie kind of idolatrie.) The Aegyptians worshipped Anubis in the likenesse of a dog, bicause he loued dogs and hunting. Yea they worshipped all liuing creatures, as namelie of beasts, a bullocke, a dog, & a cat; of flieng fowles, Ibis (which is a bird with a long bill, naturallie deuouring vp venemous things and noisome serpents) and a sparrowhawke; of fishes they had two gods; to wit, Lepidotus piscis, and Oxyrinchus. The Saitans and Thebans had to their god a shéepe. In the citie Lycopolis they worshipped a woolfe; in Herinopolis, the Cynocephalus; the Leopolitans, a lion; in Lætopolis, a fish in Nilus called Latus. In the citie Cynopolis they worshipped Anubis. At Babylon, besides Memphis, they made an onion their god; the Thebans an eagle; the Mændeseans, a goate; the Persians, a fier called Orimasda; the Arabians, Bacchus, Venus, and Diasaren; the Bœotians, Amphiaraus; the Aphricans, Mopsus; the Scithians, Minerua; the Naucratits, Serapis, which is a serpent; Astartes (being as Cicero writeth the fourth Venus, who was she, as others affirme, whom Salomon worshipped at his concubines request) was the goddesse of the Assyrians. At Noricum, being a part of Bauaria, they worship Tibilenus; the Moores worship Iuba; the Macedonians, Gabirus; the Pœnians, Vranius; at Samos Iuno was their god; at Paphos, Venus; at Lemnos, Vulcane; at Naxos, Liberus; at Lampsacke, Priapus with the great genitals, who was set vp at Hellespont to be adored. In the ile Diomedea, Diomedes; at Delphos, Apollo; at Ephesus, Diana was worshipped. And bicause they would plaie small game rather

Beasts, birds, vermine, fishes, herbs and other trumperie worshipped as gods.

ther than sit out, they had Acharus Cyrenaicus, to keepe them from flies and flieblowes; Hercules Canopius, to keepe them from fleas; Apollo Parnopeius, to keepe their cheeses from being mouseaten. The Greeks were the first, that I can learne to haue assigned to the gods their principall kingdomes and offices: as Iupiter to rule in heauen, Pluto in hell, Neptune in the sea, &c. To these they ioined, as assistants, diuers commissioners; as to Iupiter, Saturne, Mars, Venus, Mercurie, and Minerua: to Neptune, Nereus, &c. Tutilina was onelie a mediatrix to Iupiter, not to destroie corne with thunder or tempests, before whom they vsuallie lighted candels in the temple, to appease the same, according to the popish custome in these daies. But I may not repeate them all by name, for the gods of the gentiles were by good record, as Varro and others report, to the number of 30. thousand, and vpward. Whereby the reasonable reader may iudge their superstitious blindnesse.

Imperiall gods and their assistants.

The number of gods among the gentiles.

Of popish prouinciall gods, a comparison betweene them and heathen gods, of physicall gods, and of what occupation euerie popish god is.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

Now if I thought I could make an end in anie reasonable time, I would begin with our antichristian gods, otherwise called popish idols, which are as ranke diuels as *Dij gentium* spoken of in the psalmes: or as *Dij montium* set forth & rehearsed in the first booke of the kings; or as *Dij terrarum* or *Dij populorum* mentioned in the second of the Chronicles 32. & in the first of the Chronicles 16. or as *Dij terræ* in Iudges 3. or as *Dij filiorum Seir* in the second of the Chronicles 25. or as *Dij alieni*, which are so often mentioned in the scriptures.

1.Reg.20. 2.Chr.32. 1.Chr.16. Judg.3. 2.Chr.33. 2.Reg.23, &c.

Surelie, there were in the popish church more of these in number, more in common, more priuate, more publike, more for lewd purposes, and more for no purpose, than among all the heathen, either heretofore, or at this present time: for I dare vndertake,

that

that for euerie heathen idoll I might produce twentie out of the popish church. For there were proper idols of euerie nation: as S. George on horssebacke for England (excepting whome there is said to be no more horssemen in heauen saue onelie saint Martine) S. Andrew for Burgundie and Scotland, S. Michael for France, S. James for Spaine, S. Patrike for Ireland, S. Dauie for Wales, S. Peter for Rome, and some part of Italie. Had not euerie citie in all the popes dominions his seuerall patrone? As Paule for London, Denis for Paris, Ambrose for Millen, Louen for Gaunt, Romball for Mackline, S. Marks lion for Venice, the thrée magician kings for Cullen, and so of other. Yea, had they not for euerie small towne, and euerie village and parish (the names wherof I am not at leisure to repeat) a seuerall idoll? As S. Sepulchre, for one; S. Bride, for another; S. All halowes, All saints, and our Ladie for all at once: which I thought méeter to rehearse, than a bedroll of such a number as are in that predicament. Had they not hée idols and shée idols, some for men, some for women, some for beasts, and some for fowles, &c? Do you not thinke that S. Martine might be opposed to Bacchus? If S. Martine be too weake we haue S. Vrbane, S. Clement, and manie other to assist him. Was Venus and Meretrix an aduocate for whores among the Gentiles? Behold, there were in the Romish church to encounter with them, S. Aphra, S. Aphrodite, and S. Maudline. But insomuch as long Meg was as verie a whore as the best of them, she had wrong that she was not also canonized, and put in as good credit as they: for she was a gentlewoman borne; whereunto the pope hath great respect in canonizing of his saints. For (as I haue said) he canonizeth the rich for saints, and burneth the poore for witches. But I doubt not, Magdalen, and manie other godlie women are verie saints in heauen, and should haue béene so, though the pope had neuer canonized them: but he dooth them wrong, to make them the patronesses of harlots and strong strumpets.

Popish gods of nations.

Parish gods or popish idols.

Was there such a traitor among all the heathen idols, as S. Thomas Becket? Or such a whore as S. Bridget? I warrant you S. Hugh was as good a huntesman as Anubis. Was Vulcane the protector of the heathen smithes? Yea forsooth, and S. Euloge was patrone for ours. Our painters had Luke, our weauers had

See the golden Legend for the life of S. Bridget.

He saints & shee saincts of the old stamp with their peculiar vertues touching the curing of diseases.

had Steuen, our millers had Arnold, our tailors had Goodman, our sowters had Crispine, our potters had S. Gore with a diuell on his shoulder and a pot in his hand. Was there a better horseleech among the gods of the Gentiles than S. Loy? Or a better sowgelder than S. Anthonie? Or a better toothdrawer than S. Apolline? I beleeue that Apollo Parnopeius was no better a ratcatcher than S. Gertrude, who hath the popes patent and commendation therefore. The Thebans had not a better shepherd than S. Wendeline, nor a better gissard to keepe their geese than Gallus. But for physicke and surgerie, our idols exceeded them all. For S. Iohn, and S. Valentine excelled at the falling euill, S. Roch was good at the plague, S. Petronill at the ague. As for S. Margaret, she passed Lucina for a midwife, and yet was but a maid: in which respect S. Marpurge is ioined with hir in commission.

For mad men, and such as are possessed with diuels, S. Romane was excellent, & frier Ruffine was also pretilie skilfull in that art. For botches and biles, Cosmus and Damian; S. Clare for the eies, S. Apolline for teeth, S. Iob for the * pox. And for sore brests S. Agatha was as good as Ruminus. Whosoeuer serued Seruatius well, should be sure to loose nothing: if Seruatius failed in his office, S. Vinden could supplie the matter with his cunning; for he could cause all things that were lost to be restored againe. But here laie a strawe for a while, and I will shew you the names of some, which exceed these verie far, and might haue beene canonized for archsaints; all the other saints or idols being in comparison of them but bunglers, and benchwhistlers. And with your leaue, when all other saints had giuen ouer the matter, and the saints vtterlie forsaken of their seruitors, they repaired to these that I shall name vnto you, with the good consent of the pope, who is the fautor, or rather the patrone of all the saints, diuels, and idols liuing or dead, and of all the gods saue one. And whereas none other saint could cure aboue one disease, in so much as it was idolatrie, follie I should haue said, to go to Iob for anie other maladie than the pox; nothing commeth amisse to these. For they are good at anie thing, and neuer a-whit nice of their cunning: yea greater matters are said to be in one of their powers, than is in all the other saints. And these are they: S. mo-

* For the Frēch pox or the cōmon kind of pox, or both? This would be knowne.

New saints.

ther

ther Bungie, S.mother Paine, S. Feats, S. mother Still, S.mother Dutton, S.Kytrell, S.Vrsula Kempe, S.mother Newman, S.doctor Heron, S. Rosimund a good old father, & diuerse more that deserue to be registred in the popes kalendar, or rather the diuels rubrike.

A comparison betweene the heathen and papists, touching their excuses for idolatrie.

The xxv. Chapter.

AND bicause I know, that the papists will saie, that their idols are saints, and no such diuels as the gods of the Gentiles were: you may tell them, that not onelie their saints, but the verie images of them were called Diui. Which though it signifie gods, and so by consequence idols or féends: yet put but an (ll) thereunto, and it is Diuill in English. But they will saie also that I doo them wrong to gibe at them; bicause they were holie men and holie women. I grant some of them were so, and further from allowance of the popish idolatrie emploied upon them, than gréeued with the derision vsed against that abuse. Yea euen as siluer and gold are made idols vnto them that loue them too well, and séeke too much for them: so are these holie men and women made idols by them that worship them, and attribute vnto them such honor, as to God onelie apperteineth.

Diuos vocant Grammatici eos qui ex hominibus dij facti sunt.

The heathen gods were for the most part good men, and profitable members to the commonwealth wherein they liued, and deserued fame, &c: in which respect they made gods of them when they were dead; as they made diuels of such emperors and philosophers as they hated, or as had deserued ill among them. And is it not euen so, and worsse, in the commonwealth and church of poperie? Doth not the pope excommunicate, cursse, and condemne for heretikes, and driue to the bottomlesse pit of hell, proclaming to be verie diuels, all those that either write, speake or thinke contrarie to his idolatrous doctrine? Cicero, when he derided

Cic.de natur. deorum. rided the heathen gods, and inueied against them that yeelded such seruile honor vnto them, knew the persons, vnto whom such abuse was committed, had well deserued as ciuill citizens; and that good fame was due vnto them, and not diuine estimation. Yea the infidels that honored those gods, as hoping to receiue benefits for their deuotion emploied that waie, knew and conceiued that the statues and images, before whome with such reuerence they powred foorth their praiers, were stockes and stones, and onelie pictures of those persons whome they resembled: yea they also knew, that the parties themselues were creatures, and could not doo so much as the papists and witchmongers thinke the Roode of grace, or mother Bungie could doo. And yet the papists can see the abuse of the Gentils, and may not heare of their owne idolatrie more grosse and damnable than the others.

The papists see a moth in the eie of others, but no beame in their owne.

The conceipt of the heathen and the papists all one in idolatrie, of the councell of Trent, a notable storie of a hangman arraigned after he was dead and buried, &c.

The xxvj. Chapter.

But papists perchance will denie, that they attribute so much to these idols as I report; or that they thinke it so meritorious to praie to the images of saints as is supposed, affirming that they worship God, and the saints themselues, vnder the formes of images. Which was also the conceipt of the heathen, and their excuse in this behalfe; whose eiesight and insight herein reached as farre as the papisticall distinctions published by popes and their councels. Neither doo anie of them admit so grosse idolatrie, as the councell of Trent hath doone, who alloweth that worship to the Rood that is due to Jesus Christ himselfe, and so likewise of other images of saints. I thought it not impertinent therefore in this place to insert an example taken out of the Rosarie of our Ladie, in which booke doo remaine (besides this) ninetie and eight examples to this effect: which are of such authoritie in the

The idolatrous councell of Trent.

the church of Rome, that all scripture must giue place vnto them. And these are either read there as their speciall homilies, or preached by their cheefe doctors. And this is the sermon for this daie verbatim translated out of the said Rosarie, a booke much esteemed and reuerenced among papists.

A certeine hangman passing by the image of our Ladie, saluted hir, commending himselfe to hir protection. Afterwards, while he praied before hir, he was called awaie to hang an offendor: but his enimies intercepted him, and slew him by the waie. And lo a certeine holie preest, which nightlie walked about euerie church in the citie, rose vp that night, and was going to his ladie, I should saie to our ladie church. And in the churchyard he saw a great manie dead men, and some of them he knew, of whome he asked what the matter was, &c. Who answered, that the hangman was slaine, and the diuell challenged his soule, the which our ladie said was hirs: and the iudge was euen at hand comming thither to heare the cause, & therefore (said they) we are now come togither. The preest thought he would be at the hearing hereof, and hid himselfe behind a tree; and anon he saw the iudiciall seat readie prepared and furnished, where the iudge, to wit Jesus Christ, sate, who tooke vp his mother vnto him. Soone after the diuels brought in the hangman pinnioned, and proued by good euidence, that his soule belonged to them. On the other side, our ladie pleaded for the hangman, prouing that he, at the houre of death, commended his soule to hir. The iudge hearing the matter so well debated on either side, but willing to obeie (for these are his words) his mothers desire, and loath to doo the diuels anie wrong, gaue sentence, that the hangmans soule should returne to his bodie, vntill he had made sufficient satisfaction; ordeining that the pope should set foorth a publike forme of praier for the hangmans soule. It was demanded, who should doo the arrand to the popes holines: Marie quoth our ladie, that shall yonder preest that lurketh behind the tree. The preest being called foorth, and inioined to make relation hereof, and to desire the pope to take the paines to doo according to this decree, asked by what token he should be directed. Then was deliuered vnto him a rose of such beautie, as when the pope saw it, he knew his message was true. And so, if they doo not well, I praie God we may.

Exempl. 4.

But our ladie spied him well enough: as you shal read.

The preests arse made buttons.

A confutation of the fable of the hangman, of manie other feined and ridiculous tales and apparitions, with a reproofe thereof.

The xxvij. Chapter.

Our B. ladies fauor.

By the tale aboue mentioned you sée what it is to worship the image of our ladie. For though we knéele to God himselfe, and make neuer so humble petitions vnto him, without faith and repentance, it shall doo vs no pleasure at all. Yet this hangman had great fréendship shewed him for one point of courtesie vsed to our ladie, hauing not one dramme of faith, repentance, nor yet of honestie in him. Neuerthelesse, so credulous is the nature of man, as to beléeue this and such like fables: yea, to discredit such stuffe, is thought among the papists flat heresie. And though we that are protestants will not beléeue these toies, being so apparentlie popish: yet we credit and report other appearances, and assuming of bodies by soules and spirits; though they be as prophane, absurd, and impious as the other. We are sure the holie maide of Kents vision was a verie cousenage: but we can credit, imprint, and publish for a true possession or historie, the knauerie vsed by a cousening varlot at Maidstone; and manie other such as that was. We thinke soules and spirits may come out of heauen or hell, and assume bodies, beléeuing manie absurd tales told by the schoolemen and Romish doctors to that effect: but we discredit all the stories that they, and as graue men as they are, tell vs vpon their knowledge and credit, of soules condemned to purgatorie, wandering for succour and releasedby trentals and masses said by a popish préest, &c: and yet they in probabilitie are equall, and in number farre excéed the other.

Greg. 4. dialog. cap. 51. Alexand. lib. 5. cap. 23. & lib. 2. cap. 9. &c. Greg. lib. 4. dialog ca. 40. idem cap. 55. and in other places elsewhere innumerable.

We thinke that to be a lie, which is written, or rather fathered vpon Luther; to wit, that he knew the diuell, and was verie conuersant with him, and had eaten manie bushels of salt and made iollie good chéere with him; and that he was confuted in a disputation

Micha. And. thes. 151.

disputation with a reall diuell about the abolishing of priuate masse. Neither do we beléeue this report, that the diuell in the likenes of a tall man, was present at a sermon openlie made by Carolostadius; and from this sermon went to his house, and told his sonne that he would fetch him awaie after a daie or twaine: as the papists saie he did in déed, although they lie in euerie point thereof most maliciouslie. But we can beléeue Platina and others, when they tell vs of the appearances of pope Benedict the eight, and also the ninth; how the one rode vpon a blacke horsse in the wildernesse, requiring a bishop (as I remember) whome he met, that he would distribute certeine monie for him, which he had purloined of that which was giuen in almes to the poore, &c: and how the other was séene a hundred yeares after the diuell had killed him in a wood, of an heremite, in a beares skinne, and an asses head on his shoulders, &c: himselfe saieng that he appeared in such sort as he liued. And diuerse such stuffe rehearseth Platina.

Alex. ab Alexand. lib. 4. genealog. dierum. cap. 19. Plutarch. oratione ad Apollonium. Item. Basiliens. in epist. Platina de vitis pontificum. Nauclerus. 2 generat. 35.

Now bicause S. Ambrose writeth, that S. Anne appeared to Constance the daughter of Constantine, and to hir parents watching at hir sepulchre: and bicause Eusebius and Nicephorus saie, that the Pontamian virgine, Origins disciple, appeared to S. Basil, and put a crowne vpon his head, in token of the glorie of his martyrdome, which should shortlie followe: and bicause Hierome writeth of Paules appearance; and Theodoret, of S. John the Baptist; and Athanasius, of Ammons, &c: manie doo beléeue the same stories and miraculous appearances to be true. But few protestants will giue credit vnto such shamefull fables, or anie like them, when they find them written in the Legendarie, Festiuall, Rosaries of our Ladie, or anie other such popish authors. Whereby I gather, that if the protestant beléeue some few lies, the papists beléeue a great number. This I write, to shew the imperfection of man, how attentiue our eares are to hearken to tales. And though herein consist no great point of faith or infidelitie; yet let vs that professe the gospell take warning of papists, not to be carried awaie with euerie vaine blast of doctrine: but let vs cast awaie these prophane and old wiues fables. And although this matter haue passed so long with generall credit and authoritie: yet manie * graue authors haue condemned

Ambr. ser. 90 de passione Agn. Euseb. lib. eccles. hist. 5. Niceph. lib. 5 cap. 7. Hieronym. in vita Pau. Theodor. lib. hist. 5. ca. 24. Athan. in vita Antho.

** Melancth. in Calendar. Manly. 23. April.*

long since all those vaine visions and apparitions, except such as haue béene shewed by God, his sonne, and his angels. Athanasius saith, that soules once losed from their bodies, haue no more societie with mortall men. Augustine saith, that if soules could walke and visit their fréends, &c: or admonish them in sléepe, or otherwise, his mother that followed him by land and by sea would shew hir selfe to him, and reueale hir knowledge, or giue him warning, &c. But most true it is that is written in the gospell; We haue Moses and the prophets, who are to be hearkened vnto, and not the dead.

Marbach. lib. de miracul. aduersus Ins. Iohannes Riuius de veter. superstit. Athan. lib. 99. quæ. 11. August. de cura pro mortu. ca. 13. Luk. 16.

A confutation of Iohannes Laurentius, and of manie others, mainteining these fained and ridiculous tales and apparitions, and what driueth them awaie: of Moses and Helias appearance in mount Thabor.

The xxviij. Chapter.

Furthermore, to prosecute this matter in more words; if I saie that these apparitions of soules are but knaueries and cousenages; they obiect that Moses and Helias appeared in mount Thabor, and talked with Christ, in the presence of the principall apostles: yea, and that God appeared in the bush, &c. As though spirits and soules could doo whatsoeuer it pleaseth the Lord to doo, or appoint to be doone for his owne glorie, or for the manifestation of his sonne miraculouslie. And therefore I thought good to giue you a taste of the witchmongers absurd opinions in this behalfe.

Matth 17. Luke. 9. *Iohan. Laur. lib. de natur. dæmon.*

And first you shall vnderstand, that they hold, that all the soules in heauen may come downe and appeare to vs when they list, and assume anie bodie sauing their owne: otherwise (saie they) such soules should not be perfectlie happie. They saie that you may know the good soules from the bad verie easilie. For a damned soule hath a verie heauie and sowre looke; but a saints soule hath a chéerefull and a merrie countenance: these also are white and

Mich. Andr. thes. 222, &c *Idem thes. 235. & 136.*

and shining, the other cole blacke. And these damned soules also maie come vp out of hell at their pleasure; although Abraham made Diues beléeue the contrarie. They affirme that damned soules walke ofteneſt: next vnto them the soules of purgatorie; and most seldome the soules of saints. Also they saie that in the old lawe soules did appeare seldome; and after domes daie they shall neuer be séene more: in the time of grace they shall be most frequent. The walking of these soules (saith Michael Andr.) is a most excellent argument for the proofe of purgatorie: for (saith he) those soules haue testified that which the popes haue affirmed in that behalfe; to wit, that there is not onelie such a place of punishment, but that they are released from thence by masses, and such other satisfactorie works; whereby the goodnes of the masse is also ratified and confirmed. *Idem thes. 226.* *Th. Aq. 1. pa. quæ. 89. ar. 8.* *Gregor. in dial. 4.* *Mich. And. thes. 313. 316. 317.*

These heauenlie or purgatorie soules (saie they) appeare most commonlie to them that are borne vpon ember daies, and they also walke most vsuallie on those ember daies: bicause we are in best state at that time to praie for the one, and to kéepe companie with the other. Also they saie, that soules appeare ofteneſt by night; bicause men may then be at best leasure, and most quiet. Also they neuer appeare to the whole multitude, seldome to a few, and most commonlie to one alone: for so one may tell a lie without controlment. Also they are ofteneſt séene by them that are readie to die: as Trasilla sawe pope Fœlix; Vrsine, Peter and Paule; Galla Romana, S. Peter; and as Musa the maid sawe our Ladie: which are the most certeine appearances, credited and allowed in the church of Rome: also they may be séene of some, and of some other in that presence not séene at all; as Vrsine sawe Peter and Paule, and yet manie at that instant being present could not sée anie such sight, but thought it a lie: as I doo. Michael Andræas confesseth, that papists sée more visions than protestants: he saith also, that a good soule can take none other shape than of a man; marie a damned soule may and dooth take the shape of a blacke moore, or of a beast, or of a serpent, or speciallie of an heretike. The christian signes that driue awaie these euill soules, are the crosse, the name of Jesus, and the relikes of saints: in the number whereof are holiwater, holie bread, *Agnus Dei, &c.* For Andrew saith, that notwithstanding Iulianus was *Idem thes. 346.* *Leo serm. de ieiunijs 10. mens.* *Gelas. in epistola ad episc.* *Mich. Andr. thes. 345.* *Greg. dial. 4. cap. 1. 12. 14.* *Mich. And, thes. 347.* *Greg. dial. 4. cap. 11.* *Mich. And. thes. 347.* *Mich. And. thes. 341.* *Ide. thes. 388.* *Ide. thes. 411.* *Mal. malef.* *I. Bod. &c.* *Mich. And. these. 412.*

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an Apostata, and a betraier of christian religion: yet at an extremitie, with the onelie signe of the crosse, he draue awaie from him manie such euill spirits; whereby also (he saith) the greatest diseases and sicknesses are cured, and the sorest dangers auoided.

Idem. thes. 414.

A confutation of assuming of bodies, and of the serpent that seduced Eue.

The xxix. Chapter.

They that contend so earnestlie for the diuels assuming of bodies and visible shapes, doo thinke they haue a great aduantage by the words vttered in the third of Genesis, where they saie, the diuell entered into a serpent or snake: and that by the cursse it appeareth, that the whole displeasure of God lighted vpon the poore snake onlie. How those words are to be considered may appeare, in that it is of purpose so spoken, as our weake capacities may thereby best conceiue the substance, tenor, and true meaning of the word, which is there set downe in the manner of a tragedie, in such humane and sensible forme, as woonderfullie informeth our vnderstanding; though it seeme contrarie to the spirituall course of spirits and diuels, and also to the nature and diuinitie of God himselfe; who is infinite, and whome no man euer sawe with corporall eies, and liued. And doubtles, if the serpent there had not beene taken absolutelie, nor metaphoricallie for the diuell, the Holie-ghost would haue informed vs thereof in some part of that storie. But to affirme it sometimes to be a diuell, and sometimes a snake; whereas there is no such distinction to be found or seene in the text, is an inuention and a fetch (me thinks) beyond the compasse of all diuinitie. Certeinlie the serpent was he that seduced Eue: now whether it were the diuell, or a snake; let anie wise man (or rather let the word of God) iudge. Doubtles the scripture in manie places expoundeth it to be the diuell. And I haue (I am sure) one wiseman on my side for

Gen.3.14. 15.

Gen.3.1. 1.Cor.11.3.

for the interpretation hereof, namelie Salomon; who saith, Through enuie of the diuell came death into the world: referring Sap.2,24.
that to the diuell, which Moses in the letter did to the serpent. But a better expositor hereof néedeth not, than the text it selfe, euen in the same place, where it is written; I will put enmitie betwéene thée and the woman, and betwéene thy séed and hir séed: he shall breake thy head, and thou shalt bruse his héele. What christian knoweth not, that in these words the mysterie of our redemption is comprised and promised? Wherein is not meant (as manie suppose) that the common séed of woman shall tread vpon a snakes head, and so breake it in péeces, &c: but that speciall séed, which is Christ, should be borne of a woman, to the vtter ouerthrow of sathan, and to the redemption of mankind, whose héele or flesh in his members the diuell should bruse and assault, with continuall attempts, and carnall prouocations, &c.

The obiection concerning the diuels assuming of the serpents bodie answered.

The xxx. Chapter.

This word Serpent in holie scripture is taken for the diuell: The serpent Gen.3,1.
was more subtill than all the beasts of the féeld. It likewise signifieth such as be euill speakers, such as haue slandering toongs, also heretiks, &c: They haue sharpned their Psal.139,4.
toongs like serpents. It doth likewise betoken the death and sacrifice of Christ: As Moses lifted vp the serpent in the wildernesse, so must the sonne Num.8.&9.
of man be lifted vp vpon the crosse. Moreouer, it is taken for wic- Iohn.3,14.
ked men: O yée serpents and generation of vipers. Thereby Matt.23,33.
also is signified as well a wise as a subtile man: and in that sense did Christ himselfe vse it; saieng, Be ye wise as serpents, &c. So Matt.10,16.
that by this bréefe collection you sée, that the word serpent, as it is equiuocall, so likewise it is sometimes taken in the good and sometimes in the euill part. But where it is said, that the serpent was father of lies, author of death, and the worker of deceipt: me

thinks it is a ridiculous opinion to hold, that thereby a snake is meant; which must be, if the letter be preferred before the allego-
I.Cal. in Genes. cap.3. I. rie. Trulie Caluines opinion is to be liked and reuerenced, and his example to be embraced and followed, in that he offereth to subscribe to them that hold, that the Holie-ghost in that place did of purpose vse obscure figures, that the cleare light thereof might
Idem ibid. be deferred, till Christs comming. He saith also with like commendation (speaking hereof, and writing vpon this place) that Moses doth accommodate and fitten for the vnderstanding of the common people, in a rude and grosse stile, those things which he there deliuereth; forbearing once to rehearse the name of sa-
Idem ibid. than. And further he saith, that this order may not be thought of Moses his owne deuise; but to be taught him by the spirit of God:
Idem ibid. for such was (saith he) in those daies the childish age of the church, which was vnable to receiue higher or profounder doctrine. Finallie, he saith euen herevpon, that the Lord hath supplied, with the secret light of his spirit, whatsoeuer wanted in plainenes and clearenes of externall words.

If it be said, according to experience, that certeine other beasts are farre more subtill than the serpent: they answer, that it is not absurd to confesse, that the same gift was taken awaie from him, by God, bicause he brought destruction to mankind. Which is more (me thinkes) than néed be granted in that behalfe.
Matt.10,16. For Christ saith not; Be yée wise as serpents were before their transgression: but, Be wise as serpents are. I would learne what impietie, absurditie, or offense it is to hold, that Moses, vnder the person of the poisoning serpent or snake, describeth the diuell that poisoned Eue with his deceiptfull words, and veno-
Isai.30,6. Matth.3. 12.13. Luk.3,&c. Gen.3. mous assault. Whence commeth it else, that the diuell is called so often, The viper, The serpent, &c: and that his children are called the generation of vipers; but vpon this first description of the diuell made by Moses? For I thinke none so grosse, as to suppose, that the wicked are the children of snakes, according to the letter: no more than we are to thinke and gather, that God kéepeth a booke of life, written with penne and inke vpon paper; as citizens record their frée men.

Of

Of the cursse rehearsed Gen.3. and that place rightlie expounded, Iohn Caluines opinion of the diuell.

The xxxj. Chapter.

The cursse rehearsed by God in that place, whereby witchmongers labour so busilie to proue that the diuell entered into the bodie of a snake, and by consequence can take the bodie of anie other creature at his pleasure, &c: reacheth (I thinke) further into the diuels matters, than we can comprehend, or is néedfull for vs to know, that vnderstand not the waies of the diuels créeping, and is farre vnlikelie to extend to plague the generation of snakes: as though they had béene made with legs before that time, and through this cursse were depriued of that benefit. And yet, if the diuell should haue entred into the snake, in maner and forme as they suppose; I cannot sée in what degrée of sinne the poore snake should be so guiltie, as that God, who is the most righteous iudge, might be offended with him. But although I abhorre that lewd interpretation of the familie of loue, and such other heretikes, as would reduce the whole Bible into allegories: yet (me thinkes) the créeping there is rather metaphoricallie or significatiuelie spoken, than literallie; euen by that figure, which is there prosecuted to the end. Wherein the diuell is resembled to an odious creature, who as he créepeth vpon vs to annoie our bodies; so doth the diuell there créepe into the conscience of Eue, to abuse and deceiue hir: whose séed neuertheles shall tread downe and dissolue his power and malice. And through him, all good christians (as Caluine saith) obteine power to doo the like. For we may not imagine such a materiall tragedie, as there is described, for the ease of our féeble and weake capacities.

Familie of loue.

I. Cal. lib. instit. 1. cap. 14. sect. 18.

For whensoeuer we find in the scriptures, that the diuell is called, god, the prince of the world, a strong armed man, to whome is giuen the power of the aier, a roring lion, a serpent, &c: the Holie-ghost moued vs thereby, to beware of the most subtill, strong and mightie enimie, and to make preparation,

tion, and arme our selues with faith against so terrible an aduer-sarie. And this is the opinion and counsell of Caluine, that we séeing our owne weakenes, & his force manifested in such termes, may beware of the diuell, and may flie to God for spirituall aid and comfort. And as for his corporall assaults, or his attempts vpon our bodies, his nightwalkings, his visible appearings, his dansing with witches, &c: we are neither warned in the scriptures of them, nor willed by God or his prophets to flie them; neither is there anie mention made of them in the scriptures. And therefore thinke I those witchmongers and absurd writers to be as grosse on the one side, as the Sadduces are impious and fond on the other; which saie, that spirits and diuels are onlie motions and affections, and that angels are but tokens of Gods power. I for my part confesse with Augustine, that these matters are aboue my reach and capacitie: and yet so farre as Gods word teacheth me, I will not sticke to saie, that they are liuing creatures, ordeined to serue the Lord in their vocation. And although they abode not in their first estate, yet that they are the Lords ministers, and executioners of his wrath, to trie and tempt in this world, and to punish the reprobate in hell fier in the world to come.

I.Cal.li. inst. 1.cap.14.sect. 13.

Aug. de cura pro mort.&c.

Mine owne opinion and resolution of the nature of spirits, and of the diuell, with his properties.

The xxxij. Chapter.

P. Mart. in loc.com.9. sect.14.

But to vse few words in a long matter, and plaine termes in a doubtfull case, this is mine opinion concerning this present argument. First, that diuels are spirits, and no bodies. For (as Peter Martyr saith) spirits and bodies are by antithesis opposed one to another: so as a bodie is no spirit, nor a spirit a bodie. And that the diuell, whether he be manie or one (for by the waie you shall vnderstand, that he is so spoken of in the scriptures, as though there were but [a] one, and sometimes as though [b] one were

[a] 1.Sam.22. Luk.8. Iohn.8. Eph.6. 2.Tim.2. 1.Pet.5.
[b] Coloss. 1, verse. 16.

were manie legions, the sense whereof I haue alreadie declared according to Caluins opinion, he is a creature made by God, and that for vengeance, as it is [c] written in Eccl.39.verse.28: and of himselfe naught, though emploied by God to necessarie and good purposes. For in places, where it is written, that [d] all the creatures of God are good; and againe, when God, in the creation of the world, [e] sawe all that he had made was good: the diuell is not comprehended within those words of commendation. For it is written that he was a [f] murtherer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, bicause there is no truth in him; but when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his owne, as being a lier, and the father of lies, and (as Iohn saith) a sinner from the beginning. Neither was his creation (so farre as I can find) in that weeke that God made man, and those other creatures mentioned in Genesis the first; and yet God created him purposelie to destroie. I take his substance to be such as no man can by learning define, nor by wisedome search out. M. Decring saith, that Paule himselfe, reckoning vp principalities, powers, &c: addeth, Euerie name that is named in this world, or in the world to come. A cleere sentence (saith he) of Paules modestie, in confessing a holie ignorance of the state of angels: which name is also giuen to diuels in other places of the scripture. His essence also and his forme is so proper and peculiar (in mine opinion) vnto himselfe, as he himselfe cannot alter it, but must needs be content therewith, as with that which God hath ordeined for him, and assigned vnto him, as peculiarlie as he hath giuen to vs our substance without power to alter the same at our pleasures. For we find not that a spirit can make a bodie, more than a bodie can make a spirit: the spirit of God excepted, which is omnipotent. Neuertheles, I learne that their nature is prone to all mischeefe: for as the verie signification of an enimie and an accuser is wrapped vp in Sathan and Diabolus; so doth Christ himselfe declare him to be in the thirteenth of Matthew. And therefore he brooketh well his name: for he lieth dailie in wait, not onelie to corrupt, but also to destroie mankind; being (I saie) the verie tormentor appointed by God to afflict the wicked in this world with wicked temptations, and in the world to come with hell fier. But I may not here forget how M. Mal. and the residue of that crew doo expound

1.Cor.10. Matth.8, &,10. Luke.4. [c].Sap.1. Apocal.4. [d]1.Tim.4,4 [e]Gen.1. [f]Gen.8.44. 1.Ioh.3.8. Isai.54.16. Edw.Deering, in his read. vpon the Hebr.1. reading the 6. Eph.6,12. Col.2,16. Matth.25. 1.Pet.5. Idem ibid. Matt.25.41. *Mal. malef. par.1.quæ.5.*

pound

pound this word Diabolus: for Dia (saie they) is Duo, and Bolus is Morsellus; whereby they gather that the diuell eateth vp a man both bodie and soule at two morselles. Whereas in truth the wicked may be said to eate vp and swallowe downe the diuell, rather than the diuell to eate vp them; though it may well be said by a figure, that the diuell like a roring lion seeketh whome he may deuoure: which is ment of the soule and spirituall deuouring, as verie nouices in religion may iudge.

The etymon of the word *Diabolus.*

Against fond witchmongers, and their opinions concerning corporall diuels.

The xxxiij. Chapter.

NOw, how Brian Darcies he spirits and shee spirits, Tittie and Tiffin, Suckin and Pidgin, Liard and Robin, &c: his white spirits and blacke spirits, graie spirits and red spirits, diuell tode and diuell lambe, diuels cat and diuels dam, agree herewithall, or can stand consonant with the word of GOD, or true philosophie, let heauen and earth iudge. In the meane time, let anie man with good consideration peruse that booke published by W. W. and it shall suffice to satisfie him in all that may be required touching the vanities of the witches examinations, confessions, and executions: where, though the tale be told onlie of the accusers part, without anie other answer of theirs than their aduersarie setteth downe; mine assertion will be sufficientlie prooued true. And bicause it seemeth to be performed with some kind of authoritie, I will saie no more for the confutation thereof, but referre you to the booke it selfe; whereto if nothing be added that may make to their reach, I dare warrant nothing is left out that may serue to their condemnation. See whether the witnesses be not single of what credit, sex and age they are; namelie lewd, miserable, and enuious poore people; most of them which speake to anie purpose being old women, & children of the age of 4.5.6.7.8. or 9. yeares.

The booke of W. W. published, &c.

And note how and what the witches confesse, and see of what weight and importance the causes are; whether their confessions

be

be not wonne through hope of fauour, and extorted by flatterie or threats, without proofe. But in so much as there were not past seuenteene or eighteene condemned at once at S. Osees in the countie of Essex, being a whole parish (though of no great quantitie) I will saie the lesse: trusting that by this time there remaine not manie in that parish. If anie be yet behind, I doubt not, but Brian Darcie will find them out; who, if he lacke aid, Richard Gallis of Windesor were meete to be associated with him; which Gallis hath set foorth another booke to that effect, of certeine witches of Windsore executed at Abington. But with what impudencie and dishonestie he hath finished it, with what lies and forgeries he hath furnished it, what follie and frensie he hath vttered in it; I am ashamed to report: and therefore being but a two pennie booke, I had rather desire you to buie it, and so to peruse it, than to fill my booke with such beastlie stuffe.

At S. Osees 17. or 18. witches cõdemned at once.

A conclusion wherein the Spirit of spirits is described, by the illumination of which spirit all spirits are to be tried: with a confutation of the Pneumatomachi flatlie denieng the diuinitie of this Spirit.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

TOuching the manifold signification of this word [Spirit] I haue elsewhere in this breefe discourse told you my mind: which is a word nothing differing in Hebrue from breath or wind. For all these words following; to wit, *Spiritus, Ventus, Flatus, Halitus,* are indifferentlie vsed by the Holie-ghost, and called by this Hebrue word רוח in the sacred scripture. For further proofe whereof I cite vnto you the words of Isaie; For his spirit (or breath) is as a riuer that ouerfloweth vp to the necke, &c: in which place the prophet describeth the comming of God in heate and indignation vnto iudgement, &c. I cite also vnto you the words of Zacharie; These are the foure spirits of the heauen, &c. Likewise in Genesis; And the spirit of GOD moued vpon the waters. Moreouer, I cite vnto you the words of Christ; The spirit (or wind)

Isai. 30, 28.
Zach. 6, 5.
Gen. 1, 2.
Ioh. 3, 8.

wind) bloweth where it listeth. Unto which said places infinite more might be added out of holie writ, tending all to this purpose; namelie, to giue vs this for a note, that all the saiengs aboue cited, with manie more that I could alledge, where mention is made of spirit, the Hebrue text vseth no word but one; to wit, רוח which signifieth (as I said) *spiritum, ventum, flatum, halitum*; which may be Englished, Spirit, wind, blast, breath.

But before I enter vpon the verie point of my purpose, it shall not be amisse, to make you acquainted with the collection of a certeine Schoole diuine, who distinguisheth and diuideth this word [Spirit] into six significations; saieng that it is sometimes taken for the aier, sometimes for the wind, sometimes for the bodies of the blessed, sometimes for the soules of the blessed, sometimes for the power imaginatiue or the mind of man; and sometimes for God. Againe he saith, that of spirits there are two sorts, some created and some vncreated.

Eras. Sarcer. in dictio. Scholast. doctr. lit. S.

A spirit vncreated (saith he) is God himselfe, and it is essentiallie taken, and agreeth vnto the three persons notionallie, to the Father, the Sonne, and the Holie-ghost personallie. A spirit created is a creature, and that is likewise of two sorts; to wit, bodilie, and bodilesse. A bodilie spirit is also of two sorts: for some kind of spirit is so named of spiritualnes, as it is distinguished from bodilinesse: otherwise it is called *spiritus á spirando, id est, á flando*, of breathing or blowing, as the wind dooth.

A bodilesse spirit is one waie so named of spiritualnes, and then it is taken for a spirituall substance; and is of two sorts: some make a full and complet kind, and is called complet or perfect, as a spirit angelicall: some doo not make a full and perfect kind, and is called incomplet or vnperfect, as the soule. There is also the spirit vitall, which is a certeine subtill or verie fine substance necessarilie disposing and tending vnto life. There be moreouer spirits naturall, which are a kind of subtill and verie fine substances, disposiug and tending vnto equall complexions of bodies. Againe there be spirits animall, which are certeine subtill and verie fine substances disposing and tempering the bodie, that it might be animated of the forme, that is, that it might be perfected of the reasonable soule. Thus farre he. In whose diuision you see a philosophicall kind of proceeding, though not altogether

to be condemned, yet in euerie point not to be approued.

Now to the spirit of spirits, I meane the principall and holie spirit of God, which one defineth or rather describeth to be the third person in trinitie issuing from the father and the sonne, no more the charitie dilection and loue of the father and the sonne, than the father is the charitie dilection and loue of the sonne and Holie-ghost. An other treating vpon the same argument, procéedeth in this reuerent manner: The holie spirit is the vertue or power of God, quickening, nourishing, fostering and perfecting all things: by whose onlie breathing it commeth to passe that we both know and loue GOD, and become at the length like vnto him: which spirit is the pledge and earnest pennie of grace, and beareth witnesse vnto our heart, whiles wée crie Abba, Father. This spirit is called the spirit of GOD, the spirit of Christ, and the spirit of him which raised vp Jesus from the dead.

Erasm. Sar. in lib. loc. & lit. prædictis.

Laurent. à Villauicentio in phrasib. s. script. lit. S. pag. 176.

Rom. 8, 15.

2. Cor. 6, 5.

Jesus Christ, for that he receiued not the spirit by measure, but in fulnesse, doth call it his spirit; saieng: When the comforter shall come, whome I will send, euen the holie spirit, he shall testifie of me. This spirit hath diuerse metaphoricall names attributed therevnto in the holie scriptures. It is called by the name of water, bicause it washeth, comforteth, moisteneth, softeneth, and maketh fruitefull with all godlinesse and vertues the minds of men, which otherwise would be vncleane, comfortlesse, hard, drie, and barren of all goodnesse: wherevpon the prophet Isaie saith; I will powre water vpon the thirstie, and floods vpon the drie ground, &c. Wherewithall the words of Christ doo agrée; Hée that beléeueth in me, as saith the scripture, out of his bellie shall flowe riuers of waters of life. And else where; Whosoeuer drinketh of the water that I shall giue him, shall neuer be more a thirst. Other places likewise there be, wherein the holie spirit is signified by the name of water and flood: as in the 13. of Isaie, the 29. of Ezech. the 146. Psalme, &c. The same spirit by reason of the force and vehemencie thereof is termed fier. For it doth purifie and cleanse the whole man from top to toe, it doth burne out the soile and drosse of sinnes, and setteth him all in a flaming and hot burning zeale to preferre and further Gods glorie. Which plainelie appeared in the apostles, who when they had re-

John. 15, 26.

Isai. 44.

John. 7, 38.

John. 4, 14.

ceiued the spirit, they spake fierie words, yea such words as were vncontrollable, in so much as in none more than in them this saieng of the prophet Ieremie was verified, *Nunquid non verba mea sunt quasi ignis?* Are not my words euen as it were fier? This was declared and shewed by those fierie toongs, which were séene vpon the apostles after they had receiued the holie spirit.

Jer. 23, 29.

Moreouer, this spirit is called annointing, or ointment, bicause that as in old time préests and kings were by annointing deputed to their office and charge, and so were made fit and seruiceable for the same: euen so the elect are not so much declared as renewed and made apt by the training vp of the holie spirit, both to liue well and also to glorifie God. Where vpon dependeth the saieng of Iohn; And yée haue no néed that anie should teach you, but as the same ointment doth teach you. It is also called in scripture, The oile of gladnesse and reioising, whereof it is said in the booke of Psalmes; God euen thy God hath annointed thée with the oile of ioy & gladnes, &c. And by this goodlie and comfortable name of oile in the scriptures is the mercie of God oftentimes expressed, because the nature of that doth agrée with the propertie and qualitie of this. For as oile doth flote and swim aboue all other liquors, so the mercie of God doth surpasse and ouerreach all his works, and the same doth most of all disclose it selfe to miserable man.

1. Ioh. 2, 20.

Psal. 44.

Cyrill. in euang. Ioh. lib. 3. cap. 14.

Exod. 8.

It is likewise called the finger of God, that is, the might and power of God: by the vertue whereof the apostles did cast out diuels; to wit, euen by the finger of God. It is called the spirit of truth, because it maketh men true and faithfull in their vocation: and for that it is the touchstone to trie all counterfet deuises of mans braine, and all vaine sciences, prophane practises, deceitfull arts, and circumuenting inuentions; such as be in generall all sorts of witchcrafts and inchantments, within whose number are comprehended all those wherewith I haue had some dealing in this my discouerie; to wit, charmes or incantations, diuinations, augurie, iudiciall astrologie, natiuitie casting, alcumystrie, coniuration, lotshare, poperie which is méere paltrie, with diuerse other: not one wherof no nor all together are able to stand to the triall and examination, which this spirit of truth shall and will take of those false and euill spirits. Naie, they shalbe found, when

they

they are laid into the balance, to be lighter than vanitie: verie drosse, when they once come to be tried by the feruent heate of this spirit; and like chaffe, when this spirit bloweth vpon them, driuen awaie with a violent whirlewind: such is the perfection, integritie, and effectuall operation of this spirit, whose working as it is manifold, so it is maruellous, and therefore may and is called the spirit of spirits.

This spirit withdrawing it selfe from the harts of men, for that it will not inhabit and dwell where sinne hath dominion, giueth place vnto the spirit of error and blindnesse, to the spirit of seruitude and compunction, which biteth, gnaweth, and whetteth their harts with a deadlie hate of the gospell; in so much as it grééueth their minds and irketh their eares either to heare or vnderstand the truth; of which disease properlie the pharisees of old were, and the papists euen now are sicke. Yea, the want of this good spirit is the cause that manie fall into the spirit of peruersenes and frowardnes, into the spirit of giddinesse, lieng, drowzines, and dulnesse: according as the prophet Isaie saith; For the Lord hath couered you with a spirit of slumber, and hath shut vp your eies: and againe else-where, *Dominus miscuit in medio, &c*: The Lord hath mingled among them the spirit of giddinesse, and hath made Aegypt to erre, as a dronken man erreth in his vomit: as it is said by Paule; And their foolish hart was blinded, and God gaue them ouer vnto their owne harts lusts. Which punishment Moses threateneth vnto the Jewes; The Lord shall smite thée with madnesse, with blindnesse and amazednesse of mind, and thou shalt grope at high noone as a blind man vseth to grope, &c.

The holie spirit can abide nothing that is carnall, and vncleane.

Isai.29,10.

Isai.19,14.

Ro.1, 21,23.

Deuter.28, 28,29.

In summe, this word [Spirit] dooth signifie a secret force and power, wherewith our minds are mooued and directed; if vnto holie things, then is it the motion of the holie spirit, of the spirit of Christ and of God: if vnto euill things, then is it the suggestion of the wicked spirit, of the diuell, and of satan. Whereupon I inferre, by the waie of a question, with what spirit we are to suppose such to be mooued, as either practise anie of the vanities treated vpon in this booke, or through credulitie addict themselues thereunto as vnto diuine oracles, or the voice of angels breaking through the clouds? We cannot impute this motion vnto

A question.

An answer. the good spirit; for then they should be able to discerne betwéene the nature of spirits, and not swarue in iudgement: it followeth therefore, that the spirit of blindnes and error doth seduce them; so that it is no meruell if in the alienation of their minds they take falsehood for truth, shadowes for substances, fansies for verities, &c: for it is likelie that the good spirit of God hath forsaken them, or at leastwise absented it selfe from them: else would they detest these diuelish deuises of men, which consist of nothing but delusions and vaine practises, whereof (I suppose) this my booke to be a sufficient discouerie.

A great likelihood no doubt.

Iudgement distinguished.

It will be said that I ought not to iudge, for he that iudgeth shalbe iudged. Whereto I answer, that iudgement is to be understood of thrée kind of actions in their proper nature; whereof the first are secret, and the iudgement of them shall apperteine to God, who in time will disclose what so euer is done in couert, and that by his iust iudgement. The second are mixed actions, taking part of hidden and part of open, so that by reason of their uncerteintie and doubtfulnes they are discussable and to be tried; these after due examination are to haue their competent iudgement, and are incident to the magistrate. The third are manifest and euident, and such as doo no lesse apparentlie shew themselues than an inflammation of bloud in the bodie: and of these actions euerie priuate man giueth iudgement, bicause they be of such certeintie, as that of them a man may as well conclude, as to gather, that bicause the sunne is risen in the east, *Ergo* it is morning: he is come about and is full south, *Ergo* it is high noone; he is declining and closing up in the west, *Ergo* it is euening. So that the obiection is answered.

Howbeit, letting this passe, and spirituallie to speake of this spirit, which whiles manie haue wanted, it hath come to passe that they haue proued altogether carnall; & not sauouring heauenlie diuinitie haue tumbled into worsse than philosophicall barbarisme: & these be such as of writers are called Pneumatomachi, a sect so iniurious to the holie spirit of God, that contemning the sentence of Christ, wherein he foretelleth that the sinne against the holie spirit is neuer to be pardoned, neither in this world nor in the world to come, they doo not onelie denie him to be God, but also pull from him all being, and with the Sadduces mainteine

* *Iosias Simlerus li.4.ca.5. aduersus veteres & nouos Antitrinitarios, &c.*

teine there is none such; but that vnder and by the name of holie spirit is ment a certeine diuine force, wherewith our minds are mooued, and the grace and fauour of God whereby we are his beloued. Against these shamelesse enimies of the holie spirit, I will not vse materiall weapons, but syllogisticall charmes. And first I will set downe some of their paralogysmes or false arguments; and vpon the necke of them inferre fit confutations grounded vpon sound reason and certeine truth.

Their first argument is knit vp in this manner. The holie spirit is no where expressielie called God in the scriptures; *Ergo* he is not God, or at leastwise he is not to be called God. The antecedent of this argument is false; bicause the holie spirit hath the title or name of God in the fift of the Acts. Againe, the consequent is false. For although he were not expressielie called God, yet should it not thervpon be concluded that he is not verie God; bicause vnto him are attributed all the properties of God, which vnto this doo equallie belong. And as we denie not that the father is the true light, although it be not directlie written of the father, but of the sonne; He was the true light giuing light to euerie man that commeth into this world: so likewise it is not to be denied, that the spirit is God, although the scripture dooth not expressielie and simplie note it; sithence it ascribeth equall things therevnto; as the properties of God, the works of God, the seruice due to GOD, and that it dooth interchangeablie take the names of Spirit and of God oftentimes. They therefore that see these things attributed vnto the holie spirit, and yet will not suffer him to be called by the name of God; doo as it were refuse to grant vnto Eue the name of *Homo*, whome notwithstanding they confesse to be a creature reasonable and mortall.

1. Obiectiō. The scripture dooth neuer call the holie spirit God.

*The first answer. A refutation of the antecedent, &c.

The second reason is this. Hilarie in all his twelue bookes of the Trinitie dooth no where write that the holie spirit is to be worshipped; he neuer giueth thervnto the name of God, neither dares he otherwise pronounce thereof, than that it is the spirit of God. Besides this, there are vsuall praiers of the church commonlie called the Collects, whereof some are made to the father, some to the sonne, but none to the holie spirit; and yet in them all mention is made of the thrée persons. * Herevnto I answer, that although Hilarie dooth not openlie call the holie spirit, God:

2. Obiectiō. *Hilarie* doth not call the spirit God, neither is he so named in the common collects.

* The 2. answer.

Hilarius lib. 12. de Triade

yet doth he constantly denie it to be a creature. Now if any aske me why Hilarie was so coie & nice to name the holie spirit, God, whom he denieth to be a creature, when as notwithstanding betwéene God and a creature there is no meane: I will in good sooth saie what I thinke. I suppose that Hilarie, for himselfe, thought well of the godhead of the holie spirit: but this opinion was thrust and forced vpon him of the Pneumatomachi, who at that time rightlie déeming of the sonne did erwhiles ioine themselues to those that were sound of iudgement. There is also in the ecclesiasticall historie a little booke which they gaue Liberius a bishop of Rome, whereinto they foisted the Nicene créed. And that Hilarie was a fréend of the Pneumatomachi, it is perceiued in his booke *De synodis*, where he writeth in this maner; *Nihil autem mirum vobis videri debet, fratres charissimi, &c:* It ought to séeme no wonder vnto you déere brethren, &c. As for the obiection of the praiers of the church called the collects, that in them the holie spirit is not called vpon by name: we oppose and set against them the songs of the church, wherein the said spirit is called vpon. But the collects are more ancient than the songs, hymnes, and anthems. I will not now contend about ancientnesse, neither will I compare songs and collects togither; but I say thus much onelie, to wit, that in the most ancient times of the church the holie spirit hath béene openlie called vpon in the congregation. Now if I be charged to giue an instance, let this serue. In the collect vpon trinitie sundaie it is thus said: Almightie and euerlasting God, which hast giuen vnto vs thy seruants grace by the confession of a truth to acknowledge the glorie of the eternall trinitie, and in the power of the diuine Maiestie to worship the vnitie: we beséech thée that thorough the stedfastnesse of this faith, we may euermore be defended from all aduersitie, which liuest and reignest one God world without end. Now bicause that in this collect, where the trinitie is expresselie called vpon, the names of persons are not expressed; but almightie and euerlasting God inuocated, who abideth in trinitie and vnitie; it doth easilie appeare elsewhere also that the persons being not named, vnder the name of almightie and euerlasting God, not onelie the father to be vnderstood, but God which abideth in trinitie and vnitie, that is the father, the sonne, and the Holie-ghost.

The place is long, and therefore I had rather referre the reader vnto the booke than heere to insert so many lines.

Collecta in die domin. sanctæ Trinit.

A third obiection of theirs is this. The sonne of GOD often-times praieng in the gospels, speaketh vnto the father, promiseth the holie spirit, and dooth also admonish the apostles to praie vnto the heauenlie father, but yet in the name of the sonne. Besides that, he prescribeth them this forme of praier: Our father which art in heauen. *Ergo* the father onlie is to be called vpon, and consequentlie the father onelie is that one and verie true God, of whome it is written; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onelie shalt thou serue.

3. Obiectiō. The spirit is not to be praied vnto but the father onlie.

* Whereto I answer first by denieng the consequent; The sonne praied to the father onelie, *Ergo* the father onlie is of vs also to be praied vnto. For the sonne of GOD is distinguished of vs both in person and in office: he as a mediator maketh intercession for vs to the father: and although the sonne and the holie spirit doo both togither receiue and take vs into fauour with God; yet is he said to intreat the father for vs; bicause the father is the fountaine of all counsels & diuine works. Furthermore, touching the forme of praieng prescribed of Christ, it is not necessarie that the fathers name shuld personallie be there taken, sith there is no distinction of persons made: but by the name of father indefinitelie we vnderstand God or the essence of God, the father, the son, and the Holie-ghost. For this name hath not alwaies a respect vnto the generation of the sonne of God; but God is called the father of the faithfull, bicause of his gratious and frée adopting of them, the foundation whereof is the sonne of God, in whom we be adopted: but yet so adopted, that not the father onelie receiueth vs into his fauour; but with him also the sonne and the holy spirit dooth the same. Therefore when we in the beginning of praier doo aduertise our selues of Gods goodnesse towards vs; we doo not cast an eie to the father alone, but also to the sonne, who gaue vs the spirit of adoption; and to the holie spirit, in whom we crie Abba, Father. And if so be that inuocation and praier were restreined to the father alone, then had the saints doone amisse, in calling vpon, inuocating, and praieng to the sonne of God, and with the sonne the holy spirit, in baptisme, according to the forme by Christ himselfe assigned and deliuered.

* 3. Answer. The consequent is denied.

Another obiection is out of the fourth of Amos, in this maner. For lo it is I that make the thunder, and create the spirit, and

4. Obiectiō. Amos saith

shew unto men their Christ, making the light and the clouds, and mounting aboue the hie places of the earth, the Lord God of hosts is his name. Now bicause it is read in that place, Shewing unto men their Christ; the Pneumatomachi contended that these words are to be understood of the holie spirit.

that the spirit was created.

* But Ambrose in his booke *De spiritu sancto, lib. 2. cap. 7.* doth rightlie answer, that by spirit in this place is ment the wind: for if the prophets purpose and will had béene to speake of the holie spirit, he would not haue begunne with thunder, nor haue ended with light and clouds. Howbeit, the same father saith; If anie suppose that these words are to be drawne unto the interpretation of the holie spirit, bicause the prophet saith, Shewing unto men their Christ; he ought also to draw these words unto the mysterie of the Lords incarnation: and he expoundeth thunder to be the words of the Lord, and spirit to be the reasonable and perfect soule. But the former interpretation is certeine and conuenient with the words of the prophet, by whom there is no mention made of Christ; but the power of God is set forth in his works. Behold (saith the prophet) he that formeth the mountaines, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought, which maketh the morning darknesse, and walketh upon the hie places of the earth, the Lord God of hosts is his name. In this sort Santes a right skilfull man in the Hebrew tong translateth this place of the prophet. But admit this place were written of the holie spirit, & were not appliable either to the wind or to the Lords incarnation: yet doth it not follow that the holie spirit is a creature; bicause this word of Creating doth not alwaies signifie a making of something out of nothing; as Eusebius in expounding these words (The Lord created me in the beginning of his waies) writeth thus. The prophet in the person of God, saieng; Behold I am he that made the thunder, and created the spirit, and shewed unto men their Christ: this word Created is not so to be taken, as that it is to be concluded thereby, that the same was not before. For God hath not so created the spirit, sithence by the same he hath shewed & declared his Christ unto all men. Neither was it a thing of late beginning under the sonne: but it was before all beginning, and was then sent, when the apostles were gathered togither, when a sound like thunder came

* 4. Answer. Spirit in this place signifieth wind.

To create is not him to be made that was not.

Euseb. Cesariens. li. 3. aduersus Marcellum.

from

from heauen, as it had béene the comming of a mightie wind: this word Created being vsed for sent downe, for appointed, ordeined, &c: and the word thunder signifieng in another kind of maner the preaching of the gospels. The like saieng is that of the Psalmist, A cleane hart create in me O God: wherein he praied not as one hauing no hart, but as one that had such a hart as néeded purifieng, as néeded perfecting: & this phrase also of the scripture, That he might create two in one new man; that is, that he might ioine, couple, or gather together, &c.

Furthermore, the Pneumatomachi by these testimonies insuing endeuor to proue the holie spirit to be a creature. Out of John the 1. chap. By this word were all things made, and without it nothing was made. Out of 1. Cor. 8. Wée haue one God the father, euen he from whome are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whome are all things, and we by him. Out of the 1. Coloss. By him were all things made, things in heauen, and things in earth, visible and inuisible, &c. Now if all things were made by the sonne, it followeth that by him the holie spirit was also made. 5. Obiectiō. All things were made by the son, *Ergo* the spirit was also made by him.

* Whereto I answer, that when all things are said to be made by the sonne, that same vniuersall proposition is restrained by John himselfe to a certeine kind of things: Without him (saith the euangelist) was nothing made that was made. Therefore it is first to be shewed that the holie spirit was made, and then will we conclude out of John, that if he were made, he was made of the sonne. The scripture doth no where saie that the holie spirit was made of the father or of the sonne, but to procéed, to come, and to be sent from them both. Now if these vniuersall propositions are to suffer no restraint, it shall follow that the father was made of the sonne: than the which what is more absurd and wicked? * 5. Answer. Vniuersall propositiōs or speeches are to be restrained.

Againe, they obiect out of Matth. 11. None knoweth the sonne but the father, and none the father but the sonne; to wit, of and by himselfe: for otherwise both the angels, & to whomsoeuer else it shall please the sonne to reueale the father, these doo know both the father and the sonne. Now if so be the spirit be not equall with the father and the sonne in knowledge, he is not onelie vnequall and lesser than they, but also no God: for ignorance is not incident 6. Obiectiō. The spirit knoweth not the father & the sonne.

incident vnto God.

*6. Answer. How exclusiue propositions or speeches are to be interpreted.

* Whereto I answer, that where in holie scripture we doo méete with vniuersall propositions negatiue or exclusiue, they are not to be expounded of one person, so as the rest are excluded; but creatures or false gods are to be excluded, and whatsoeuer else is without or beside the essence and being of God. Reasons to proue and confirme this interpretation, I could bring verie manie, whereof I will adde some for example. In the seauenth of John it is said; When Christ shall come, none shall knowe from whence he is: notwithstanding which words the Jewes thought that neither God nor his angels should be ignorant from whence Christ should be. In the fourth to the Galathians; A mans couenant or testament confirmed with authoritie no bodie doth abrogate, or adde anie thing thereunto. No iust man doth so; but tyrants and truce-breakers care not for couenants. In John eight; Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the middest. And yet it is not to be supposed that a multitude of people was not present, and the disciples of Christ likewise; but the word *solus*, alone, is referred to the womans accusers, who withdrew themselues awaie euerie one, and departed. In the first of Marke; When it was euening, the ship was in the middest of the sea, and he alone vpon land: he was not alone vpon land or shore, for the same was not vtterlie void of dwellers: but he had not anie of his disciples with him, nor anie bodie to carrie him a shipbord vnto his disciples. Manie phrases or formes of spéeches like vnto these are to be found in the sacred scriptures, and in authors both Gréeke and Latine, whereby we vnderstand, that neither vniuersall negatiue nor exclusiue particles are strictlie to be vrged, but to be explaned in such sort as the matter in hand will beare. When as therefore the sonne alone is said to know the father, and it is demanded whether the holie spirit is debarred from knowing the father; out of other places of scriptures iudgment is to be giuen in this case. In some places the holie spirit is counted and reckoned with the father and the sonne iointlie: wherefore he is not to be separated. Else-where also it is attributed to the holie spirit that he alone doth know the things which be of God, and searcheth the déepe secrets of God: wherefore from him the knowing of God is not to be excluded.

They

They doo yet further obiect, that it is not conuenient or fit for God after the manner of suters to humble and cast downe himselfe: but the holie spirit dooth so, praieng and intreating for vs with vnspeakeable grones: Rom. 8. *Ergo* the holie spirit is not God. 7. Obiectiō. The spirit praieth for vs.

* Whereto I answer that the holie spirit dooth praie and intreat, in so much as he prouoketh vs to praie, and maketh vs to grone and sigh. Oftentimes also in the scriptures is that action or déed attributed vnto God, which we being stirred vp and mooued by him doo bring to passe. So it is said of God vnto Abraham; Now I know that thou fearest God: and yet before he would haue sacrificed Isaach, God knew the verie heart of Abraham: and therefore this word *Cognoui*, I know, is as much as *Cognoscere feci*, I haue made or caused to know. And that the spirit to praie and intreat, is the same that, to make to praie and intreat, the apostle teacheth euen there, writing that we haue receiued the spirit of adoption, in whome we crie Abba Father. Where it is manifest that it is we which crie, the Holie-ghost prouoking and forcing vs thereunto. 7. Answer. The spirit dooth prouoke vs to praie.

Howbeit they go further, and frame this reason. Whosoeuer is sent, the same is inferior and lesser than he of whome he is sent, and furthermore he is of a comprehensible substance, bicause he passeth by locall motion from place to place: but the holie spirit is sent of the father and the sonne, John. 14, 15, & 16. It is powred foorth and shed vpon men, Acts. 10. *Ergo* the holie spirit is lesser than the Father and the Sonne, and of a comprehensible nature, and consequentlie not verie God. 8. Obiectiō. The spirit is sent from the father and the son.

* Whereto I answer first, that he which is sent is not alwaies lesser than he that sendeth: to proue which position anie meane wit may inferre manie instances. Furthermore, touching the sending of the holie spirit, we are here to imagine no changing or shifting of place. For if the spirit when he goeth foorth from the father and is sent, changeth his place, then must the father also be in a place, that he may leaue it and go to another. And as for the incomprehensible nature of the spirit, he cannot leauing his place passe vnto another. Therefore the sending of the spirit is the eternall and vnuariable will of God, to doo something by the holie spirit; and the reuealing and executing of this will by the 8. Answer. How the spirit is sent.

operati-

operation and working of the spirit. The spirit was sent to the apostles; which spirit was present with them, sith it is present euerie-where: but then according to the will of God the father hée shewed himselfe present and powerfull.

Some man may saie; If sending be a reuealing and laieng open of presence and power, then may the father be said to be sent, bicause he himselfe is also reuealed. I answer, that when the spirit is said to be sent, not onlie the reuealing, but the order also of his reuealing is declared; bicause the will of the father and of the sonne, of whom he is sent, going before, not in time, but in order of persons, the spirit dooth reueale himselfe, the father, and also the sonne. The father reuealeth himselfe by others, the sonne and the holie spirit, so that his will goeth before. Therefore sending is the common worke of all the thrée persons; howbeit, for order of dooing, it is distinguished by diuerse names. The father will reueale himselfe vnto men with the sonne and the spirit, and be powerfull in them, and therefore is said to send. The sonne and the spirit doo assent vnto the will of the father, and will that to be doone by themselues, which God will to be doone by them; these are said to be sent. And bicause the will of the sonne dooth go before the spirit in order of persons, he is also said to send the spirit.

9. Obiectiō. The spirit speaketh not of himselfe.

Yet for all this they allege, that if the spirit had perfection, then would he speake of himselfe, and not stand in néed alwaies of anothers admonishment: but he speaketh not of himselfe, but speaketh what he heareth, as Christ expresselie testifieth John. 16. *Ergo* he is vnperfect, and whatsoeuer he hath it is by partaking, and consequentlie he is not God.

*The 9. answer. *Cyrill. lib. 13. thesaur. cap. 3*

* Whereto I answer, that this argument is stale: for it was obiected by heretikes long ago against them that held the true opinion, as Cyrill saith; who answereth, that by the words of Christ is rather to be gathered, that the son and the spirit are of the same substance. For, the spirit is named the mind of Christ. 1. Cor. 2. and therefore he speaketh not of his owne proper will, or against his will in whom and from whom he is; but hath all his will and working naturallie procéeding from the substance as it were of him.

10. Obieccion.

Lastlie they argue thus: Euerie thing is either vnbegotten or vnborne, or begotten and created; the spirit is not vnbegotten, for

for then he were the father; & so there should be two without beginning: neither is he begotten, for then he is begotten of the father, and so there shall be two sonnes, both brothers; or hée is begotten of the sonne, and then shall he be Gods nephue, than the which what can be imagined more absurd? *Ergo* he is created.

* Wherto I answer, that the diuision or distribution is vnperfect: for that member is omitted which is noted of the verie best diuine that euer was, euen Iesus Christ our sauiour; namelie, to haue procéeded, or procéeding: That same holie spirit (saith he) which procéedeth from the father. Which place Nazanzen dooth thus interpret. The spirit, bicause he procéedeth from thence, is not a creature: and bicause he is not begotten, he is not the son; but bicause he is the meane of begotten and vnbegotten, he shall be God, &c. * 10. Ans. The spirit proceedeth

And thus hauing auoided all these cauils of the * Pneumatomachi, a sect of heretikes too too iniurious to the holie spirit, insomuch as they séeke what they can, to rob and pull from him the right of his diuinitie; I will all Christians to take héed of their pestilent opinions, the poison whereof though to them that be resolued in the truth it can doo little hurt, yet to such as stand vpon a wauering point it can doo no great good. Hauing thus far waded against them, and ouerthrowne their opinions; I must néeds exhort all to whom the reading hereof shall come, that first they consider with themselues what a reuerend mysterie all that hitherto hath béene said in this chapter concerneth; namelie, the spirit of sanctification, and that they so ponder places to and fro, as that they reserue vnto the holie spirit the glorious title of diuinitie, which by nature is to him appropriate: estéeming of these Pneumatomachi or Theomachi, as of swine, delighting more in the durtie draffe of their deuises, than in the faire fountaine water of Gods word: yea, condemning them of grosser ignorance than the old philosophers, who though they sauoured little of heauenlie theologie, yet some illumination they had of the holie and diuine spirit, marrie it was somewhat mistie, darke, lame and limping; neuerthelesse, what it was, and how much or little soeuer it was, they gaue therevnto a due reuerence, in that they acknowledged and intituled it *Animam mundi*, The soule or life of the world, and (as Nazanzen witnesseth) τὸν τοῦ παντὸς νοῦν, The mind

*Such were the Arrians, Tritheits, Samosatenians, &c.

Sus magis in cœno gaudet quàm fonte sereno.

The hethenish philosophers acknowledged the holie spirit.

mind of the vniuersall, and the outward breath, or the breath that commeth from without. Porphyrie expounding the opinion of Plato, who was not vtterlie blind in this mysterie, saith that the diuine substance doth proceed and extend to three subsistencies and beings: and that God is chieflie and principallie good, next him the second creator, and the third to be the soule of the world: for he holdeth that the diuinitie doth extend euen to this soule. As for Hermes Trismegistus, he saith that all things haue need of this spirit: for according to his worthinesse he supporteth all, he quickeneth and susteineth all, and he is deriued from the holie fountaine, giuing breath and life vnto all, and euermore remaineth continuall, plentifull, and vnemptied.

Cyrill. lib. 1. contra Iulianum.

And here by the waie I giue you a note worth reading and considering; namelie, how all nations in a manner, by a kind of heauenlie influence, agree in writing and speaking the name of God with no more than foure letters. As for example, the Ægyptians doo call him Theut, the Persians call him Syre, the Iewes expresse his vnspeakable name as well as they can by the word Adonai consisting of foure vowels; the Arabians call him Alla, the Mahometists call him Abdi, the Greekes call him Theos, the Latines call him Deus, &c. This, although it be not so proper to our present purpose, yet (because we are in hand with the holie spirits deitie) is not altogether impertinent. But why GOD would haue his name as it were vniuersallie bounded within the number of foure letters, I can giue sundrie reasons, which require too long a discourse of words by digression: and therefore I will conceale them for this time. These opinions of philosophers I haue willinglie remembred, that it might appeare, that the doctrine concerning the holie spirit is verie ancient; which they hauing taken either out of Moses writings, or out of the works of the old fathers, published and set forth in bookes, though not wholie, fullie, and perfectlie vnderstood and knowne: and also that our Pneumatomachi may see themselues to be more doltish in diuine matters than the heathen, who will not acknowledge that essentiall and working power of the diuinitie wherby all things are quickened: which the heathen did after a sort see; after a sort (I saie) bicause they separated the soule of the world (which they also call the begotten mind) from the most soueraigne and vnbegotten

Marsilius Ficinus in arg. in Cratyl. Plat.

gotten God, and imagined certeine differences of degrees, and (as Cyrill saith) did Arrianize in the trinitie.

So then I conclude against these Pneumatomachi, that in so much as they imitate the old giants, who piling vp Pelion vpon Ossa, and them both vpon Olympus, attempted by scaling the heauens to pull Iupiter out of his throne of estate, & to spoile him of his principalitie, and were notwithstanding their strength, whereby they were able to carrie huge hilles on their shoulders, ouerwhelmed with those mountaines, and squized vnder the weight of them euen to the death: so these Pneumatomachi, being enimies both to the holie spirit, and no freends to the holie church (for then would they confesse the trinitie in vnitie, and the vnitie in trinitie, and consequentlie also the deitie of the holie spirit) deserue to be consumed with the fier of his mouth, the heate whereof by no meanes can be slaked, quenched, or auoided. For there is nothing more vnnaturall, nothing more monstrous, than against the person of the deitie (I meane the spirit of sanctification) to oppose mans power, mans wit, mans policie, &c: which was well signified by that poeticall fiction of the giants, who were termed *Anguipedes*, Snakefooted: which as Ioachimus Camerarius expoundeth of wicked counsellors, to whose filthie persuasion tyrants doo trust as vnto their feete; and James Sadolet interpreteth of philosophers, who trusting ouermuch vnto their owne wits, become so bold in challenging praise for their wisedome, that in fine all turneth to follie and confusion: so I expound of heretikes and schismatikes, who either by corrupt doctrine, or by mainteining precise opinions, or by open violence, &c: assaie to ouerthrow the true religion, to breake the vnitie of the church, to denie Cæsar his homage, and GOD his dutie, &c: and therefore let *Iouis fulmen*, wherewith they were slaine, assure these that there is *Diuina vltio* due to all such, as dare in the ficklenes of their fansies arreare themselues against the holie spirit; of whom sith they are ashamed here vpon earth (otherwise they would confidentlie and boldlie confesse him both with mouth and pen) he will be ashamed of them in heauen, where they are like to be so farre from hauing anie societie with the saints, that their portion shalbe euen in full and shaken measure with miscreants and infidels. And therefore let vs,

Ouid.lib.metamorph.1. fab.5.de gigantib. cœlum obsident.

Iacob.Sadol. in lib. de laud.philosoph.inscript. Phędrus.

if

if we will discerne and trie the spirits whether they be of God or no, seeke for the illumination of this inlightning spirit, which as it bringeth light with it to discouer all spirits, so it giueth such a fierie heat, as that no false spirit can abide by it for feare of burning. Howbeit the holie spirit must be in vs, otherwise this prerogatiue of trieng spirits will not fall to our lot.

Peter Mart. in loc. com. part.2. cap. 18. sect. 33. pag.628. But here some will peraduenture moue a demand, and doo aske how the holie spirit is in vs, considering that *Infiniti ad finitum nulla est proportio, neque loci angustia quod immensum est potest circumscribi:* of that which is infinite, to that which is finite there is no proportion; neither can that which is vnmeasurable be limited or bounded within anie precinct of place, &c. I answer, that the most excellent father for Christes sake sendeth him vnto vs, according as Christ promised vs in the person of his apostles; The comforter (saith he) which is the holie spirit, whome my father will send in my name. (Iohn.14,26.) And as for proportion of that which is infinite to that which is finite, &c: I will in no case haue it thought, that the holie spirit is in vs, as a bodie placed in a place terminablie; but to attribute thereunto, as dulie belongeth to the deitie, an vbiquitie, or vniuersall presence; not corporallie and palpablie; but effectuallie, mightilie, mysticallie, diuinelie, &c. (Iohn.16,14. & 14,16.) Yea, and this I may boldlie adde, that Christ Iesus sendeth him vnto vs from the father: neither is he giuen vs for anie other end, but to inrich vs abundantlie with all good gifts and excellent graces; and (among the rest) with the discerning of spirits aright, that we be not deceiued. And here an end.

FINIS.

The summe of euerie chapter conteined in the sixteene bookes of this discouerie, with the discourse of diuels and spirits annexed thereunto.

¶ The first Booke.

An impeachment of witches power in meteors and elementarie bodies, tending to the rebuke of such as attribute too much vnto them. Pag.1.
The inconuenience growing by mens credulitie herein, with a reproofe of some churchmen, which are inclined to the common conceiued opinion of witches omnipotencie, and a familiar example thereof. pag.4.
Who they be that are called witches, with a manifest declaration of the cause that mooueth men so commonlie to thinke, & witches themselues to beleeue that they can hurt children, cattell, &c. with words and imaginations: and of cosening witches. pag.7.
What miraculous actions are imputed to witches by witchmongers, papists, and poets. pag.9.
A confutation of the common conceiued opinion of witches and witchcraft, and how detestable a sinne it is to repaire to them for counsell or helpe in time of affliction. pag.11.
A further confutation of witches miraculous and omnipotent power, by inuincible reasons and authorities, with dissuasions from such fond credulitie. pag.12.
By what meanes the name of witches becommeth so famous, & how diuerslie people be opinioned concerning them and their actions. pa.14.
Causes that mooue as well witches themselues as others to thinke that they can worke impossibilities, with answers to certeine obiections: where also their punishment by law is touched. pag.16.
A conclusion of the first booke, wherein is foreshewed the tyrannicall crueltie of witchmongers and inquisitors, with a request to the reader to peruse the same. pag.17.

¶ The second Booke.

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That such diuels as are mentioned in the scriptures, haue in their names their nature and qualities expressed, with instances thereof. pag.518.

Diuerse names of the diuell, whereby his nature and disposition is manifested. pag.520.

That the idols or gods of the Gentiles are diuels, their diuerse names, and in

in what affaires their labours and authorities are emploied, wherein also the blind superstition of the heathen people is discouered. pag.521.

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FINIS.

¶ Imprinted at London, by

William Brome.